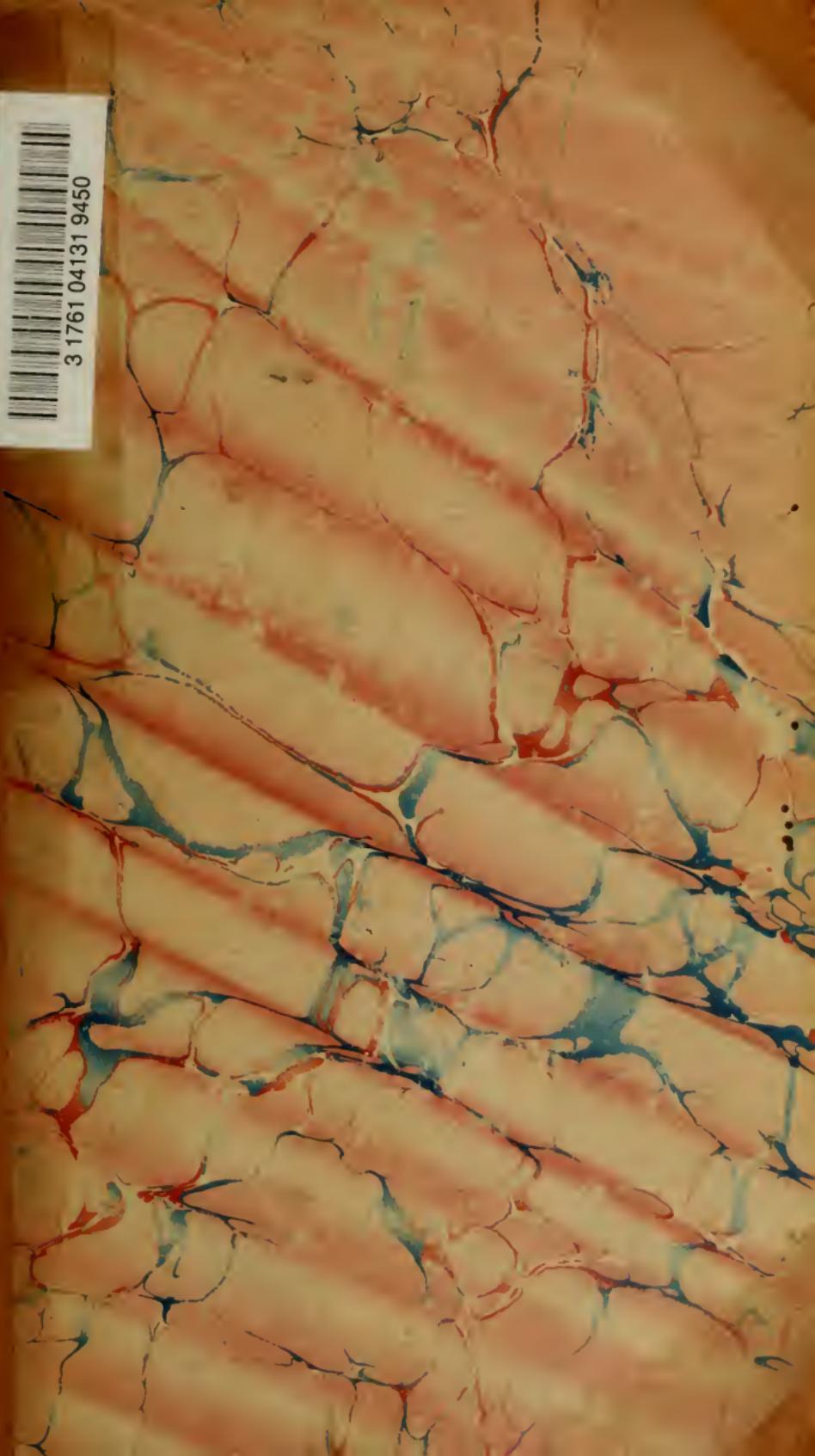


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M68
THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,

FROM THE
Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

V O L. V.



L O N D O N ,

Printed for C. BATHURST, J. F. and C. RIVINGTON, A. HAMILTON, T. PAYNE, T. LONGMAN, S. CROWDER, B. LAW, T. BECKET, J. ROBSON, F. NEWBERRY, G. ROBINSON, T. CADELL, J. and T. BOWLES, S. BLADON, J. MURRAY, and W. FOX.

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THE
MODERN PART
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C H A P. XVII.

The History of Timûr Bek, commonly called Tamerlan, and his Successors.

S E C T. IV.

Timûr invades and conquers Hindûstân.

TIMUR, arriving at Soltâniya, released sultân Ayfa, A.D. 1395. prince of Mardîn, and restored him to his territories, he then marched to Hamadân, and sent troops to Nahawend (in Persian Irâk), against Behlûl, who had slain the amîr Mezîd Belâs, governor of that city, and revolted. Those forces, having, with abundance of fatigue, taken the place, cut in pieces all the rebels who defended it, and burnt their ringleader alive, the amîrs, who commanded at the siege, were afterwards ordered to exterminate the robbers of Lorestân; and then march to the Persian gulf, and bring under his obedience all the maritime places, as far as the borders of Harmûz or Ormûz. Timûr, after having hunted in the plain of Hamadân, disbanded his army; and, July the 30th, set out for Samarkand. Having passed through Verami and Bestam, he entered Khorâsân, of which he made the amîr Alah-

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dâd inspector-general. Then crossing the Jihûn in boats, at Amûya, he went to his palace of Ak-saray, in Kash. Receiving the compliments of all the great lords of provinces, who came to congratulate his return, he made a solemn feast; and then went to Samarkand, where his arrival was celebrated with great rejoicings. He gave the sharîfs, and men of letters, part of the spoil he had brought home; punished bad governors, against whom complaints were made; and exempted all the subjects of his empire from taxes for three years.

Hejra 799. A.D. 1397. In spring 799, Timûr ordered the palace of Bâghi-shemâl to be built, in a garden to the north of Samarkand. It had a pavilion at each of the four corners; and the walls were painted in fresco. The court was paved with marble; and the walls, both within and without, were covered with porcelain. When the whole was finished,

Fine palace built. Shâh Rûkh plays, and diversions; at which he invested his fourth son, made king. the mîrza Shâh Rûkh Bahâdr, sovereign and absolute prince of the kingdoms of Khorassân, Sîstân, and Mazânderân, as far as Firûzkûh, and the city of Ray. Having appointed âmirs and generals to command under him, he tenderly embraced him, and, having kissed his eyes and forehead, dismissed him. The new king crossed the Jihûn in June; and, arriving at Herât, chose for his residence the palace of Bâgh-zaghân, that is, *the Garden of Crows*; where, on the 25th of September, he had a son born, whom the emperor, his father, named Bayfankar.

Harmûz conquered. In the mean time, the mîrza Mehemed Soltân prosecuted his march by Darabjerd and Tarom, to Ormûz, where he was met by troops which had taken different routes. At the first onset, they reduced the seven fortresses, which are the bulwarks of that kingdom; whose sovereign, Mehemed Shâh, was obliged to retire to Jerom, where he was constrained to make peace, swearing to pay an annual tribute of six hundred thousand dinârs. When the mîrza was on his return to Shîrâz, a person named Jumâlo'ddîn, a native of the mountain of Firûzkûh, who rode by the side of his horse, struck him with a knife, but only wounded him slightly. The villain, thinking to escape, ascended the ridge of the mountain; but, stumbling as he ran, fell into a precipice, and was killed. This prince, having finished the campaign, returned to the court at Samarkand; where Timûr, at this time, made several rich presents to Shâma Jehân, son of Kezer Koja Aglen

Aglen (king of Jetâh); and sent him to his father, accompanied by Kayâzo'ddîn Terkhân, to demand his sister, Tukel Khânûm, in marriage.

At the same time he built another magnificent palace in the midst of the garden, called Bâghi Dilensha.

This work being finished, the emperor departed for Tash-kunt, visiting, in his way, the tomb of sheykh Ahmed; and, when winter was over, hearing that the princess was on the road, all the ladies and amirs of the court were sent on horseback, sixteen days journey, to meet her. At meeting, they sprinkled gold and precious stones on her head; did her all the honours due to a great queen; and, making magnificent feasts at every orda, brought her at length to Timûr. Then the emperor gave orders for a grand feast; and, commanding the chief mufti, the kâzis, and doctors of the law, to come before him, they married him according to the Mohammedan rites.

About this time ambassadors arrived from Tamgûz *Embassy* Khân, emperor of Katay, with very curious presents. *from China.* Timûr then appointed the mîrza Mehemed Soltân, governor of the frontiers of Mogulestân, with orders to build a fortress at the town of Ashira. In the beginning of spring, he left Chinas, and repaired to Samarkand; from whence he went to Kash.

After the death of Firûz Shâh, emperor of India, Mellû *He invades* Khân and Sarenk, two brothers, who had been his generals, placed his grandson sultân Mahmûd on the throne; but, at the same time, arrogated to themselves the exercise of the sovereign power. Mellû resided at Dehli, near Mâhmûd, and Sarenk at Mûltân. On this occasion, Timûr, being persuaded by Timûr Koja, son of Akbûga, to invade India, ordered the mîrza Pîr Mehemed, son of Jephân Ghîr, who had been established in the provinces of Irân, to march into that country. They began with plundering the Ugâns or Augwâns, who inhabited the mountain of Solymân Kûh. Then, passing the Indus, invested Uchâh, and also laid siege to Mûltân. Timûr received these tidings with joy; and, as he resolved to carry his arms as far as China, in order to exterminate the infidels, he determined, to merit the glory of the gazi (A), to march into India in person: for although Mohammedism was professed in Dehli, and many other cities of that em-

(A) That is, a religious war, like the crusade of the Roma- nists; or, it signifies one who conquers in such wars.

Hejra 800.
A.D. 1398.

Timûr
marries.

pire, yet the greater part of the provinces was inhabited by idolaters. With this view, therefore, in March, he took the field with a great army, composed of many nations, but mostly Tatars; and, having passed the Jihûn at Termed, followed the road of Aznik and Semenkhân; then crossed the mountains of Bakalân, and encamped at Anderâb.

Attacks
Ketûer
with great
difficulty;
and the
Siapûshes.

The inhabitants of this place having complained that the idolaters of mount Ketûer, and the Siapûshes (B), exacted excessive sums of the Mohammedans, under the denomination of tribute; and that, on failure of payment, they slew the men, and made slaves of the women and children, Timûr marched against them. Being arrived at Perjân, he sent the mîrza Rûstem to the left, with ten thousand men, against the Siapûshes; and, continuing his route, came to Kaük, where he found a demolished citadel, which he caused to be rebuilt. The amîrs began to ascend the mountain Ketûer, with great fatigue; and, as the infidels dwelt in narrow passages and precipices, and the roads to them were covered with snow, they could not be attacked without great danger and difficulty. These obstacles, however, were surmounted by the courage and perseverance of Timûr and his Jagatays.

The Siapûshes, a savage and gigantic race, defended themselves with great obstinacy. The fight lasted three nights without interruption; but at length the infidels, after the loss of great numbers of men, begged quarter. It was granted, on condition that they submitted, and turned Mohammedans; a condition which they performed on the fourth day: but, at night, having put to the sword an entire regiment, the whole army of Timûr ascended the mountain; and, following Mohammed's precept to spare the women, cut to pieces all the old and young men; then raised towers of their heads, and left a marble engraved with the history of this action.

After this exploit, the mîrza Shâh Rûkh departed from Kaük for Herât; and Timûr marched to Tulle: then crossed the mountain Hendû Kesh; passed by Penjehîr, and encamped in the country of Barân, five leagues from Kâbul; where he caused a great canal, called Mahighîr,

(B) Retûer or Ketower, is a mountain in the kingdom of Badâgshân, in the east part of Great Bukhâria. The Siapûshes are an idolatrous nation, clothed in black, inhabiting the mountains south of Badâgshân. La Croix.

to be made, five leagues in length, on which afterwards were built many large villages^a.

At this time Mâlek Mehemed, brother to Leshker Shâh, an Ugân or Augwân, complained to Timûr, that Muffa, prince of the Kerkes, had killed his brother, who was an officer of the emperor, had ruined Irjâb, pillaged his tenants, and robbed on the highways. Timûr ordered Mâlek to conceal himself, while he sent for Muffa to court; who was received with marks of honour by his majesty, and ordered to rebuild Irjâb. Muffa went back to obey the order; and, when the work was finished, the emperor marched thither.

As he designed to put to death Muffa and his accomplices, he commanded the guards to suffer none of them to re-enter the town, after once they went forth. Nor was this order given without reason; for Timûr having taken horse, to view the place, accompanied by many princes and generals on foot, was perceived by seven of Muffa's labourers, from an upper window of a house behind one of the gates, who let fly at him, with design to kill him; but the sound of the arrow only startled his horse. Timûr went into the city at another gate; and immediately caused Muffa and his partisans to be seized: two hundred of whom, with their chief, he delivered to Mâlek Mehemed; who, assisted by three of his servants, cut off their heads, to revenge his brother's death. His subjects were plundered; and the women, children, and goods, of those tyrants, given to indemnify the people of Irjâb; which principality was bestowed on Mâlek.

September 17th, Timûr marched toward Shenuzân, where he encamped, after passing several forests and mountains. The 20th, he arrived at the fortress of Nagaz, which had been newly rebuilt by his order. Here being informed, that the nation of Pervians, a kind of Augwâns, infested the roads, he entered the mountains; and, in three days, came up with and cut them to pieces, burnt their dwellings, and carried off their children and effects. In the mean time, the amîr Solyman Shâh treated the Kelatians, another nation of the Ugâns, in the same manner; but the Ubel, a third branch of the same people, came, and, submitting, were loaded with favours. On the first day of the year 801, Timûr departed for Banû; then marching from thence, October 7th, arrived at the

Hejra 801.
A.D. 1398.

^a Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 10—19. cap. 3—5.

Indus, in the very place where sultân Jalâlo’ddîn, king of Karazm, swam over that river, in sight of Jenghîz Khân. The emperor crossed it on a bridge of boats. At this place he dismissed the ambassadors of foreign princes.

*Defeats
Shahâbo’ddîn,*

Timûr, having passed the Indus with his army, encamped at the entrance of the great desert of Jerû, which is called Chol Jalâli, from Jalâlo’ddîn’s taking shelter in it. Here the râjas of the mountain Kûh Jûd (south-east of Kashmîr) came to make their submission; and, as they had been kind to his troops some months before, they were very well received. When he arrived at the river Jamâd, he ordered sheykh Nûro’ddîn to attack an island therein, fortified with a ditch and walls, belonging to prince Shahâbo’ddîn Mobârek; who, after submitting to the mîrza Pîr Mehemed Jehân Ghîr, in his way to Mûltân, had revolted. The amîr, with his tomân, entering the river, a most furious battle ensued. Then Shâhâbo’ddîn came with ten thousand men to attack the Jagatays in the rear, during the night; but, after several vigorous efforts he was defeated by sheykh Nûro’ddîn. Prince Mobârek fled, with his domestics, in two hundred flat-bottomed boats, down the Jamâd, to Ucha. Passing on from thence towards Mûltân, the passage was obstructed by Solymân Shâh, at the head of the scouts of Pîr Mehemed and the mirza Shâh Rûkh; who, seizing the boats, massacred the people, while the unfortunate prince, casting his wife and children into the river, half-dead, gained the bank; and fled, with many of his subjects, into the woods; where, being pursued, great numbers were slain.

*and other
princes.*

After this success, the army marched five or six days along the Jamâd, and encamped at a fortress where that river and the Jenâve join, with such violence as occasions a great agitation: however, Timûr ordered a bridge to be built over it; the first that ever was thrown across this river. The emperor encamped opposite the town of Tûlonba, thirty-five gûrûh, or miles, from Mûltân: then passing the river running by that town, taxed it at two millions of crowns, part of which was paid; but, the inhabitants making a difficulty of paying the rest, the soldiers, in the night, sacked the place, burnt the houses, and made slaves of the people, the sharîfs and doctors only excepted. November the 5th, he left Tûlonba; and, next day, encamped by a deep lake, situate on the side of the river Biah, within sight of Shanavaz, a great and populous city. He then marched against Nusret, brother of sheykh Kupire,

keri, who had surrounded the lake with a wall, and lay behind it with two thousand men: but they were soon defeated, and dispersed.

At Shanavaz the soldiers supplied themselves with corn; then setting fire to the granaries, went down the Biah, and crossed it over-against the town of Jenjân. Next day the mîrza Pîr Mehemed came from Mûltân forty miles distant, to the imperial camp. That city having been reduced to great extremity by famine, after a six months siege, Sarenk, the governor, was obliged to fly, so that the prince quickly took it; but having lost the greatest part of his horses, by a mortality caused by an inundation, the râjas of the country revolted, and advanced in the night to the very walls of Mûltân, till, on advice of Timûr's approach, they withdrew. The army left Jenjân the 15th for Shuâl; the 18th to Aßwân, and at length to Jehawl. On the 21st it arrived at Adjûdân, and next day, crossing the Dena, encamped on the hill of Kaleskuteli, ten miles from Ajûdân, and fifty from Batnîr, a city with a fortrefs, *Batnîr* the strongest and most celebrated in all India, situate in a *fortress*. desert out of the common road. The inhabitants have no water, excepting from a great lake near the gate of the town, which is never filled but in times of inundation. Hither the inhabitants of Dipalpûr, Ajûdân, and other places, fled for refuge in such numbers, that the place not being large enough to contain all their cattle and effects, great part of both were left without the town ^b.

These the soldiers, on their arrival, seized, and immediately marched up to Batnîr, where Rawdûljîn the governor, reigned as sovereign, and resolved to resist. The suburbs were taken at the first attack with great slaughter of the Indians; the assailants likewise took the counterscarp, and then assaulted the town. Rawdûljîn posted himself at the gate, with the bravest of his soldiers; but being vigorously attacked several times by the Jagatays, when they were on the point of gaining the place, he demanded quarter, promising to repair next day to the camp. However, not keeping his word, they began to sap the walls with such resolution, that the Indian prince submitted, and was honourably received. Five hundred of the inhabitants of Dipalpûr were put to the sword, for having treacherously slain Messafer Kâbili and a thousand horsemen; part likewise of the people of Ajûdân, who had abandoned Timûr, were slain, and the rest made pri-

^b Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 28—40. cap. 9—14.

soners, after being plundered. These executions so intimidated Kemálo'ddín, brother of Rawdúljín, that he shut the gate of the town ; but soon opened it again on the approach of the Jagatays.

However, as among the râjas, and other chiefs, disputes arose about the tax for saving the people's lives, which could not be terminated without commotions, Timûr, in a passion, ordered that this rabble should be put to the sword, and the houses of the infidels razed. The soldiers having scaled the walls, and entered the place sword in hand, the ghebrs and idolaters set fire to their own houses, casting their wives, children, and goods, into the flames ; and the Mohammedans cut the throats of their own women and infants. Then the men uniting, fought in despair, and slew a great number of the Jagatays. The amîr sheykh Nuro'ddin also, rushing into the midst of the enemy, was with difficulty rescued out of their hands. At length, victory declaring for the besiegers, they massacred ten thousand Indians, burnt their houses, and ruined the walls of the town ^c.

After the ruin of Batnir, Timûr departed, November 30, for Delhi, capital of India. Having passed by the castle of Firûz, with the towns of Serefti, Fatabâd, Rejebowr, and Ahrûni, on the 5th of December he reached the village of Tuhene, in a country inhabited by Getes, who robbed and murdered on the highway. At his approach they fled ; but being pursued, two thousand of them were cut off. Next day, having passed the castle of Mûnek, he entered the deserts and woods where the Getes had retired, and slaughtered them anew. Then passing by the town of Semâne, he came to the river Kehker, which he crossed over the bridge of Fûkubl, where he was joined by the soldiers of the left wing, commanded by sultân Mahmûd Khân, who had taken another route. From thence he advanced by the way of Kuteyl, Assendi, Tokluk-pûr, and Panipar, ruining the towns, ravaging the country, and massacring the inhabitants. At length, December 24, they arrived at Jehân Nûmay, a palace built by sultân Firûz Shâh, on the top of a mountain, two leagues from Delhi, at the foot of which runs the great river Jawn.

Timûr having pitched on a place for battle, encamped to the east of Lûni, where the Shâh Zâde, or emperor's children, and the amîrs who had been making incursions, joined him. Here he harangued them upon the art of

*Great
slaughter
there.*

*Comes to
Jehân
Nûmay.*

*Mogul
butchery.*

fighting battles, of breaking the enemy's ranks, and rallying troops after a defeat. The army, since they passed the Indus, having made a vast number of Indians captives, mostly ghebirs and idolaters, it was feared that, in any obstinate battle, they would join with the people of Delhi; Timur, therefore, ordered, that they who had any Indian slaves should put them to death; in consequence of which order, in less than one hour, above a hundred thousand were slaughtered⁴, to the indelible disgrace of this ruffian Tartar, and the eternal reproach of human nature.

Timur set out for Delhi December 30th. When the astrologers disputed about the aspects of the planets, he told them, that fortune did not depend on the stars, but on the Creator of them; and that, when he had once formed his designs with proper care, he would not delay the execution of them one moment to wait for a lucky time. Yet he consulted the Koran, and met with a favourable answer, which ensured him of victory, and encouraged the whole army. January the first he crossed the Jawn, and encamped on the other side. On the 3d he drew up his army in order of battle, giving the command of the right wing to the mîrza Pîr Mehemed Jehân Ghîr; the left was led by the mîrzas sultân Huslâyîn and Kalil Soltân; the rear was put under the conduct of the mîrza Rûstem; and the main body was commanded by Timur himself.

The enemy marched likewise in order of battle. Their right wing was brought up by Taji Khân, Mîr Ali Koja, and other Indian princes; the left had for its leaders Mâlek Moyno'ddîn, and others; and the main body was commanded by sultân Mahmûd Khân, emperor of India, who had Mellû Khân for his lieutenant-general. This army consisted of ten thousand horse, well equipped, and forty thousand foot completely armed; besides several elephants of war, armed with cuirasses, having on their backs wooden towers filled with cross-bowmen and archers: on the side of the elephants marched those who flung fire and melted pitch, with rockets armed at the end with iron.

The Jagatays were not much disturbed about the Indian army, but they had conceived strange notions of the elephants, which they had never seen before. They imagined that the arrow and sword could not pierce their bodies; that they were so strong as to overthrow trees by only shaking the earth as they passed along; that they could

*His forces
approach
the Indian
army.*

A.D. 1399.

⁴ Hist. Tim. Bek, vol. ii. p. 44—54. cap. 15—19.

push down the firmest buildings ; and that, in battle, they would toss both man and horse, to a vast height in the air. This opinion dispirited many in the camp ; so that when the posts were fixed for the officers and lords of the court, Timûr, who always shewed respect to men of learning, asked those near his person what posts they would chuse. Several of these doctors, terrified at what they had read and heard of elephants, answered immediately ; “ If it please your majesty, we chuse to be near the ladies.”

The battle begins.

Timûr, to guard against this panic, ordered a rampart of bucklers to be made before the ranks, with a ditch in front : he likewise caused buffaloes to be tied neck and heels, then placed close together, with bushes between, and on their heads. There were, besides, stakes prepared, with three-pronged forks at the ends ; so that when the elephants advanced, they were to be planted in their way, and the brambles to be set on fire to put those animals in disorder. When the two armies were in view, Timûr ascended an eminence, near the hill of Pûshtey Behâli, in order to observe their motions, and, as soon as the engagement began, he fell on the ground, often bowing to implore victory.

The Indians defeated.

So hot a battle never was seen, nor so dreadful a noise of warlike instruments heard before. At length Timûr’s van-guard, perceiving that of the enemy to advance, retired behind the right wing to lie in ambush till they had passed by, and then fell on them with fury, killing in an instant four or five hundred men. The mîrza, Pir Mehemed, at the head of the van-guard of the right wing, assisted by the amîr Solymân Shâh, attacked the left of the Indians with such conduct, that he drove them beyond the basin of Haviskas, then falling on the elephants forced them upon the ranks of the same wing, where they increased the disorder. Meanwhile the left wing of the Jagatays repulsed the right of the enemy, with great slaughter, as far as the city gate. Then the main body of the latter, sustained by the elephants, advanced in good order against the rear of the former, and began a most bloody battle, in which sheykh Mûro’ddîn, and the other amîrs, behaved with great valour, overthrowing the castles on the backs of the elephants, and cutting off the trunks of those animals, with great slaughter of the Indians, so that at length they turned their backs, and sultân Mahmûd, with his commander in chief, Mellû Khân, fled into the city.

Then

Then Timûr, spurring his horse towards the gate of Delhi, carefully examined the fortifications. On his return, the mîrza Kalîl Soltân, who commanded the left wing, though but fifteen years of age, brought him one of the elephants bound with ropes, whose guards he had overthrown. Timûr, at this spectacle, burst into tears of joy. Soltân Mahmûd and his general, not thinking themselves safe in Delhi, left it at midnight, and retired into the deserts. Several amîrs being sent in pursuit of them, they brought back the prince Sayf Khân, farnamed Mâlek Sharîfo'ddîn, and the prince Kodadâd, son of Mellû Khân. The amîr Alahdâd seized the gates by which the princes fled, and guarded the others that no one might escape.

On the 4th day of January Timûr erected his standard on the walls of Delhi, and at the city-gate sat on the avjah, or throne, whereon the Indian emperors sit in their royal robes on the great festivals. This gate is in the quarter of Jehân Penâh, opposite the bason of Havizkas, where the army was then encamped. There Fadhallah Bâkshi, Mellû Khân's lieutenant, at the head of the whole divân of Delhi, the shârifs, kadis, and principal inhabitants came to make their submission, and begged for mercy. The elephants and rhinoceroses themselves came and fell down before the emperor in a humble posture, and made a great cry as if they demanded quarter. These war elephants, a hundred and twenty in number, were, at his return, sent to Samarkand, and to the provinces where his sons resided. At the request of the court lords, Timûr made a grand feast, at which he distributed presents to the princes and great officers ^e.

Dehli at this time consisted of three cities (L), Seyri, *Dehli described.* Old Delhi, and Jehân Penâh. Seyri was surrounded with a wall, in form of a circle; Old Dehli was much larger, lying south-west of the other: these two parts were joined on each side by a wall; and the third, lying between them, was called Jehân Penâh, larger than Old Dehli: this last had ten gates: Seyri had seven; three of which looked towards Jehân Penâh, which had thirteen gates, six to the north-west, and seven to the south-east. Every thing seemed to be in a quiet posture, when, January 12, the

^e *Hist. Tim. Bek*, vol. ii. p. 54—62. cap. 19, 20.

(L) This is as it was in the author's time: the present Dehli is a new city, built in a different place by Jalâlo'ddîn

Akbar, father of Humâyun, and called, from him, Akbarâbâd. La Croix.

soldiers of Timûr, being assembled at the gate of Dehli, insulted the inhabitants of the suburbs. The great amîrs were ordered to put a stop to these disorders: but their endeavours were not effectual. The sultanas having a curiosity to see the rarities of Dehli, and particularly the famous palace, adorned with a thousand pillars, built by Mâlek Juna, that ancient king of India, they went in with all the court; and the gate being left open, on that occasion, above fifteen thousand soldiers entered unperceived. But there was a far greater number of troops in a large place between Dehli, Seyri, and Jehân Penâh, who committed great disorders in the two last places. The ghebrs, in despair, fell upon them; and many setting fire to their houses, burnt their wives and children. The Jagatays, seeing this confusion among the ghebrs, did nothing but pillage and burn their houses; while the disorder was increased, by more troops let in, to seize the inhabitants of the neighbouring places, who had fled thither for shelter.

The city destroyed.

The amîrs, to restrain this mischief, caused the gates to be shut, to prevent more troops from entering: but the soldiers within opened them again, and rose in arms against their officers. So that the whole army having entered by the 13th, in the morning, this great and magnificent city was destroyed. Some soldiers carried out one hundred and fifty slaves a piece, men, women, and children: nay some of their boys had twenty slaves each. The other spoils, in precious stones, jewels, plate, and manufactures, were innumerable: for the Indian women and girls were adorned with precious stones, and had bracelets and rings on their hands, feet, and even toes; so that the soldiers were loaded with them. The 15th, in Old Dehli, the Indians retired into the great mosque, to defend themselves; but the amîr Shâh Mâlek, and Ali Soltân, entering it with five hundred men, butchered them all without mercy, as a grateful sacrifice to God and the prophet. The city was plundered and the remaining inhabitants were enslaved. The artizans were distributed among the princes and commanders; but the masons were all reserved for the emperor, in order to build him a spacious stone mosque at Samarkand ^f.

Mirtha besieged.

On the 18th of January, Timûr decamped from Delhi, and marched down to Firûzabâd, three miles distant from Jawn. He remained there to say a prayer in a stone

^f Hist. Tim. Bk. vol. ii. p. 62-67.

mosque,

mosque, and then proceeded to the other side of Jehân Nûmay, where he was presented with two white parrots, from Bahâdr Nehâr, prince of Kûtele, who had submitted to his envoys. These birds had lived ever since the reign of Togluk Shâh, and had been kept many years in the anti-chambers of the Indian emperors. Timûr resolving to take the city of Mirtha, one of the most famous places of the empire, twenty miles from Afâr, marched thither, at the head of ten thousand men. As the ghebrs refused to submit, he ordered the walls to be undermined; and the workmen having before advanced ten or fifteen cubits towards each bastion and curtain, the besieged were so greatly surprised, that they desisted from all defence.

Next day, the amîr Allâhdâd, with his regiment of *Taken by a* Kûchins, having attacked the gate, Saray, one of his *bey.* domestics, cast a net upon the battlement, and boldly mounted the walls. He was followed by Rûstem Berlâs, and a great many others, who rushed into the town. They bound Elias Ugâni, and the son of Mulâna Ahmed To-hânefâri, governor of the place, whom they seized; but the ghebr Sefi, one of its princes, was slain in the assault. They flayed alive all the ghebrs, made slaves of their wives and children, burned the houses, and razed the walls.

Timûr continued his march along the Ganges, to Tok-luk Pûr, having sent fifty thousand horse against the *The ghebrs* *slaug:hered* ghebrs, who were assembled on its banks. A considerable number of these, in forty-eight great flat-bottomed boats, having advanced towards the camp, he rode out to meet them, with one thousand officers; several of whom spurred their horses into the water, and advancing, in spite of their arrows, entered their boats, and cut them in pieces.

On the 29th, Timûr left Tokluk Pûr, and, crossed the *by water* *and land.* Ganges. He then advanced against Mobârek Khân, who, not far off, expected the Jagatays, with ten thousand horse. As the Indians were far more numerous, Timûr was in great perplexity; but, just at that instant, five hundred horse, who had crossed the river to make inroads, arrived; and the emperor sent the amîrs Shâh Mâlek and Allâhdâd, with one thousand horse, to attack the enemy, who being seized with a panic, fled unto the woods, whither they were pursued, and a good number of them slain. Timûr having received advice, that a great number of ghebrs were assembled in the defile of Kupelc, to the east of the Ganges, advanced with five hundred horse.

horse. On his arrival at the mountains, he met a body of them, whom his amîrs soon routed: but being left with only one hundred of his guards, a ghebr, named Mâlek Sheykâ, fell upon him with great fury. However, Timûr shot him in the belly with an arrow, and then unhorshed him, by a stroke of his sword on the head, of which he presently died ^g.

Defile of Kupele.

Though he had watched several days and nights without intermission, he advanced to the defile of Kupele, with some officers of his van-guard, through almost impassable woods; and, being joined by his son Pîr Mehemed, they made a great slaughter of the enemy, from whom they took a considerable booty. Thus Timûr fought three battles in the course of one day; a circumstance which never happened to any prince before him.

Mountain Swâlek cleared of ghebrs.

After this exploit Timûr returned, and, crossing the Ganges, encamped five miles lower on that river. Then, being satisfied with having marched to the eastern borders of the empire of India in one campaign, and acquired the merit of the gâzi, he resolved to return to his own dominions. With this view, the 31st of January, he left the Ganges. Next day, advice being brought, that a great number of Indians were assembled in Swâlek, one of the most considerable mountains of India, he directed his march to that mountain; where a râja, named Behrûz, had posted himself, with a great number of ghebrs, in a narrow passage; but the Jagatays falling suddenly upon them, they made but a weak defence: so that those who escaped the sword were taken prisoners, with their effects; which so loaded the army with spoil, that they could not march above four miles a day.

On the 8th, they crossed the Jawn, and encamped in another part of the mountain of Swâlek; where an infinite number of Indians being assembled, under râja Ratan, Timûr marched all night, and next morning came up with them, between the mountains Swâlek and Kûke; but they fled, on his approach, into the woods, where a great many were slain. He continued his progress in the mountains for several days, slaying the Indians, and seizing their effects. In short, twenty battles were fought in thirty days; during which time, seven of the most important places in all India for strength were conquered ^h.

^g Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 67—76. cap. 21—24.
Bek, p. 76—86. cap. 24—28.

^h Hist. Tim.

The gâzis on the mountains of Swâlek being finished Timûr departed from Mansar, on the 12th of March, and encamped six miles from thence, at Bayla; a town of the province of Châmû, whose inhabitants were valiant men, and their forests of difficult access: yet, on the army's approach, they abandoned the town, which was pillaged by the soldiers. In the mean time, Shâh Eskânder, prince of Kâshmîr, arriving at Jebbân, in his way to the camp, was informed that the amirs of the diwân had taxed him at thirty thousand horses, and one hundred thousand darests of gold, each weighing two medikals and one half, so that he returned to collect this tribute. Timûr disapproved of the order, which had laid on Eskânder a tax more than his little kingdom was worth; and sent to him to return in ten days to the bank of the Indus. On the 15th, they encamped near Châmû, capital of the province of that name. Next day, Timûr entered the defile, from whence springs the river of Châmû, which the army had crossed several times. It is situated at the foot of a mountain, on the left side of the city Châmû, having on its right the town of Menû. It was inhabited by strong and tall Indians, who had intrenched themselves in almost inaccessible woods, upon a craggy mountain, with their king at their head, resolved to defend their lives to the last extremity.

Timûr judged it better to insnare them by artifice, *Its king taken.* than attack them in so dangerous a place: he therefore ordered his troops to wheel off, and pillage Menû; they likewise entered Châmû, and brought away abundance of spoil. Then posting some regiments in the woods, departed with the cavalry. On the 17th, he crossed the river Châmû, and encamped on the side of the Jenâve (or Jenaw), in a plain four leagues long, full of pasture. As soon as the army had quitted the defiles, the Indians left their mountain, to re-enter their houses; but were soon attacked by the ambuscade, who cut them in pieces, without giving any quarter, excepting to the king, and fifty officers of consideration. Great care was taken of the king of Châmû, who had been wounded in the fight, in order to obtain more easily the money due for saving the lives of him and his people. This consideration joined to the discourses of those about him, concerning the Mohammedan religion, prevailed on him, when cured, to embrace that faith, and eat the flesh of oxen. Upon this, Timûr made a treaty with, and received him under his protection.

Reduces
Chamu.

Mean

Meanwhile news arrived, that the forces sent to Lahor (or Lahûr), had made themselves masters of that city, received the ransom tax, and made Shikay Kuker, sovereign thereof, prisoner. This prince, at the beginning of the war, accompanied Timûr every where, and was in great favour; but, at length, leave being granted him to return to Lahor, he expressed a disregard for the Jagatays, which drew on him Timur's resentment, who ordered his country to be pillaged, and his person to be seized. March 20th, the emperor crossed the Jenaw, and encamped five miles on the other side. On the 23d he ordered, that all the amîrs of both wings, the colonels of regiments, and the captains of companies, should return home by the different routes marked out for them: he then made presents according to their rank and merit. He behaved in the same manner to the lords of India, amîrs, and sharîfs, who had accompanied him, and permitted them to return; assigning the government of the city and province of Multân to Keder Khân, who, having been imprisoned by Sârenk in the citadel, escaped, and fled first to Abûdan, a Mohammedian, king of Biâna, dependent on Dehli; and then to Timûr, on his arrival in that country ⁱ.

Timûr returns to Samarkand. On the 24th, the army encamped at Jebbân, a delightful residence, on the borders of Kashmîr. Next day leaving Jebhân, he marched to the Dandâna, and crossed it over a bridge, which he caused to be made for that purpose. Here he quitted the main army, that he might march with the greater expedition. On the 20th, in the morning, he arrived at the Indus, which he crossed over a bridge of boats. On the 8th of April, having crossed the mountain and defile of Shebertû, he fell sick, and his feet and hands were afflicted with ulcers; so that he was forced to be carried in a litter. Thus he passed a very narrow defile of the mountain Siapûch; in which space, they crossed the river of the defile forty-eight times; twenty-six from the beginning of the defile to the mountain, and twenty-two from the mountain to the end of the defile. Passing through Semenkân and Kulm, he reached the Jihûn on the 14th, and crossed over to Termed. From this place, by the way of Kolûga, or the Iron Gate, he came to Kash; and having remained some days in this city, departed for Samarkand the 9th of May, and arrived there on the 16th. There he distributed the curiosities and riches which he had brought from India, among the princes

ⁱ Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 86—94, cap. 28—30.

ef the blood, the sharîfs, and principal men of the kingdom. To crown this Indian expedition, Timûr erected a magnificent mosque in his capital, large enough to contain all the faithful in that great city ^k.

Timûr had not been returned above four months, when he found himself obliged to undertake a new expedition into Irân (or Persia at large), to put a stop to the disorders which had prevailed in that quarter, during his absence in India ; chiefly owing to the misconduct of the mîrza Mîrân Shâh, viceroy of Azerbejân, whose understanding had been impaired by an accident. This prince, while hunting near Tauris, in autumn 801, saw a roebuck, which he was desirous to take with his hands : but, in stooping, he fell off his horse, though one of the best horsemen in all Asia ; and the violence of the fall threw him into a swoon. He continued in fits for three days ; and then was seized with a vertigo, which impaired his senses : so that, on a bare suspicion, he slew a man, squandered away the public treasures, and destroyed many public edifices. He marched with his troops to besiege Baghdâd, at an improper season of the year : but, two days after he had invested it, was obliged to raise the siege, on account of the revolt of Tauris ; where, on his arrival, he put to the sword all who were accused of being in the conspiracy.

*Affairs of
Irân in
great dis-
order ;*

After this expedition, imagining that the Sharîf Ali, prince of Sheki, intended to revolt, he, without farther examination, advanced with an army to ravage his country. The Christian Georgians, who had revolted, when they understood how little the mîrza applied himself to public affairs, joined Sharîf Ali to relieve Soltân Tâher, son of Ahmed, sultân of Baghdâd, who had been besieged a long time in Alenjîk, by Soltân Sanjer, son of Haji Sayfoddîn. They entered Azerbejân, and plundered the country. Sanjer raised the siege ; and, being returned to Tauris, Mîrân Shâh sent his son the mîrza Abubekr to repulse the Georgians. These latter having sent away Tâher, and placed Haji Sâleh, with three oznawrs, or chief lords, of Georgia, in Alenjîk, in their return met the army of Tauris ; which, being far less numerous, would have avoided fighting ; but, as they were obliged to engage, the Georgians broke through both their wings at the first onset ; and the Sharîf Ali perceiving Abûbekr, rushed on him with his sword : but this young prince, though but

^k Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 94—105, cap. 30—36.

eighteen years old, shot him dead with an arrow: however, the Georgians defeated his troops¹.

to what
owing.

The mîrza Mîrân Shâh's lunacy appeared still more in his debauches; for he spent almost all his time in drinking and gaming. One day he reproached his wife, the princess Khân Zâdeh, with something which wounded her honour. She endeavoured to discover the grounds of it; in which enquiry several persons of both sexes were sacrificed. The aversion between the mîrza and her still increasing, she retired to Samarkand; where arriving just at the time when Timûr returned thither from India, she assured him, that if he did not march forthwith into Irân, her husband, who, through his distemper already flighted his mandates, would certainly revolt. The emperor, who had been before informed of the misconduct of his son, resolved to follow this advice; and immediately issued orders to assemble the troops, for a vigorous campaign. The mîrza Shâh Rûkh immediately assembled the troops of Khoraffân; and sent his wazîr Solymân Shâh towards Tauris, with his van-guard, following with the rest of his army. Timûr set out from Samarkand October 11th, 1399; and, crossing the Jihûn, at Termed, advanced to Bâlk. From thence he prosecuted his march to Sarek Kâmish Jam, where he visited the tomb of the celebrated mufti Ahmed Jâm. He sent the mîrza Rustem to his eldest brother Pîr Mehemed, at Shîrâz, with orders for them to march to Baghdâd. Then continuing his route by Nishâbûr and Bef-tâm, Ray and Khowar, to Ayvanik, he was there joined by the mîrza Shâh Rûkh, who had marched by Shafuman, Astarabâd, and Sâri.

The authors
punished.

In the mean time, the amîr Solymân Shâh, arriving at Ray, in his way from Herât to Tauris, heard of Mirân Shâh's lunacy; and not thinking it safe to go thither, resolved to march to Hamadân: but, at the invitation of the mîrza Abûbekr, the amîr went thither; and even persuaded Mirân Shâh to set out, two days after, to meet the emperor; to whom he accordingly payed his respects, at Shâhriar; but was not received with any tokens of kindness. Then Timûr sent commissaries to Tauris, to enquire into that prince's deportment; and it appearing that his excesses were chiefly owing to the instigation of certain profligate musicians, and other sycophants, the emperor ordered that they should all be hanged, without exception. Among the men of parts, who suffered on this oc-

¹ Hist. Tim. Bek, vol. ii. lib. v. cap. 1. p. 108—112.

casion,

caison, was the incomparable Mûlâna Mehemed Kûhef-tâni, a celebrated poet, whose conversation and wit had rendered him the wonder of his age.

Timûr, leaving Shâhriar, proceeded by Soltâniya and Karaderra to Ardebîl ; and, having hunted in the plains of Mûkân and Aktâm (towns of Azerbejân), crossed the river Arâna, to Karabâgh Arrân. Here Sharîf Sidi Ahmed, son of Sharîf Ali, king of Sheki, by the mediation of sheykh Ibrâhîm, king of Shîrwân, was pardoned, and confirmed in his principality by Timûr ; merely on account of Ibrâhîm, whom he loved for his sincerity, and distinguished among his greatest officers. The sheykh, to welcome his majesty's arrival in his country, made a sumptuous banquet for the court, and afterwards offered his presents, which were very considerable ^m.

At this period news arrived of the mîrza Eskânder's successes in Mogulestân. This prince, though but fifteen years old, taking advantage of the dissensions which arose among the Getes after the death of Kezra Koja Aglen, left Andekhân, at the head of his troops, and invaded the lands of the Moguls. He pillaged the cities of Yârkent (D), Sârek Kâmish, Kelapine, Ali Gheul, Yâr Kurgân, Char-tâk, and Keyûk Bâgh (E). At length he arrived at the province of Awj, most of whose tribes submitted : the rest he carried prisoners towards the citadel of Aksû, consisting of three castles, which have a communication with each other ; esteemed so strong, that the inhabitants of all the neighbouring provinces consider it as a safe retreat in time of war : but the mîrza having invested and carried on his operations for near forty days, the besieged were forced to surrender. After this achievement, he sent troops to pillage the towns of Bay, Kufân, and Târem.

These conquests being finished, the mîrza Eskânder marched from Aksû to Kotân ; thirty-five days journey from Kara Koja (or Aramuth), and fifteen from Kâshgar, which is twenty-five from Samarkand. The mîrza behaved with so much prudence, that all the towns and castles of this frontier province were reduced. From Kotan he advanced to Karângû Tâg, a steep and rugged mountain, in which the rivers of Kotan have their source, and to which the inhabitants of that and the neighbouring places fly for refuge in time of war : but, finding it inaccessible, returned

*Of Mirza
Eskander ;
and his
disgrace.*

^m Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 112—121. cap. 1—4.

(D) The present capital of (E) All towns of Mogulestân. La Croix.

to winter at Kâshgar. From hence he sent presents to the emperor, and the mîrza Mehemed Soltân, of three beautiful women of Kotân : but the latter refused his present, being greatly incensed against Eskânder ; because, having entered Turkestân with an army, in order to join him against the Getes, the young mîrza, that he might not serve under Mehemed Soltân, instead of waiting for him, marched before into Mogulestân, while his cousin, in disgust, returned to Samarkand.

In the spring Eskânder returned to Andekhân, and thence proceeded to visit Mehemed Soltân : but, learning on the road that the latter intended to seize him, he returned, and entered the castle of Andekhân. There, being taxed by two amîrs with a design to revolt, they assembled the militia, seized his domestics, and, by Mehemed Soltân's order, carried them, with the mîrza, to Samarkand ; after having put to death his atâbek (or governor), with twenty-six of his household.

Timûr attacks Komsha.

To return to Timûr. This prince, having chosen three men out of every ten, to serve as scouts, set out from Karabâgh Arrân ; and crossing the Kûr, over a bridge of boats, was joined by sheykh Ibrâhîm, of Shîwân, and Sidi Ahmed, prince of Sheki (F), by which city the army passed, and took the road to the defile of Komsha (belonging to a prince of that name), inhabited by Christians. Although it snowed very hard, for twenty days together, yet the army entered Georgia, and fell upon the infidels, in the mountain, giving quarter to none. Komsha, their chief, fled, leaving his family and effects. They destroyed his villages, with the churches, and plucked up the vines, which the inhabitants, who were very fond of wine, had carefully planted. After a month's stay in this defile, the roads being impassable, through the severity of the weather, Timûr returned to Karabâgh ; where an enquiry being made into the behaviour of the officers, who engaged the Georgians in their return from Alenjik, some were punished with the bastinado, and all the principal officers of the mîrza Mirân Shâh were fined ⁿ.

Pir Mehemed deposed.

The mîrza Rûstem, sent from Jâm to Shîrâz, arriving at that city, was honourably received by the mîrza Pîr Mehemed ; and departed for Bâghdâd soon after, according to his orders, leaving Pîr Mehemed to follow him.

ⁿ Hist. Tim. Bek, p.

130. cap. 4—6

(F) A town on the south Caspian sea. La Croix.
borders of Georgia, near the

He passed by Tostar and Râmhermes, to Mendeli (G); which he reached in the month of March, 1400; and, defeating amîr Ali Kalânder, the governor, pillaged the town. Hejra 802.
A.D. 1400. Mean while, the mîrza Pîr Mehemed, after a long delay, proceeded to Baghdâd; but, after some days march, returned, on pretence of sickness; and, by the instigation of some worthless persons, undertook to compose poisons and fascinations. The amîr Saïd Berlâs, governor of Shîrâz, being informed of this infatuation, imprisoned the mîrza in the castle, and gave notice to Timûr; who immediately sent Alladâd, to prosecute the offenders, and place Rûstem on the throne of Pârs, in the room of his elder brother, whom he was ordered to bring bound to court. This amîr put to death several men of quality, concerned in corrupting the prince; while Rûstem, coming from Mendeli, on notice given him was, by letters patent, established in his place.

When Mîr Ali Kalânder arrived at Baghdâd, with an account of what had passed at Mendeli, sultân Ahmed, in great perplexity, ordered the gates to be shut, and the bridge destroyed. He was still more alarmed at the conspiracy formed against him by Sherwân. This lord had been made governor of Khûzestân by Timûr; but, having committed some irregularities, in extorting money, and even putting to death governors of cities, he revolted, with one thousand horse, to the sultân. He had not been long at Baghdâd, before he began to conspire against his protector, by bribing his principal officers with great sums of money. The plot was discovered by an officer, who finding the memorandum of the monies paid, which Sherwân's secretary had lost, carried it to his master, at the time he had ordered the gates to be shut. The sultân, more terrified at this treason than before, sent orders to the amîrs, who were on an incursion with Sherwân, to cut off his head; and, in less than eight days, put to death above two thousand of his own officers in Baghdâd; he slew, with his own hand, most of the ladies and officers of Sherwân's household.

After this massacre, sultân Ahmed shut himself up in his seraglio, not suffering any one to come near him: even when the stewards brought him his dinner, they delivered it at the door, without entering. He spent several days in this manner; and then crossing the Tigris, by night,

(G) A town of Arabia [rather Irâk Arabî], dependent on Baghdâd. La Croix.

in a boat, with six persons only, rode to the country of Kara Yusef. In the mean time, the stewards, as usual, delivered the king's dinner at the palace-gate; so that he returned, with Kara Yusef and his troops, before the people knew any thing of his absence. In July Ahmed hearing that Timûr was on his march to Siwâs (in Anatoli), set out, with Kara Yusef, his family, and treasures, that he might get thither before the roads were blocked up by the emperor's troops. At Hâlep, he was opposed by Temûr-tâsh, who commanded there; but having defeated his troops, he continued his route.

Timûr invades Georgia.

To turn to Timûr. When winter was over, this prince called a diet, wherein the war of Georgia being considered as preferable to all others, both on account of religion, and increase of power, he departed from Karabâgh for Georgia; the roads and provinces of which, he ordered to be delineated on paper. In ten days he arrived in the plain of Berdaa; where he gave audience to Tahârten, prince of Arzenjân, on the Euphrates. The emperor honoured him with the marks of sovereignty, and then dismissed him, with orders to watch the motions of the Othmâns. After several days march from Berdaa, he arrived on the borders of Georgia; from whence he sent to Mâlek Ghûrghin, king of that country, to demand Tâher, son of sultân Ahmed; but instead of complying, Ghûrghin returned a very uncivil answer. The Jagatays therefore entered his dominions, and destroyed every thing they met with, even the vines. The affrighted inhabitants, who escaped the sword, fled, with their effects and provisions, to the high mountains; where they had fortified cavern and houses, built on craggy rocks; so that no power had ever yet conquered them.

Makes great havock.

Nevertheless, Timûr's soldiers, without considering the dangers, ascended the mountains; and were let down in boxes by cords to the caverns of the infidels, which they entered, making a terrible slaughter. Some of these craggy places were so well defended, that, in order to disperse the enemy, and burn their houses and intrenchments, the army were obliged to make use of combustible matter. Thus they took fifteen considerable places, giving quarter only to such as turned Mohammedans. Timûr left a strong garrison in Tafîs, or Tefîs, capital of Georgia, and then went to encamp in the plain of Mokran. King Ghûrghin fled into the deserts, but the greater part of the oznawrs came to the camp, and sued for pardon. When the country

try was reduced, the temples and monasteries were razed, and chapels and mosques erected in their room ^o.

After this conquest, Timûr resolved to attack the other provinces of Georgia, and marched towards the defile of *Swanit*, *Takes the fortresses.* prince Jâni Bek, whose country being pillaged, and people slain, he soon came in person to submit. The army, having ravaged other parts of the country, went to encamp in the true ancient Georgia; from whence at length removing, they crossed the Kûr, laden with spoils. Advice being received that king Ghûrghin was in the town of Swanit, the emperor marched thither with one half of his army; but the king, not daring to wait his coming, fled towards Abkhâz. The troops carried Swanit at the first assault; and then went in pursuit of Ghûrghin; but that prince, crossing the rivers Aygar and Korlan (H), had the good fortune to escape.

The king of Georgia, seeing himself reduced to the last *The king extremity, by protecting prince Tâher, obliged him to re-submits.* tire, to his father, in the Othmân dominions; and then sent an ambassador to implore Timûr's clemency, with a promise, on oath, to pay the annual tribute, and send any number of forces into his service. The emperor, on those conditions, withdrew from his country, and marched towards the territories subject to Ayvâni, one of the most powerful sovereigns of Georgia. As there was no army to oppose them, the soldiers dispersed themselves, ruining the towns and castles, and destroying every thing with fire and sword. They ravaged in the same manner the country and people of Kara Kalkânlik, who were armed with black bucklers, and had good horsemen. Timûr was now disposed to set out on his return; but receiving advice that the enemy had assembled again in Farasgherd, in Georgia, he marched thither; and, in five days, made himself master of seven fortresses, which he razed, after having slain an infinite number of the infidels. Then he returned to Menkûl, where ambassadors arrived from an European prince, to make an alliance with him. They brought with them the son of amîr Morâd, or Amurath, the Othmân emperor, whom they had taken prisoner. Timûr received them with great courtesy, granted them what they desired, and, having given them rich vests, dismissed them, to return by way of Trebizond ^p.

^o Hist. Tim. Bek. p. 130—139. cap. 7, 8. ^p Idem ibid. p. 139—145. cap. 9—12.

(H) Rivers of Kapshâk (or Kipjâk). La Croix.

S E C T. II.

Timûr overthrows Bayezîd, and reduces Georgia. Dies on his March to conquer China.

Timûr offendes,

DURING the two months that Timûr encamped in Menkûl, he prepared to march against Bayezîd, surnamed Ildrîm, or the *Thunderer*. This prince had not only taken Siwâs and Malatiya, from princes in friendship with Timûr, but had summoned Tahârten, though he knew him to be under the emperor's protection, to come to his court, and to send the tributes of Arzenjân, Arzerûm, and their dependencies, to his treasury. Of this demand Tahârten sent advice to Timûr; who thereupon wrote a letter, exhorting Bayezîd to keep within his own bounds: but as that letter contained many reproachful expressions, the Othmân told the envoys, that he had long desired to have a war with their master; and that, if Timûr did not advance against him, he would go seek Timûr, and drive him beyond Tauris.

marches against Bayezid.

The emperor, on the return of his envoys, immediately marched towards Anatolia. At Avenîk, or Vân, he was met by the amîr Allahdâd, who brought with him, from Shîrâz, the mîrza Pîr Mehemed, bound like a criminal. Timûr ordered that the mîrza should be examined, in a council of war, and punished according to his deserts. He was sentenced to receive the bastinado, according to the yasa, or laws of Jenghîz Khân; and, having undergone that punishment, his chains were taken off, and he was released. By the same laws, the sheykh Zâde Ferîd, and Mobârek Koja, were put to death, for having corrupted the mîrza, and taught him magic. After having made this example, the emperor marched forward, at the head of his army; and, on his arrival at Arzerûm, was saluted by Tahârten, prince of Arzenjân. September 1, he entered the country of the Othmâns, and attacked Siwâs; but as we intend to give a circumstantial account of this war, in our history of the Othmâns, we shall only slightly touch on those transactions in this place ⁹.

Takes Siwâs.

Siwâs, or Sebaste, a noble as well as strong city, submitted, after eighteen days siege, to Timûr; who ordered four thousand Armenian cavalry to be buried alive, and

⁹ Hist. Tim. Bek. p. 145—152, cap. 13—15.

the walls to be razed, for an example to other places. He then sent troops in pursuit of sultân Ahmed, who had entered Anatolia, and detached others, under the mîrza Shâh Rûkh, to destroy the Turkman robbers of Abûleştân, in Zulkâderia. The sultân and Kara Yusef escaped, with the loss of their baggage, and a sultâna; but the robbers were cut to pieces. He afterwards marched against Malatiyah, which he took in one day, the governor and his party flying at his approach. Then he sent out detachments, on all sides, to ruin the country of Malatiyah. Thus the frontiers of Anatolia and Syria were, in a short time, brought in subjection; and as the sultân of Egypt had offended Timur, he resolved to invade his dominions, before he proceeded any farther against Bayezid, who had no army yet in the field.

Timur, in the year 795 (1393), after he had reduced *Invades* Baghdâd, having sent an ambassador to sultân Bârkok, *Syria*, then reigning in Egypt, this ambassador, on his arrival at Rahaba, on the Euphrates, was seized according to custom, and sent to Egypt; where, by the persuasions of sultân Ahmed, he was put to death. After this outrage, Kara Yusef having in battle taken prisoner Atîlmîsh Kuchin, Timur's governor of Avanik, while that monarch was in Kipjâk, sent him to Bârkok, who confined him in prison, and continued his hostilities against the Jagatays. The emperor being now on the borders of Malatiyah, sent a letter to Farrûj, who had succeeded Bârkok, to demand Atîlmîsh: but Farrûj, after his father's example, ordered the ambassador to be imprisoned at Halep, where he had been already stopped, as usual, till notice was given to the sultân of his arrival. Timur, enraged at this insult, resolved to be revenged; and although, at first, the amîrs besought him to disband his troops, who wanted repose, after so many fatigues, yet perceiving him to be firm, they applauded his resolution. They advanced to Behesna, and encamped on an eminence near the castle, which is in a defile where several torrents flow, built with very high and strong walls, on the ridge of a steep mountain¹.

While Timur was viewing the place, a great stone, *Takes An-* shot at him from an engine, fell near his tent, and rolled *tâp*. into it. He immediately ordered his troops, who had taken the lower town, to besiege the fortress, in the wall of which they soon made breaches with their engines, fap-

¹ Hist. Tim. Bek. p. 152—162, cap. 15—19.

ping them, at the same time, in other places. The governor Mokbel, seeing himself in this distress, sent to beg quarter. Timûr promised him his liberty; but said, he would take the place first, to shew, that though accounted impregnable, it was not capable to resist his arms. On the 7th of October, fire being set to the props, the towers began to fall; and the place was taken. The emperor not only spared Mokbel, but the whole garrison. The army then marched to Antâpa (or Antâp), a city, whose walls were built of stone, exceedingly strong; surrounded by a ditch thirty cubits deep, and near seventy wide, with a draw-bridge. When the Tatars arrived, they found only a few poor inhabitants left, who immediately opened the gates to Timûr, and put him possession of abundance of spoil, as well as ammunition.

In the mean time, Temûrtâsh, governor of Hâlep, having sent advice to Kayro, of the enemy's proceedings, the sultân sent orders for all the troops of Syria to march to that city. When they were united, Temûrtâsh assembled the chief commanders, to consult whether it were best to submit to a powerful prince, whose successes and conquests he displayed to advantage. The most experienced officers approved of submission; but the majority, and especially Shadûn, governor of Damascus, taxed him with cowardice; boasting, that the towns of Syria were not built of mud and brick, like those of the countries conquered by Timûr, but with solid stone; and that taking but a few men out of every village, which the registers reckoned to be sixty thousand, an army might be raised sufficient to withstand any force. While, therefore, it was resolved to defend Hâlep, Timûr advanced towards it. The two first days he marched six or seven leagues each; but afterwards ordered the army to move no more than half a league per day; so that in a whole week they proceeded but one day's journey, and that with great precaution. The Syrians, imputing the slowness of the enemy's march to fear, abandoned their first resolution of remaining in the town, and encamped in the open field.

Defeats the enemy.

On the 8th of November the army of Timûr arrived near Hâlep; and, the third day after, marched to attack the enemy in order of battle: every one had on a coat of mail, a cuirass, and helmet. The right wing was commanded by the mîrzas Mirân Shâh and Shâh Rûkh; and the van-guard by mîrza Abûbekr. Soltân Mahmûd led the left wing, whose van-guard was conducted by sultân Huzzayn. The main body was commanded by Timûr himself;

himself ; who had before him a rank of elephants, which served as a rampart, with towers on their backs, filled with archers, and flingers of wild-fire. The battle began by the light troops ; who rushed into the midst of the enemy's battalions, and either killed, or brought off some prisoners of rank. The right wing then attacked the left of the Syrians, which was routed by the valour of the mîrza Abûbekr. Their left wing likewise defeated the enemy's right, while the main body performed the like service. Hereupon Shadûn and Temûrtâsh fled into the city, followed by their troops, who dispersed : the major part took the road to Damascus ; but, being pursued only one horseman of all that great army escaped to carry the news to that city ⁹.

The disorder was so great in the chief street of Hâlep, *Takes the city.* and the gates were so crowded, that none could pass. Here was the greatest slaughter ever recorded ; for, to avoid the fury of the sword, the people flung themselves one upon another into the ditches. On the other hand, a single Jagatay with a pike, often ran three or four of the enemy through at one thrust, in the crowd at the gate : so that the dead bodies were piled upon one another, to the very plinth of the walls ; at length a passage was made over the ditch, upon those bodies, level with the draw-bridge. Other troops were employed in pillaging the enemy's camp. At length the whole army marched to the general assault, and entered the city, which they plundered of its great wealth, carrying away the women and children, horses and cattle.

Shadûn and Temûrtâsh had retired to the fortress, which *The castle surrenders.* was built on the ridge of a high steep rock, surrounded with a ditch thirty cubits wide, filled with water. As soon as the Jagatays had surrounded the ditch, they shot arrows so incessantly, that the besieged durst not appear on the walls ; while the miners, crossing the water in floats, began to work at the bottom of the mountain. Timûr wrote a letter to the two generals, exhorting them to save their lives, and surrender. This step they actually took, considering their desperate circumstances, and, being put in irons, with other chiefs, and one thousand soldiers, Timûr sent one of them to acquaint the king of Egypt with their condition ; and that he must immediately send Aflîmîsh to him, if he would preserve their lives.

The emperor having stayed fifteen days at Halep, during which he distributed part of the immense wealth found in the city among his soldiers, and left the rest in charge with eight amirs, whom he appointed to govern this important place, he resumed his march, in order to prosecute his conquests in Syria. He had sent before the mîrzas Pîr Mehemed and Abûbekr towards the town of Hama, which they took, but could not reduce the castle; yet, on the appearance of the innumerable troops of Timûr, the garrison begged quarter; which was granted, but the spoil was given to the troops commanded by the two mîrzas. The emperor staid here twenty-two days; during which the amirs made another attempt to persuade him to desist; representing, that, for two years, they had been continually on the march, or in battle; and that the enemy's troops were in much better condition than their's. They therefore desired that they might go and repose themselves at Tripoli, on the sea-coast; so that, at the beginning of spring, they might be able to march with vigour against the Syrians.

Hems surrendered.

But Timûr would not listen to their remonstrance; alleging, that they ought not to give the enemy time to recover themselves. He therefore ordered them to march towards Hems, or Emeffa; and, as a great amîr was sent before to reconnoitre, he prevailed upon the inhabitants to submit, on promise of their lives and effects. Accordingly the principal men went out, loaden with presents, to meet Timûr; and received his protection. The emperor then continued his route towards Bâalbek; and, in the way, detached troops to pillage the coast of Saïd, or Sidon, and Barût. Bâalbek, notwithstanding the strength of its walls, was quickly reduced by the invincible Jagatays, who found it well stored with provisions. After its reduction they marched towards Damascus through snow and rain, in the month of January; and, having made one day's journey, Timûr halted to visit the tomb of the prophet Noah¹.

*Attempt of
assassins.*

Mean while Farruj, sultân of Egypt, to whom Syria belonged, raised a great army, chiefly of cavalry, which were the best in the world; and marched to Damascus, which he put in a good posture of defence: but relying more on policy than strength, he sent to Timûr an eloquent orator, in quality of ambassador; who, the better to cover his intentions, assumed a religious habit. He was accompanied by two assassins, who had orders to mur-

¹ Hist.-Tim. Bek, p. 172—181. cap. 21—24.

der the emperor during the ambassador's audience. When Timûr approached Damascus, those villains joined the court, and were admitted to pay their compliments. They had thus several favourable opportunities, of which, however, they did not avail themselves, to execute their design: however, Koja Massâûd Semnâni, one of the great secretaries of the council, suspected, by their behaviour, that they had some evil intention. This suspicion being communicated by a third person to Timûr, he ordered them to be searched; and poisoned daggers were found in their boots. The chief of the conspirators, perceiving their plot discovered, confessed the truth; and was, by the emperor's order, slain with the same dagger which was found about him, and his body burnt. The two assassins were deprived of their noses and ears, to be sent in that condition, with a letter to the sultân of Egypt.

Timûr, arriving at Kobey Seyâr, ordered Shadûn, and *Farruj* the other prisoners, brought from Hâlep, to be put to *feigns sub-mission.* death, that he might be revenged on *Farruj*. The same night was rendered remarkable by a very extraordinary incident: the mîrza sultân Hussayn, after a debauch, was excited by some of his companions, to revolt against his grandfather: accordingly he repaired to Damascus, and listed himself in the Syrian service. This adventure was very agreeable to the enemy; and *Farruj*, through policy, treated him with all possible respect. Next day the army encamped towards the south-side of the city; and fortified the camp with a ditch and rampart. Timûr sent a letter to the sultân, to demand Atîlmîsh; and offer peace, on condition that he would cause money to be coined in the emperor's name, and his name to be read in the public prayers. The ambassador was received with great honour; and, being dismissed, was followed by several lords, who, from *Farruj*, promised obedience to Timûr, and to send Atîlmîsh to his court within five days.

Timûr, believing these lords to be sincere, received them kindly, presented them with vests; but he was soon undeceived: in a few days after this negotiation, having ordered his army to remove their camp to Gautha (I), that the horses might have plenty of forage: they had no sooner begun to move, than the whole army of Syria fell out of Damascus, imagining that this march eastward

(I) A great plain to the east of Damascus, where there is a very large lake; into which the rivers watering that city fall in an united stream.

proceeded

proceeded from fear, and an intention to fly. They thought so numerous an army could not decamp without falling into some disorder; and that, if they took the opportunity to attack their rear, they could not fail of obtaining the victory. With these hopes, the soldiers, being joined by prodigious numbers of the populace, armed with swords, sticks, or stones, fell on the rear of the Tatars; who, facing about, secured their front with the bales of baggage. When the whole army was ranged in order, Timûr sent to the mîrzas Mirân Shâh, Shâh Rûkh, and Abûbekr, who commanded the right-wing, to attack the enemy on one side, while the amîrs of the left-wing pressed them on the other. As the two wings, supported by the main body, fell furiously on the Syrians, they were defeated, after an obstinate battle, and repulsed to the gates of Damascus, with incredible slaughter ^u.

Defeated and fled.

This signal victory was gained January 19th, 1400. During the heat of the battle, one of Shâh Rûkh's officers fell in with the mîrza sultân Hussayn, who commanded the left wing of the Syrians; and, having seized his horse's bridle, brought him to his master, who sent notice to Timûr. The emperor ordered him to be put in prison, and loaded with chains: but he was soon delivered, through the intercession of Shâh Rûkh; yet not till he had received the bastinado, according to the yasa; and an order never to enter the hall of the emperor. Next day Timûr ordered the army to march towards the city in order of battle, with the elephants at their head, to strike terror into the inhabitants; and it is remarkable, that, from the end of the right-wing to the extremity of the left, it took up between three and four leagues of ground. The sultân, in this emergency, held a council; wherein it being agreed he should return to Egypt, and leave the soldiers to defend the city, with the inhabitants, he sent an ambassador to excuse what happened the day before, as a popular sedition; and promised, that, if his imperial majesty would grant a cessation of arms for the present day only, he would next morning execute whatever he should command.

Damascus besieged with great vigour.

The emperor, in consequence of this message, ordered his army to return, and encamp a second time; but, in the night, Farruj, accompanied by the principal lords of his court, departed from Damascus. This flight being discovered by a Tatar deserter, Timûr sent after him a strong body of horse; who overtook the sultân, and slew

^u Hist. Beck. p. 181—189. cap. 24—25.

several of his attendants. Next day he ordered the city to be invested by his whole army. This measure so terrified the inhabitants, that the sharifs, kâdis, and other men of the law, opened the gates; and, going to the camp, agreed to pay a ransom for their lives. The city being thus yielded, the Tatars invested the castle, which was one of the strongest fortresses in the world. The soldiers having raised three platforms high enough to command the city, the battering-rams, and engines began to play; while the miners, after the ditch was drained, sapped the walls on every side, notwithstanding the great stones and wild fire showered down on them by the besieged. At length the famous tower of Tarma fell, and made a great breach; but as the soldiers ran to enter this breach, on a sudden another part of the wall tumbled down, and crushing fourscore of them, so damped the ardour of the rest, that they would advance no farther.

The besieged, taking advantage of this respite, fortified themselves behind it; but, great part of the castle falling soon after, they lost all hopes: so that Yezdar the governor caused the gate to be opened, and carried the keys himself to Timur; who ordered him to be put to death, for having held out so long. They found in the castle abundance of riches. The garrison, consisting mostly of Cherkassians, Habahans, Zenji, and Mamlûks, together with the citizens, were made slaves. Timur, observing with indignation, that, while Damascus abounded with fine edifices, the tombs of Omma Selma and Omma Habbâbâ were neglected, ordered two magnificent marble domes to be built over them, adorned with several works in sculpture. He likewise caused gold and silver to be coined instead of the Syrian money, which consisted of base metal; and sent troops to ravage the sea-coast about the city of Akkia^w or Akka.

During these transactions, Timur was attacked with a dangerous imposthume in his back, which however, in a little time, was cured. This Tartar conqueror, having one day inveighed in council against the Syrians, as the enemies of Ali, the army seemed to be instantaneously infected with the fanaticism of their general. Thus impelled, the soldiers on the 28th of March, 1401, broke into the city without orders, and made a terrible slaughter, enslaved the rest of the inhabitants, and seized their effects. The riches were so immense, that the beasts they had taken between Siwâs and Damascus not being sufficient to

Hejra 803.
A.D. 1401.

Dreadful
massacre.

^w Hist. Tim. Bek. p. 189—198. cap. 25—27.

carry them off, they were obliged to fling away great part, such as gold and silver brocades, and curious belts of Egypt and Cyprus.

The city burnt.

As the two upper stories of the houses of Damascus are of wood, and most of the ceilings, as well as walls, are varnished, next day the city took fire by accident, and was reduced to ashes. Timûr, at length resolving to return out of Syria, ordered all the slaves taken in that country, as well as Damascus, to be set at liberty. He then began his march, and sent for the mîrza Mehemed Soltân from the frontiers of Mogulestân, to invest him with the empire of Hûlâkû, which he deserved for his merit. When he arrived at Hems, he sent the mîrzas Rûstem and Abûbekr, with ten thousand horse, to the city of Tadmor, the houses of which are of free-stone, to pillage the subjects of Zulkâder, in its neighbourhood. The mîrza Soltân Huzzayn, at the head of five thousand horse, marched to Antioch; and the mîrza Kalil Soltân, with fifteen thousand horse, was detached against the Turkmâns of Kubek, who were encamped on the Euphrates.

Turkmâns spoiled.

The first detachment having obliged the Zulkâderians to fly into Arabia, and brought away two hundred thousand sheep, proceeded to the Euphrates. The second party pillaged the city and country of Antioch; then, joining the third at Hâlep, marched towards Kalâto'r'rûm, and the Euphrates. Here, meeting the Turkmâns, they were vigorously attacked; but the sheykh Huzzayn, son of Kubek, their leader, being slain, his brothers fled with the rest of those people, who left a great booty of cattle. Meanwhile Timûr continued his march. When he came to Hamâh, he ordered the town to be pillaged, the houses plundered, and the inhabitants made slaves; to punish them for destroying the edifices which the Jagatays had built at their first arrival. The walls likewise of the castle of Hâlep were razed, and the houses burnt, by the amîrs, who then joined the imperial army, which in four days marched to the Euphrates, where it was met by the other detachments. As the mîrza sultân Huzzayn performed several brave actions in this expedition, he obtained pardon for his former misconduct, and was received into favour.

Eir and Roha yield.

The army crossed the river, by swimming, opposite the city of Bîr; from whence two boats were sent to carry over the baggage of the emperor, who confirmed the governor in his post. Here Kara Ozmân, governor of Ma-latîya, arrived also, and was graciously received.

After

After Timûr's departure from hence he had an inclination to hunt in Mesopotamia : hereupon a circle was made by the two wings, five days journey in circuit, of which the fountain of Râso'l Ayn was the centre ; where they found such abundance of game, that they took them with their hands. The hunt concluded with a feast ; in which they fed on antelopes and roebucks, whose flesh is very tender, and the best of all the animals of the desert. In their passage, the inhabitants of Roha, or Orfa, came out with presents, and were kindly treated ; but a castle beyond it was razed ; and the Armenian robbers, who held it, cut to pieces. Timûr having hunted in Mesopotamia, and freed the country from robbers, advanced to Mardîn ; whither the sultans of Husnî Keyfa and Arzina, and other lords in those quarters, came to salute the emperor : only the sultan of Mardîn, who had been set at liberty and restored by Timûr, not having followed the army into Syria with his troops, or sent any of his brothers on that duty, durst not come. Timûr, however, kindly asked after him, and sent for him in very obliging terms ; but he refused to comply, confiding in the strength of the place. And, as the emperor was sensible it would require a long siege to reduce it, he was contented to ruin and burn all the houses of the lower town ; at the same time ordering Kara Ozmân to block up the fortress so closely, that not a man might escape ^x.

Mardîn
revolts.

Timûr, having sent the amîr Allâhdâd to take care of the frontiers of Jetah, departed from Mardîn. He afterwards detached the mîrzas Soltân Huffayn, Pîr Mehemed, Omar Sheykh, and Abûbekr, with a great body of the army, to Alenjîk ; with orders to take that fortress, and march into Georgia ; but as they had heard at Vân, that Alenjîk, after two years siege, had been forced by famine to surrender, they turned off towards the right for Georgia ; and made such haste, that they surprised the inhabitants, and ravaged their country. Mâlek Gûrghîn sent to acquaint the mîrzas, that he was surprised at this invasion, seeing he was one of the emperor's most faithful servants ; and that, as soon as his highness should come into those parts, he would not fail to pay obedience to him in person. Upon this intimation the mîrzas ceased ravaging his country ; and sent to know if Timûr would grant that king quarter, waiting at Menkul the return of the courier.

Alenjîk re-
duced.

Georgia
invaded.

^x Hist. Tim. Bek, p. 198—208. cap. 27—30.

*Baghdâd
besieged.*

At the same time the sultân Mahmûd Khân and the mîrza Rûstem, with several amîrs at the head of their to-mâns, according to orders, set out for Baghdad. Where, as soon as they arrived, Farruj, of the Jalayr tribe of Mungls, who was governor, supported by great multitudes of Turks and Arabs, made a sally. He was joined by several princes and amîrs of Irâk Arabî; from the East, came the amîrs Ali Kalânder, of Mendeli, and Jân Ahmed Bakâ; from the West, Farrukshâh, of Hilleh or Hella, and Mikail, of Sîb, with three thousand men. The mîrza Rûstem immediately took horse, with his troops, and, surrounding the enemy, repulsed them as far as the Tigris, where a bloody battle ensued. Jân Ahmed was slain, with many of the bravest soldiers, and others drowned in the river. Notwithstanding this defeat, Farruj would not surrender, pretending that sultân Ahmed ordered him to deliver up the city to Timûr, if he came in person, but not else. Of this particular the amîrs sent advice to the emperor; after the submission of Nisibîn, having passed the Tigris at Musel, in his way to Tauris, immediately set out for Baghdad, accompanied by the bravest men in his army. As soon as he arrived at that city, he encamped at the lower part of the river, opposite to the gate called Kariet Ulakab; and his troops, surrounding the walls, though two leagues in compass, began to sap them without farther delay.

*Its vi-
gorous de-
fence.*

He caused a bridge of boats to be laid across the Tigris, below Kariet Ulakab; and took all necessary precautions to block up all the passes with his troops; in short, it was so inclosed on all sides, that although the river ran through the middle of it, and was covered with boats, yet it was impossible for any body to get out. In the interim, Farruj, and the inhabitants, through despair, performed actions which almost exceeded belief. As soon as the Tatars made a breach by sapping, the besieged immediately repaired it with mortar and brick. The heat was now so violent, that the birds fell down dead, and the soldiers melted like wax under their cuirasses; nevertheless, they raised a platform which commanded the city, from whence they incessantly threw stones with their engines.

*Taken by
assault.*

The amîrs had often begged leave to make a general assault; but Timûr delayed it, in hope the enemy would submit; but at the end of forty days, on the 23d of July, when the inhabitants were forced, by the heat of the sun, to quit the walls, and retire to their houses, the army advanced

vanced furiously to the walls ; and, having fixed their scaling-ladders, the amîr Sheykh Nûro'ddîn mounted first : then, sounding the drums and trumpets, all the commanders followed, and the troops entered sword in hand. The inhabitants, endeavouring in vain to avoid the sword, cast themselves into the Tigris. Many entered boats, and others swam down the river ; but no sooner reached the bridge, than they were shot by soldiers placed in ambush. Farruj found means to escape by water, with his daughter ; but being closely pursued, he threw himself and her into the river, where they were both drowned ^y.

As several Tatars had been slain in the assault, each soldier was ordered to bring one head of the men of Baghdâd ; in executing which command, they spared neither old men of fourscore, nor children of eight years old : the number of the dead was so great, that the officers could not count them ; and they made towers of their heads. Although no quarter was given to either rich or poor, yet some learned men found means to get access to Timûr ; who pardoned them, gave them vests, and a convoy to places of safety. The markets, karawânsarays, monasteries, palaces, and all other buildings, were razed, excepting mosques, colleges, and hospitals. The air being infected with the stench of the dead bodies, the camp was removed to the upper part of the river, near the tomb of the great imâm Abû Hanîfah, chief of the four orthodox sects among the Mohammedans, whose intercession Timûr implored. From this place he ordered sultân Mahmûd Khân and the mîrza Kalil Soltân to make inroads in the neighbouring places.

Timûr took the road to Shehrezûr and Kâlghi, leaving the main body to come after with the baggage. As, in this march, the Kûrds attacked all the stragglers, the emperor placed soldiers in ambush near the roads ; who falling out as soon as those robbers appeared, seized, and hanged them on the chesnut-trees which grew in the highways. At the river Jagatû, the empress Saray Mulk Khanûm, and other wives of the mîrzas, with their children, met the emperor ; and at Akziaret the sharifs, doctors, and principal lords of Irân, came to pay him their respects. Having passed Ujûn (I), and encamped at Hesht

^y Hist. Tim. Eek. p. 203—215. cap. 30—32.

(I) A town of Azerbejân, near Tauris. La Croix. — Herbert calls it Ojone.

Rhûd, or the *Eight Rivers*, he received advice that Bâyezîd had taken Arzenjân from Tahârten, and was marching towards the East. Alarmed at this intelligence, Timûr ordered the troops who were at Menkûl in Georgia to join the mîrza Shâh Rûkh at Avenîk, or Vân, and oppose the Othmâns; but a messenger arriving from Tahârten, with advice that Bayezîd desired peace, and would make him satisfaction, the mîrza sent notice to court, and waited for an answer.

Affairs of Georgia.

Timûr arriving at Tauris, continued his march towards Georgia; and, at Kom-tûpa, ordered the Koja Ismael Kavâsi to be hanged before the market-place of the camp, for the tyrannies he had exercised over the people. He afterwards crossed the Arâs, and encamped at Nakhshivân; from whence he went to see the castle of Alenjîk, which is near that city. About this time Tahârten arrived at court with a letter from Bâyezîd; and, by this intercession, obtained pardon for the Othmân. Here being joined by Shâh Rûkh, and the other mîrzas, with their troops, the army marched to the defile of Shâhbûz, and entered the mountains. They passed by Gheukchey Tonkez to Shemkûr, a town of Georgia; whither the commissary, sent to Mâlek Ghûrghîn, returned with that prince's brother, who brought the tribute, and rich presents; promising, in the king's name, due obedience, and to keep troops always ready for the emperor's service. The prince being dismissed with orders for Mâlek to send an army immediately to join the imperial troops, Timûr removed his camp to Karawl Topâ; from whence, marching by Ghenjeh and Berdâa, he came, the 12th of December, to Karabâh Arrân, where he wintered. Here ambassadors arriving from Kipjâk, to assure the emperor of the khân's obedience, diverted him from his intended expedition into that country. Here also the mîrza Mehemed Soltân came from Samarkand, and was received with great honour, his father placing a crown of gold upon his head. He brought with him the mîrza Eskânder in chains; who, having been convicted before the divân, received the bastinado; but at length his fetters were taken off, and he was set at liberty².

Soltân Ahmed flies.

As soon as Soltân Ahmed heard that Timûr had left Baghdâd, he returned thither, with a design to rebuild that city; but the emperor being informed of this circumstance, sent four bodies of troops, under the mîrzas, by

different roads, to ravage the country, and frustrate his design. One detachment, passing through the country of the Kûrds, put an infinite number to the sword. The mîrza Abûbekr arrived at Bâghdâd so suddenly, that the sultân, with his son Taher, and some officers, crossing the Tigris in a boat, fled to Hilleh, whither he was closely pursued; but, by breaking the bridge behind him, escaped into the isles of Khâled and Mâlek in the Euphrates. Another detachment pillaged Mendelli, and defeated the governor Ali Kalânder: while a fourth advanced to Wâset (on the Tigris), and plundered the Arabs of Abbâdân, from whom they took a considerable spoil in horses and camels. When winter was over, all the troops joined about twelve leagues from Bâghdâd, and marched together to the imperial camp.

Bâyezîd having given protection to Kara Yûsef, who had begun again to rob passengers, and even insulted the karawân of Mecca, Timûr resolved to make war on him: but, as the inhabitants of Anatolia, who had already experienced this monarch's power, represented the destruction which would attend the arms of so formidable an enemy, the sultân sent ambassadors to Karabâgh, with a letter, asking pardon for what was passed, and promising obedience for the future. Timûr, unwilling to molest a prince who was at war with the infidels of Europe, told them, that he would forbear hostilities, provided their master would either put Kara Yûsef to death, send him to the Tatar camp, or expel him from his dominions. He treated them with peculiar marks of honour, and dismissed them, accompanied with an ambassador of his own; telling them, that he would march in spring to the borders of Anatolia, where he would wait for an answer, which would determine whether their master wished for peace or war.

When the winter was over, Timûr remained still in suspense whether he should march against Bâyezîd; in consideration, partly, that he so zealously maintained a religious war against infidels; and partly because the Ottomân empire abounded with valiant as well as martial troops. On the other hand, the Jagatays being greatly fatigued with service, the amîrs endeavoured to dissuade Timûr from the expedition; alledging, among other reasons, that in the campaign against the Othmâns, there appeared in the heavens, according to the astrologers, an inevitable misfortune attending the Jagatayan army.

Ambassadors from Bâyezîd.

*Hejra 804.
A.D. 1402.*

Consults the
Astrologers.

The emperor, upon this intimation, sent for Mûlâna Abdo'llah Lefân, one of the most famous court-astrologers; and ordered him to declare what the different aspects of the heavens portended. Abdo'llah, being without all doubt tutored for the purpose, declared, that by the ephemerides of the present year, the ascendant of the empire was in the highest degree of strength, and that of the enemy in the lowest degree of weakness. He predicted that a comet would appear in Aries; and an army from the East would make an entire conquest of Anatolia, the prince of which would be taken prisoner. All objections being thus removed, Timûr, in the end of April, moved from Karabâgh; and, by way of Berdaa and Ghengjeh, arrived at Shemkûr; from whence he marched towards Alatâk. Having passed by Tabadâr, on the borders of Georgia, he entered the plains of Menkûl; from which place he sent a second ambassador, with a letter, to Bâyezîd, importing, that in case the sultân consented to what he had desired, and would deliver up the fortress of Kemak, which had been always subject to the countries under the obedience of Timûr, he would not interrupt his wars against the infidels, but even succour him with his troops ^a.

Marches
towards
Anatolia.

He remained at Avenîk (or Vân) for the return of his ambassadors sent to Bâyezîd: but finding all his endeavours to preserve Anatolia were frustrated, he continued his march towards that country. At Arzerûm, the mîrza Mehemed Soltân begged leave to go and conquer the castle of Kemak, a request which his father granted; and, when he arrived at Arzenjân, he sent the mîrzas Abûbekr, Kâlîl Soltân, Soltân Hussayn, and Eskânder, with more troops, to his assistance in the siege. The castle of Kemâk is one of the most noted in all Asia; situated on a high steep rock, and surrounded with a defile in form of a labyrinth. At the bottom of its walls are gardens and parterres of flowers, on the bank of the Euphrates; and no prince had hitherto ever taken it by force.

The troops, having invested this fortress, prosecuted their operations with great vigour during ten days, in which they cut off the water that supplied the place. At length it was taken by scalade, and Timûr bestowed the government of it upon Tahârten, as it was no more than seven leagues from Arzenjân ^b.

^a Hist. Tim. Bek, lib. v. p. 228—238. cap. 37—41.
p. 238—242. cap. 42, & seq.

^b Ibid.

The emperor proceeding on his march, was, at Siwâs, *Defeats and takes Bâyezid.* or Sebaste, joined by his ambassador, with two others from Bâyezid; whose answer was so unsatisfactory, that the emperor refused their presents, and commanded them to tell their master he must prepare for war. Having reviewed his army, he departed from Siwâs; and, sending troops to take the castle of Harûk, marched towards Kayfarîya, or Cæfarea, in Cappadocia, to whose inhabitants he gave quarter; and then set out for Ankora, to meet Bâyezid, who was advancing on that side. The amîr Shâh Mâlek, who was sent before to get intelligence, with a thousand horse, lay in ambuscade, to surprise the Othmân's scouts, and defeated them. Bâyezid's son, on the other hand, formed an ambuscade near the camp of Timûr, but without effect. The emperor arriving at Ankora, laid siege to it; but, on advice that Bâyezid was approaching, he ordered the army to relinquish that enterprise, and march toward the enemy. Next day, being the first of July, the two armies met, and came to an engagement, the particulars of which we reserve for our history of the Othmân Turks. We shall only observe in this place, that Timur gained the victory; and Bâyezid was taken prisoner, with his son Mûssa, who were treated with great respect ^e.

Upon this great defeat Ankora submitted; and Timûr *Ankora surrenders.* sent the mîrza Mehemed Soltân towards Prusa, to seize the treasures of Bâyezid, and other riches of that city. While the mîrza Eskânder was detached to Koniya (Kogni, or Iconium), Akshâhr, Karahissar, Satalia, and other places, the mîrza Shâh Rûkh advanced to Ghulhissar, and Timûr himself marched to Khyutachia; from whence he sent out detachments towards other cities, to ravage all the country of Anatolia, while he entertained his court and great officers with feasts and rejoicings. Although the mîrza Mehemed Soltân made the greatest haste to Prusa; *Prusa taken.* yet Mussulman Chelebi had got the start of him, and carried off the treasures: the principal inhabitants also fled different ways, but were pursued and brought back. Bâyezid's wife and two daughters were taken at Yenishahr; as was likewise the daughter of Soltân Ahmed, king of Bâghdâd, whom Bâyezid had demanded in marriage for his son Mostafa. The mîrza seized on what treasure had been left at Prusa, consisting of plate and rich furniture; the

^e Hist. Tim. Bek, lib. v. p. 242—257. cap. 43—49.

rest of the pillage was given to the soldiers, who, after plundering the houses, set them on fire.

*Nice pil-
loged.*

The mîrza Abûbekr took and pillaged Nice : he also reduced the whole country. Then, marching with the mîrza Mehemed Soltân to Yenishâhr, married Bâyezîd's eldest daughter. Mean while, the mîrza Soltân Huffayn reduced Akshâhr and Karayser (or Karahissar), plundering the towns as far as Konîyah ; while others ravaged the province of Aydîn, and the sea-coast. Timûr generously sent to Bâyezîd his wife Destina ; and restored the amîr Mehemed, son of Karamân, who had been twelve years kept in chains by Bâyezîd, to the government of all Karamânia. Having stayed a month at Kyûtahîya, he prosecuted his march towards Tangûzlik. In the way, he issued out a severe order, that the brave Sainte Maure and his brother Morâd should be put to death, for several crimes they had committed, with his son, and other brothers : Koja Firûz, prince of Isra Yaka (K), was treated in the same manner. At the same time feasts were prepared ; to which Bâyezîd was invited, and treated with great honour : as a farther consolation, Timûr conferred on him, by patent, the kingdom of Anatolia, and ordered the crown to be placed on his head ^a.

*Egypt and
Turkey
threatened.*

In the month of October, the emperor sent an ambassador to Farruj, sultân of Egypt, with a letter, threatening to march to Kayro, unless he would coin money with Timûr's impress, cause the kotbah to be made in his name, and send Atîlmîsh to him without delay. Two other ambassadors were sent to the tekhûr, or Greek emperor, to summon him to pay tribute, and the customs : messengers were likewise dispatched to Muffulman Chelebi, who had fled to Isra Yaka, and resided at Ghuzelhissar, which his father had built above Constantinople, threatening to send over the army, if he did not repair to court, or at least lend Timûr money. The ambassadors, sent to the Greek emperor, returned with two others, to make his submission, and agree to pay the imposed tribute. At Bûlûk he was overtaken by the messengers sent to Muffulmân Chelebi, and an ambassador, with a letter from that prince, promising to come and throw himself at Timûr's feet. About this time advice was brought, that sultân Mohammed Khân, titular emperor of Jagatay, who, by Timûr's

^a Hist. Tim. Bek, lib. v. p. 258—267. cap. 50—53.

(K) That is, Turkey in Europe. La Croix.

order,

order, was gone to make inroads, had died of a violent distemper, at Kechik Bûrlûgh (in Ghermian-ili); at which news Timûr was very much afflicted.

Mean time Kechil Bûrlûgh, Akyaka, and Satala, situated on the sea-coast, were ravaged. Afterwards the provinces of Mentesha and Teke-ili were ruined, by the amirs sent for that purpose, who returned to court loaden with booty. During the autumn, the emperor lay encamped at Tangûzlik; where his army suffered by an epidemic distemper, arising from the use of bad water. Timûr, having settled the winter-quarters for his troops, sent the mîrza Mehemed Soltân to Magnasiah, in the province of Serhan-ili (or Sarûkhân), and Shâh Rûkh to quarter in the province of Ghermian-ili, between Olûg Bûrlûgh and Kechik Bûrlûgh. The emperor himself marched to Dûgûrlik; and, having crossed the Menduras, proceeded to Ghuzelhissar (L); from thence he advanced to Ayâzlik; then to Tira, one of the most noted cities of Anatolia, whose inhabitants, like those of other places, were obliged to ransom their lives.

Being informed at this place, that, on the sea-coast, there were two exceeding strong fortresses, named Ezmîr (or Smyrna), one possessed by Christians, the other by Mohammedans, who were incessantly at war with each other, on account of their religion, he thought it his duty to extirpate the enemies of the Musulmans. With this view he sent the mîrza Pîr Mehemed, son of Omar Sheykh, to summon the Christian Ezmîr to embrace the faith; but, on intelligence of his approach, Mahmûs the governor requesting assistance of all the European princes, soon assembled a considerable force. Timûr, being informed of this circumstance, marched in person to attack the place; and, having been joined by all his troops, laid siege to it in form. The place being taken, the inhabitants were put to the sword, excepting a few, who swam to the ships in the road; and all the houses demolished.

During these transactions, ambassadors arrived again from Musulman Chelebi, and from Isa Chelebi, another of Bâyezid's sons, promising the most implicit obedience; with whose misfortunes the emperor was much affected. Foja, another Christian castle, a day's journey distant from Ezmîr, submitted on sight of the troops of Timûr;

Hejra 805.
A D. 1403.

Foja and
Kho yield.

• Hist. Tim. Bek, lib. v. cap. 54—57. p. 267—278.

* (L) This is the same with Magnesia, on the Meander; the same as Menduras in the text, by others called Madre.

who afterwards, having furnished the Mussulmans, who inhabited the other castle of Ezmîr, with arms to repulse the enemy, went to encamp at Ayâzlik. There Soba, a European prince of the island Khio, sent an ambassador to Timûr, offering submission, and to pay tribute; upon which he was taken into the emperor's protection. From Tangûzlik the army marched to Soltân Hisfar^f; where Timûr gave the cities of Khyûtahia, Tangûzlik, and Karashâr, with the province of Ghermian-ili, to Yakûb Chelebi, who had fled from Bâyezîd to the emperor, and was the rightful heir. Ulug Bûrlûgh was attacked, and soon taken; and, as the amîr Jalâlo'l Islâm was slain before it, the men were all put to the sword, the women enslaved, and the place demolished. Here Timûr ordered the mîrza Mehemed Soltân to march by the road of Ankora, and re-join the camp at Kayfariya.

Other places taken.

Leaving Uluk Bûrlûgh, in two days and nights he reached Egridur, a city built with free-stone, in the province of Hamid-ili. It stands on the bank of a fresh-water lake, called by some Falak-abâd, five leagues long, and four broad. Three of its sides are surrounded by the lake, and the fourth by a mountain. In the midst of the lake are two isles, Ghûlistân and Nasibîn; in which last is situated a fortress, whither the neighbouring people had retired for safety with their effects. Both these were taken, and the inhabitants put to the sword. Thence the court marched to Akshâhr, where the amîr Mehemed Karamân came from Konîya to make his submission, and presented vast sums of silver to Timûr; in consideration of which he met with a gracious reception.

Death of Bâyezîd,

Bâyezîd fell sick, and died at this place; and Timûr bewailed his death with tears, having intended, after the conquest of Anatolia, to re-establish him on the throne. He presented his son Müssa Chelebi with a royal vest, a load of gold, and other rich effects, and then dismissed him; telling him, that his father should be buried with the greatest pomp. Mean while advice came, that the mîrza Mehemed Soltân had likewise fallen ill; and that, through the unskilfulness of his physician, he was become delirious. Timûr immediately departed from Akshâhr, for the place where his grandson lay sick; and found the mîrza speechless. He ordered him to be put in a litter, and departed: but in three days the prince died at Kara Hisfar, in the eighteenth year of his age, extremely regret-

and Mehemed Soltân.

^f Or Tralles.

ed by Timûr, on account of the heroic actions he had performed. His corpse was conveyed to Avenîk (or Vâñ); where being put in a new coffin, it was sent to be interred at Soltâniâ, in the prophet Kayder's tomb; from whence it was translated afterwards to Samarkand ^g.

Timûr's ambassadors, on their arrival at Kayro, met *Egypt* with a favourable reception from Farruj, surnamed *'Al-* *submits*. *mâleko'nnâfr*; who, having heard of Bâyezîd's defeat, thought it would be madness to refuse obedience to the conqueror; he therefore, by advice of his council, caused money to be coined, and prayers read, in Timûr's name; and sent Atîlmîsh back, with two ambassadors, and presents, to intercede for him. Timûr, being pleased with this submission, dismissed the ambassadors with a crown, mantle, and belt enriched with precious stones, for the sultân. Being then in the country of the Kara Tatars, he resolved to remove those people into Tartary. They are a nation of Turks, whom Hûlâkû brought with him into Irân; and, having experienced their malice, obliged them to reside on the borders of Anatolia and Syria: but, in the confusion which arose in Irân on the death of Abûsaïd Khân, they revolted; and, dividing themselves into fifty-two tribes, resolved to live independent. When Bâyezîd, after the death of Kâdhi Burhâno'ddîn, prince of Siwâs, became master of this kingdom, he enrolled them in the Othmân army, and gave them a settlement in his empire, where they grew exceeding rich and powerful.

As Timûr's design in removing them was to re-people Jetah, he treated their chiefs with great honour, and likewise made them presents, when they came to salute him: but, as there were between thirty and forty families, he ordered his army to surround the plains of Amasia and Kayfariâ, where they dwelt, that none might escape, and then sent for their chiefs; who being informed of his resolution to carry them back into Tartary, seemed readily to submit to his will; and, being distributed among his troops, began their march with them out of Anatolia. When Timûr arrived at Kayfariâ, the inhabitants, through fear, defended themselves against his troops; but, being overpowered, were all cut to pieces. From thence he went to Siwâs; where he conferred several honours on Kara Ozmân, and sent him back to his principality. At Arzenjân he was complimented by the faithful Tahârten, on whom he bestowed a royal vest. From thence he passed

*Kara Tatars trans-
planted.*

on to Arzerûm ; and at length reached Avénîk, where the empresses met him, clothed in black, for the death of the mîrza Mehemed Soltân ; which being now told to the princess Khân-zâdeh, she swooned away, and had almost run distracted.

After this excess of mourning, Timûr, for the repose of the deceased prince's soul, gave alms to the poor ; and provided a funeral banquet, where the sharîfs, doctors, grandees, and nobles of all Asia were assembled. They sat down, according to their rank, at the emperor's table : the Koran was read over several times. The banquet was served up by his majesty's stewards : the mîrza's brass drum was beaten ; the ladies, amîrs, and soldiers uttered a loud cry, and wept bitterly ; then the drum was broken to pieces, according to the custom of the Mungls ^h.

Enters Georgia.

Mâlek Ghûrghîn, king of Georgia, having neglected to come at the time appointed, to cast himself at Timûr's feet, and implore pardon, that monarch marched into his country ; and, at Menkûl, received the submission of Mâlek Issa (or Ayfa), prince of Mardîn, who, with his head uncovered, begged forgiveness on his knees. As this prince brought with him the tribute for several years past, and made abundance of presents, Timûr indulged him with a crown, a royal vest, and a belt set with precious stones. As an addition to those favours, his daughter was betrothed to the mîrza Abûbekr ; and thus he had the honour to be allied to the emperor.

Mirza Abûbekr sent against Kara Yûsef ;

In the neighbourhood of Menkûl, the emperor again invested the mîrza Pîr Mehemed, son of Omar Sheykh, in the government of Shîrâz, capital of Pârs, or Persia, then sent him away : and at the same time dispatched orders to the mîrza Rûstem, at Shîrâz, to repair to court. At Kansar, a place dependent on Jerbâdkhân, he received a packet from court, signifying that the emperor had given him the government of Ispâhân, capital of Persian Irâk ; with orders to rebuild the fortress of Ormiyân, at Urûjerd. When the court arrived at Kârs, Timûr invested the mîrza Abûbekr with the government of the province of Irâk Arabi, as far as Wâset, Basra, Kûrdestân, Mardin, Diyârbekr, and Oyrat. He gave him orders to restore Baghdâd, which had been destroyed ; also to exterminate all disturbers of the public peace ; and begin with Kara Yûsef the Turkmân, who had made himself master of Irâk Arabi.

^h Hist. Tim. Bek, lib. v. p. 289—299. cap. 62—65.

This prince, having fled from that province to avoid the troops of Timûr, repaired to Rûm, or Anatolia: but, when the Tatar army arrived at Kaysariya, in its march against Bâyezîd, he fled back again to Irâk; where he assembled all the Turkman tribes. Soltân Ahmed at the same time retired from Baghûdâd to his son sultân Tâher: but this prince being excited by his father's amîrs, who dreaded Ahmed, to revolt, he passed the bridge during the night, and encamped on this side of the river. When the sultân was informed of his defection, he broke down the bridge; and, marching along the river, halted in presence of the rebels. From thence he sent an express for Kara Yûsef; who having joined him, they passed the river together; and, coming to a battle, Tâher was vanquished, and fled: but endeavouring, with his armour on, to leap over a brook, he fell in and was drowned.

After this defeat, Tâher's troops dispersed; and sultân Ahmed, growing jealous of Kara Yûsef, returned to Baghûdâd; but this latter, coming soon after him from Hilleh with his army, took that city. The sultân hid himself; but was perceived by Kara Hassan, who helped him to escape during the night, carrying him on his shoulders to a place near five leagues distant; where, meeting a man with an ox, Ahmed mounted, and came with his deliverer to Takrît. Being here joined by several of his officers, he went to Damascus; while Kara Yûsef became peaceable possessor of Irâk Arabi. When the mîrza Abûbekr arrived at Arbela, he seized Abd'allah the governor, and other chiefs of the rebels; then, marching to Baghûdâd, went in pursuit of Kara Yûsef. Being joined by the mîrza Rûstem, from Urûjerd, with other amîrs and their troops, near Hilleh, they passed the Euphrates, and met the Turkman prince opposite to the town of Sîb, on the other side of Nâhro'lqânam; where, although he was entrenched with a numerous army, and the mirza had but three thousand men, this last resolved to attack him without delay.

On this occasion he divided his troops into two bodies, that they might assault him on both sides at once: then Rûstem crossed the water, and fell on the enemy with great resolution; while the mîrza Abûbekr acted with the same spirit on his side. The enemy made a vigorous defence; but at length were defeated. Kara Yûsef fled into Syria, with some of his domestics: but his subjects were plundered. His brother Yar Ali was shot in the battle, and had his head cut off; but his wife, the queen of the Turkmans, with the ladies of her court, and relations

*who takes
Baghûdâd.*

*Is defeated,
and flies.*

were

were taken prisoners. The mîrzas also vanquished Noayr, absolute sovereign of all the Arab tribes of the Desert; with several other princes in those parts, who, till that time, had never submitted to any conqueror. After this success, Abûbekr employed himself in rendering the country as flourishing as ever: he encouraged the people, obliged them to cultivate the lands; and caused the city of Baghdâd to be rebuilt ^k.

Georgia invaded, and cruelly ravaged.

In the mean time, Timûr, having decamped from the neighbourhood of Kârs, entered Georgia. Mâlek Ghûrghîn, surprised at this visit, sent ambassadors to court, with presents, signifying his obedience; and that he was ready, on the first order, to send either money or troops; would prostrate himself before the throne, and receive his orders as his slave. Timûr would not listen to what the ambassadors said, nor receive their presents. He told them, that the case of their master, who was a Christian, differed from that of the other princes, who were Mohammedans; and therefore, on the score of religion, more entitled to favour: that, if he desired life, he must immediately repair to court; and, if God should not give him grace to turn Mohammedan, the tribute of Karaj would be imposed upon him; nevertheless, he would leave him once more the government of his country, and suffer his subjects to live in peace: that the emperor of Constantinople, as a Christian, was on the same footing with him: in short, that if he came to court, he should be well received; but that, if he made the least difficulty of coming, none of his excuses should be accepted.

The ambassadors being dismissed, and the corn-harvest of the Georgians approaching, Timûr sent troops into their country, who expelled the inhabitants; and carried off all the corn and forage. The Georgians had fortified a very steep mountain provided with cisterns to preserve rain water. This fortress, called Kortene, was commanded by Trâl, a Georgian prince, who had under him thirty great oznawrs; and a strong garrison, well supplied with magazines.

Fortress of Kortene vigorously besieged.

Timur, apprised of the importance of this place, resolved to take it, notwithstanding the difficulties which might attend the siege. As soon as the imperial standard arrived before the castle, the inhabitants sent to offer Timûr presents and submission: but, finding they could not divert the storm, they declared war by a discharge of arrows and

ⁱ Hist. Bek, lib. vi. cap. 1, 2, 11. p. 299—305, 315, & seq.
stones.

down. The winter money taken the previous autumn, £1,200,000, was now paid into the till of the port, who agreed to build a military magazine in the village, which, as the inhabitants of all, he dedicated to the service of the Duke of Marlborough's army. Two other roads were likewise ordered to lead from town to different parts of him. In one the Duke general of Dragoons, mounted on horseback, accompanied the belligerent.

Henry remained in a place behind the fortifications, where he established a hospital, or barracks, of tents and sheds, to be built high enough to command the plain. This work being finished in a week, in the year 1704, a Major General in command of 2000 men, and the Duke of Marlborough, followed in marching successive, from town, to the camp. To get up over the plain, and then descend into the country, the Duke general of Dragoons, mounted on horseback, led the army, followed by the Duke of Marlborough, in a litter, followed by troops.

This was the day for the attack which had given an advantage of battle. The general advanced therefore with great confidence, and many were killed on both sides, but, as always, the sun was bright, and the troops covered the earth. The belligerent charged his general, as he advanced, and in the assault, or attack, were all beaten from the walls. The general Duke was beaten, and killed in the camp, with the whole general who were so distinguished by French, and other troops who followed him, but he made a present of Duke with a sharp sword, to the general of Dragoons.

The conqueror besieged the general of Dragoons, and the other brave men who at first entered the town. But, since Marlborough's Army, was of the established army of Marlborough, government of the place was easily got by him, the conqueror to gain any more honour in the neighbouring continental countries. He was however informed to conquer the place, and a military to build a fort in place of the old castle, instead of walls and towers, to prevent invasion, and invasion of the lands.

After the capture of Marlborough, General was George Augustus, which is the southern General of Germany, and the present King, having opened a road through the hills, he passed over the middle of the kingdom.

where he plundered seven hundred towns and villages, laying waste the cultivated lands, and razing the Christian monasteries and churches.

Peace granted.

Ghûrghîn being informed of this desolation of his country, by the lords who were slaves in Timûr's army, he sent ambassadors, offering to send all his riches to court, the annual tribute, and the troops which should be required. The amîrs, on their knees, intreated him to accept of these submissions: but his zeal for the continuation of the gâzi, or religious war, being implacable, they proposed the affair to the doctors of the law, and to the muftis; who unanimously declared, in the imperial council, that, since the Georgians consented to pay the tribute, and not to injure the Mussulmans, they were obliged, by their law, to grant them quarter, without doing them any farther harm, either by slaughter or pillage. Upon this sentence of the doctors, Timûr nodded to Sheykh Ibrâhîm king of Shîrwân, one of the intercessors, in token, that, in respect to him, he condescended to the request of king Ghûrghîn. The ambassadors, who were dismissed, between hope and fear, soon returned, and brought a thousand gold medals, struck in the name of Timûr, a thousand horses, a great quantity of gold and silver plate, with a balas ruby, of a beautiful colour, weighing eighteen medikals; they likewise obliged themselves, by oath, to pay the tribute^m.

Baylakan rebuilt.

Then Timûr decamped, in order to return; and, in a few days, arrived at Tefîs, having ruined all the churches and monasteries in the neighbourhood. When he had proceeded two days beyond the river Kûr, he resolved to march to Karabâgh, and rebuild the city of Baylakân (M), although the season was very cold and rainy, he began the work in winter, in which the soldiers, under the inspection of the mîrzas, and the amîrs, exerted themselves with such diligence, that the buildings of brick, were finished in a month. The circuit of the walls amounted to 2400 cubits, the thickness eleven, and height fifteen; the ditch was thirty cubits wide, and twenty deep. At each angle of the place was a great bastion; and in the middle of each curtain, a gallery, with battlements, and an engine to cast stones. Timûr gave the government of this new city to Bahrâm Shâh; and invested the Mîrza Kalîl Soltân with that of Baylakân, Berdaa, Ghenjeh, the country of Arrân,

^m Hist. Tim. Bek, vol. ii. p. 311—319. cap. 5—8.

(M) Called also Bilkân, and Pilkân.

Armenia, Georgia, and Trebizond. He likewise ordered a canal to be cut, six leagues in length, and fifteen cubits in breadth, to convey the water of the Arrâs into Baylakân: and this is one of the most magnificent monuments of his grandeur and power.

During Timûr's residence at this place, the principal lords of Irân and Turân came to court, where an assembly of the most learned men was held; and the emperor took great delight in hearing the chief questions of the law explained; with the distinction between positive commands, and those which contain only matter of advice. One day the conversation happening to fall upon the words of Mohammed, "That God orders princes to practise justice and beneficence;" Timûr asked the doctors, "How they came to neglect to tell him what he ought to do, and what he ought not to do?" they answered, "That his highness did not stand in need of their counsels; but, on the contrary, they might profit by imitating him." The emperor told them, he did not like that sort of compliment, which looked like flattery: adding, his meaning was, that, as they could not but be acquainted with the affairs of the provinces they came from, and the conduct of the several officers in authority, he expected they should inform him, whether they distributed justice or not, that he might remedy evils, and deliver the weak from oppression. The doctors in consequence of this declaration, having represented the condition of their respective provinces, Timûr chose the most experienced among them, and sent with each an intendant, vested with full power to make, or dispense with laws, for the better administration of justice. He likewise permitted them to restore, out of the treasury, what sums had been extorted from the poor people, and to punish the oppressors, in an exemplary manner. Then Timûr made this memorable speech, which was taken down by a lord, present at the assembly:

"My heart hath hitherto been set upon enlarging the limits of my vast empire: but now, I take up a resolution to use all my care in procuring peace and security to my subjects, and to render my kingdoms flourishing. It is my will, that private persons address their petitions and complaints immediately to myself: that they give me their advice, for the good of the Mussulmans, the glory of the faith, and the extirpation of the wicked disturbers of the public quiet. I am unwilling, at the day of judgement, that my poor oppressed subjects should cry out for vengeance against me. I am not desirous, that any of my brave

Timûr's vigilance over governors.

Remarkable speech.

soldiers, who have so often exposed their lives in my service, should complain against either me, or fortune; for their afflictions touch me to the heart. Let none of my subjects fear to come before me with their complaints; for my design is, that the world should become a paradise under my reign; knowing, that when a prince is just and merciful, his kingdom is crowned with blessings and honours. In fine, I desire to lay up a treasure of justice, that my soul may be happy after my death." A very extraordinary speech from the mouth of a brutal Tartar who had spent a long life in usurping dominions, dethroning princes, depopulating countries, extending the reign of misery and devastation, and destroying the human race with the most savage barbarity!

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Towards the end of November, a Cherkassian officer came to the camp before Baylakân, with the head of Mâlek Azzo'ddin, king of Lor Kuchek, who had revolted. His skin had been taken off, and stuffed with straw, for an example to others. About this time, Timûr likewise performed an act of justice on the person of the famous doctor Mûlâna Kothbo'ddin Karmi, who was come to court, with the other officers of the diwan of Shîrâz: because, at his departure, he had taxed the inhabitants of Pârs (or Proper Persia) at the sum of 300,000 dinârs kopeghi, under pretence of a present to the emperor. His imperial majesty, being highly offended at this oppression, which he was informed of privately, by Mûlâna Saed, a doctor of the same country, immediately ordered the Sheykh Darwîsh Allâhi to bind the oppressor's hands, and, placing the forked branch about his neck, sent him in that equipage, to Shîrâz, with the sum he had extorted from the inhabitants, to be restored to those who had paid it. Argûn, Kothbo'ddin's intendant, was condemned to be hanged, on account of the troubles which he had brought on the people, by his master's order: and sentence was executed on him, as soon as Mûlâna Saed returned to Shîrâz ^a.

On the Friday following, the inhabitants of the city and neighbouring villages, being assembled in the old mosque, Mûlâna Kothbo'ddin was exposed, at the foot of the pulpit, from whence Mûlâna Saed having told the people what Timûr had ordered him to say on the occasion, the mosque echoed with acclamation. After this piece of justice had been done on the person of one of the greatest lords of the

^a Hist. Tim. Bek, vol. ii. p. 319-328. cap. 9-13.

kingdom, the Mîrza Pîr Mehemed, son of Omar Sheykh, took off his fetters and forked branch, and sent him back to Samarkand, the intendency of the finances of Shîrâz being given to another.

Timûr passed the winter at Kârabâh, in korias, or *Eskânder Sheykh* thatched houses, built for the purpose. Advice being brought, that *Eskânder Sheykh*, prince of Damâwend and Firûzkûh, had revolted, the Amîr Soleymân Shâh advanced to Ray, to observe his motions; and was sustained by the Mîrza Rûstem. They were directed to receive him favourably, in case he returned to his obedience; but to prosecute him to the utmost, if he continued obstinate. About this time, the venerable Sheykh Bereke also arrived at court; and the pious Timûr went out of his tent to meet him. The fanton, having perceived the emperor, flung off his turbân, and paid his compliments of condolence on the death of the Mîrza Mehemed Soltân. Timûr embraced, and wept a long time with him. The learned of Great Bukhâria came to court on the same occasion of condolence; and every evening, after the emperor had discussed the affairs of state, he heard them harangue on some questions of learning and religion.

As the princes of Ghilân had only sent a few inconsiderable presents, instead of coming to court, Timûr sent the karawl, or vanguard, and the Mîrza Shâh Rûkh, with his troops, to Kzeligâj. The princes, alarmed at these motions, consented to pay a great sum, under the name of Karaj, and sent the Seyd Râzi Kiya, one of the princes of Dilem, of Mohammed's race, with another prince, to give assurances of their obedience. The emperor honoured the Seyd Râzi in a particular manner, made him vast presents, and gave him the government of the castle of Kemâk, on the borders of Anatolia, which Shâms, a relation of the Amîr Abbâs, formerly possessed (N), with troops to go thither. Soon after this transaction, the Sharîf Seyd Bereke fell sick at Karabâh, and died. Timûr wept bitterly for the loss of his best friend; and caused his coffin to be buried at Andekûd.

In the spring Mâlek Ifsa, prince of Mardin, came to court, with his daughter, betrothed to the Mirza Abûbekr. Mâlek Azzo'ddîn Shîr came also from Vastân, with a great number of horses in a present. About the same time, the emperor issued out a general order to all the greater

(N) Timûr gave it, not long before, to Tahârten, prince of Arzenjân.

Hejra 806.
A.D. 1404.

Political
regulation.

and lesser officers of the kingdom of Hûlâkû Khân, residing in Azerbejân and Irâk Arabî, to send each a brother, or some relation, to reside at Samarkand: and, to prevent delay, dispatched officers to the respective places, to bring them away. In the month of Ramazân, Timûr made a funeral banquet for the prince Mehemed Soltân, in which the poor chiefly were regaled. The sheykhs, doctors, and imâms, from all parts, were present at this feast; where the entire Korân was read over; and the ceremony concluded with prayers for the repose of the mîrza's soul. Afterwards the prince Khân Zâdeh went to Soltânîya, and conveyed from thence the mîrza's coffin to Samarkand.

Mirza Omar promoted. Timur, at this period, took the diversion of a grand hunting, in the plains of Aktâm, beyond the Arrâs; in which, he employed leopards, with gold chains; swift greyhounds of Greece, beagles, and huge European mastiffs, as strong as African lions. When the chace was over, the emperor distributed among the learned of Great Bukhâria an infinite number of curiosities, brought from Anatolia. Having now subdued all Asia except China, he left Karabâgh on the 8th of April, with a resolution to add that country to his conquests; and, crossing the Arrâs, encamped near the town of Nimetabâd, on the canal of Berlâs. Here, at a grand festival, he invested the Mîrza Omar, son of Mirân Shâh, with the government of the empire of Hûlâkû, containing the countries of Azerbejân, Rûm, or Anatolia, and Syria, as far as Egypt. He likewise subjected to his jurisdiction, the princes who governed Pârs and both the Irâks.

Eskânder pursued.

In the mean time, the Mîrza Rûstem and Soleymân Shâh, who were gone to Ray, to enquire into the conduct of Eikânder Sheykhi, found that he had revolted; and, having placed his family in the fortress of Firûzkûh, was fled to the mountains in the forests of Chelawn and Rûstemdâr. The generals therefore drew two thousand men out of the garrisons, and, entering the forest, took and razed the fortress of Nûr. Here Mâlek Kayûmarrez, an enemy of Eskânder, coming to meet them, they sent him to Eskânder, thinking to oblige him with a kind invitation to a treaty in his favour: but, not daring to trust them, he accommodated matters with Kayûmarrez, and began hostilities. On advice of this revolt, Timûr sent several troops before; and following himself, with the rest of the army, by Ardebîl and Soltânîya, arrived, May 15, at Kafshân.

• Hist. Tim. Bek, vol. ii. p. 328—338. cap. 13—17.

On the 22d, he arrived at Ray; then passing near the *Firûzkûh* castle of Ghulkendân, at the foot of mount Damâwend, *taken*. and afterwards by Damâwend, advanced to Firûzkûh; a citadel, famous in history, situated on the ridge of a mountain. On the 31st of May, the siege was formed, and the throwers of wild-fire began the attack. In the night, Mehemed Azâd, Akbuga, and other brave volunteers advanced to the foot of the walls; and, being perceived by the garrison, were resolutely attacked; but, after sun-rise, all the soldiers ascended, by different approaches, and gave a general assault. The son of Eskânder Sheykhi, governor of the castle, and those with him, being seized with a panic, surrendered the place, at discretion.

Next day, advice came, that the Kara Tatars had revolted *Kara Tatars revolt* near Damgân. The other bands of the same nation resolved to fly: but the Amîrs Shâmsoddîn, and other captains, who had the conduct of them, falling on the mutineers, flew above three thousand on the spot. Some were brought away, and the rest fled to the forests of Astarabâd; but, being pursued by way of Bestâm, were overtaken at Karatugan, on the Caspian sea, and defeated. Above one thousand were slain, and more than ten thousand families were taken prisoners. Timûr then marched in person against Eskânder Sheykhi, over high mountains and deep valleys, to Chelawn, where he arrived June 11; but, not finding the rebel, returned the same day. In this road there is a very deep defile, full of woods, always covered with mists; and in the middle runs an exceeding rapid torrent. The great difficulty there is in passing this strait, has obtained it the name of the Defile of Hell; and as Eskânder had broken the bridge over the torrent, his pursuers were obliged to build another of wood, which Timûr crossed, and encamped on the top of a mountain on the other side.

Detachments being ordered out every way, in search of the fugitive, one of them met with him, on the 17th of June, in the middle of a wood, near the Caspian Sea, at the head of two hundred foot, and thirty horse, with which he sallied out of his little camp, and prepared to attack his pursuers; who, though but twenty in number, fearing Timûr's reproaches, resolved to die rather than turn their backs. Eskânder, followed by his horsemen, attacked them several times with their pikes; but the Jagatays so assailed him, that he at length fled with his soldiers farther into the forest. They pillaged his camp; and, next

^p Hist. Tim. Bek, vol. ii. p. 333—347. cap. 17—21.

morning, met with his son, the amîr Ali, and daughter, his wives, and domestics, who were all made slaves. This party, being joined by the mîrza sultân Huzzayn, and seventy men, continued the pursuit of Eskânder, whom they overtook about noon, in the midst of the forest, with two hundred foot, and fifty horse. They furiously assaulted him; then retreated, seemingly in confusion. The enemy, thinking they fled, boldly sallied out to attack them; but they turned on them suddenly, in good order, and made a horrid slaughter of the foot. Two of the horsemen were taken prisoners; and Eskânder, re-entering the forest, escaped by the side towards Ghilân; nor was ever heard of more. Some say, he took the habit of a monk; others allege, that he died of grief in the woods.

Timûr, after he had sent the mîrzas to their respective governments, departed for Samarkand. On the 10th of July he encamped at Firûzkûh, the government of which, and Ray, with their dependencies, he bestowed upon the amîr Solymân Shâh. On the banks of the river Morgâb, he ordered Apaktâlpa, governor of Shishektu, to be hanged, with his head downwards, for oppressing the inhabitants.

Hejra 807.
A.D. 1404.
July.

Then continuing his route by Andekûd, the defile of Ghez, and Aliabâd, he at length crossed the Jihûn at Termed, and proceeded to Kash. From whence he made uncommon haste to Samarkand, where he arrived in Moharrém 807. Massaûd Dawd, and Mehemed Jiide, who had been the principal secretaries, and, during Timûr's absence, performed the function of wazîrs, were condemned, for their unjust practices, and both hanged, by his order, at Khâni Gheul. Afterwards Timûr went to the Garden of Planes, where he gave audience to an ambassador of Idekû, emperor of Kipjâk, who presented him with a shonkar. He next visited the garden of Dilen Shâh, where he received an ambassador from one of the greatest sovereigns of Europe (O), who made him several curious

and

(O) This, doubtless, was Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo, sent by Henry III. king of Castile. He set out 21st May 1403, and returned to Spain 24th March 1406. He mentions the feast made by Timûr, on the marriage of his children, to which he was invited; but

not a word of his audience of leave, and the rich presents he received. On the contrary, he assures us, he never had one; because Timûr died about that time, at Samarkand: but this appears to be a false assertion; and also shews the ambassador had left Samarkand, and

and magnificent presents ; particularly, some pieces of tapestry, wrought with so much art, that, were the great performances of the painter Mani on the cloth of Artenne, to be compared with them, Mani would blush, and his works appear deformed ⁹ (P).

Timûr ordered a palace to be built by the Syrian archi- *Magnificent palace.*
archs, in the garden south of Bâgli Shâmal, more large and magnificent than any he had founded before. It was a square of one thousand five hundred cubits. The chief ornaments were of variegated marble. The outside of the walls was covered with porcelain of Kashân, and the place adorned with an infinite variety of delicious fountains.

The emperor resolving, before he made his intended *Kind of jubilee.*
expedition to China, to marry his grandchildren, ordered a grand feast to be made, in the plain of Khâni Gheul. On the 17th of October, the governors of provinces, generals, and great lords of the empire, assembled in this place, and pitched their tents in order. People from all parts of Asia flocked to behold this solemn festival ; where all sorts of diversions were exhibited, and the richest curiosities sold, in magnificent shops. There was built a chartak, or amphitheatre, covered with brocade and Persian carpets, furnished with seats for the music, and stages for the buffoons and jesters. There was another chartak for all sorts of tradesmen, and one hundred besides, filled with those who sold fruit, each of whom had a kind of garden, of pistachios, pomegranates, almonds, pears, and apples. The butchers dressed up skins of animals in very ludicrous figures. Women appeared in the shape of goats, running after one another, with gilded horns. Some were dressed like fairies and angels, with wings ; whilst others assumed the appearance of elephants and sheep.

The skinners also appeared in masquerades, like leopards, lions, tigers, foxes, with whose skins they were covered. The upholsters made a camel of wood, reeds, cords, and painted linen, which walked about, as if alive. The manufacturers of cotton made birds of that stuff ; and a high minâreh, or tower, of the same material, with the

⁹ Hist. Tim. Bek, vol. ii. p. 347—357. cap. 21—24.

and obtained his audience : for had he been at Samarkand (as he intimates) when Timûr died, he must have known that conqueror did not die in

that city. See La Croix, Pref. to Timûr Bek, for an account of this embassy.

(P) This is doing great honour to European manufactures.

help of reeds, which every body imagined to be built with brick and mortar. It was covered with brocades and embroidered work, moved of itself; and on its top was placed a stork. The faddlers shewed their skill in two litters, open at top, carried on a camel, with a beautiful woman in each, who diverted the spectators with feats of legerde-main. The mat-makers exhibited two lines of writing, in Kufik, and other large characters, worked with reeds.

Princes married.

The young princes to be married, were the mîrzas Olûk Bek and İbrahim Soltân, sons of Shâh Rûkh; Ayjel, son of Mûîân Shâh; Ahmed, Seydi Ahmed, and Biera, all three sons of the mîrza Omar Sheykh. The astrologers having chosen a happy moment, the first officer of the household drew the curtain of the imperial gate. The kâdis, sharîfs, imâms, and doctors, of the empire met the emperor; and having agreed on the articles of marriage, the great doctor sheykh Shamso'ddîn Mehemed Al Jazari was appointed to read them to the assembly. The grand kadi of Samarkand, Mûlâna Salâho'ddîn, received the mutual consent of the parties, which he registered; and then, according to the Hanafîyan rites, joined the princes and princesses together in marriage; on whom every one sprinkled gold and precious stones¹.

Great magnificence in the feast,

The emperor being seated on his throne, the banquet was served up to the brides, and other ladies of the court, by the most beautiful young women of his haram, crowned with chaplets of flowers. The princes of the blood, amîrs, neviâns or noyâns, sharîfs, and foreign ambassadors, were seated under a canopy, supported by twelve columns, and distant about a horse's course from the nuptial hall. Here were ranged earthen urns, with strings of precious stones about them, filled with gold, and silver pilasters, on the tops of which were cups of gold, agate, and crystal, adorned with pearls and jewels; all these vessels were presented on salvers of gold and silver, to those who drank; the liquors consisting of kammez (Q), oxy-mel, hippocras, brandy, wines, firma, and sherbet. It is reported, that the wood of several large forests was cut down, to dress the viâtuals for this banquet. There were tables furnished in different places throughout the whole plain, and flaggons of wine set near them, with innumerable baskets of fruit. Besides these preparations for

¹ Hist. Tim. Bek, vol. ii. p. 357—364. cap. 24—26.

(Q) Or kemis, made of mares milk.

the court, there were jars full of liquors, ranged throughout the plain, for the people ; and, that their joy might be complete, they were allowed to pursue whatever pleasures they thought fit, without any restraint, by proclamation, in these terms : “ This is the time of feasting, pleasure, and rejoicing. Let no person reprimand, or complain of, another ; let not the rich insult the poor ; nor the strong the weak : let no one ask another, why have you done this ? ”

The elephants, with thrones on their backs, were drawn out on this occasion. When the feast was over, a great quantity of curious moveables was, according to custom, laid upon mules and camels, for the new-married princes ; among which were all sorts of rich habits, crowns, and belts, adorned with precious stones. The mules had coverings of fattin, embroidered with gold ; and their little bells, as well as those of the camels, were of gold. The bridegrooms, with their brides, were clothed nine times in different habits, decorated with crowns and belts. Each time they changed their dress, they paid their respects, as usual, to the emperor ; while the ground was covered with the gold, pearls, and precious stones, which were sprinkled on them, and became the perquisite of their domestics. At night illuminations were made, with lanthorns, torches, and lamps ; and the new-married princes entered the nuptial-chamber. Next day, Timûr honoured them with a visit at their respective apartments, accompanied by the empresses, great amîrs and sharîfs of the court : nor were the rejoicings confined to Khâni Gheul alone ; for there was not one place in the whole empire, from thence to Tûs, or Mashhâd, in Khorassân, where the sound of drums and trumpets was not heard.

The marriage-feasts lasted two months ; at the expiration of which, the assembly was dissolved, and the licence which had been granted during the feast recalled ; so that, for the future, no person was allowed to drink wine, or commit any thing unlawful.

Timûr, having taken a short repose, resolved to put in execution his design against China. To this end, he summoned the mîrzas and great amîrs of his council to court ; and made a speech, wherein he told them, that as the vast conquests he had made were not obtained without some violence, which had occasioned the destruction of a great number of God’s creatures, he was resolved, by way of atonement for his past crimes, to perform some good action ; namely, to make war on the Infidels, and exterminate

and equipage of the married princes.

The war of China resolved in council.

minate the idolaters of China (R); that it was proper those very troops, which had been the instruments whereby those faults were committed, should also be the instruments of repentance; he therefore required, that they should march into China, to acquire the merit of that holy war, by demolishing the temples of the idols of fire, and erecting mosques in their places.

The council having approved of this pious expedition, orders were immediately issued for assembling the forces of the empire at Tâshkunt, which was to be the general rendezvous of the army. Timûr then repaired to Samarkand; where having done particular honours to the ambassador of Egypt, he allowed him to depart; sending with him an ambassador of his own, with a letter to sultân Farrûj, seventy cubits long, and three in breadth, written in letters of gold, in answer to what that sultân had written, relating to sultân Ahmed and Kara Yûsef. He likewise granted particular honours and favours to the ambassadors of Europe, Dâsh, Kipjâk, Jetâh, and other parts, and permitted them to return home. He gave the mîrza Omar Bek the government of the towns of Tâshkunt, Sayrâm, Yenghi, Ashira, and all the kingdom of Jetâh, as far as China; to the mîrza Ibrâhîm Soltân, he assigned that of Andekhân, Aksiket, Tarâz, and Kâshgar, as far as Kotân^s.

Timûr sets out.

When the troops were assembled, the amîr Berendâk reviewed them, by Timûr's order; and found them two hundred thousand men complete, consisting of the forces of Great Bukhâria, Turkestân, Bâlk, Badakshân, Khorassân, Sistân, Mazânderân, the Kara Tatars, with the colonies from Pârs, Azerbejân, and Irâk. The emperor was pleased with the good condition they were in; and, having distributed his treasure among them, commanded them to begin their march. The mîrzas Kalîl Soltân and Ahmed Omar Sheykh, with the troops of the right-wing, were ordered to pass the winter, at Tâshkunt, Shâhrukhiya, and Sayrâm; while the mîrza Soltân Huffayn was to remain, with some troops of the left-wing, at Yassi and Sabrân. At length Timûr set out from Samarkand, on the

^s Hist. Tim. Bek, vol. ii. p. 364—372, cap. 26, & seq.

(R) He intended to atone for the destruction of God's creatures, by a farther destruction of his creatures: to atone for one crime, by committing

another. Not only the Chinese idolaters were to be exterminated, but also those who were not idolaters, under the name of Infidels.

23d of Jomazio'lawel, in 807, in a happy moment fixed A.D. 1405. by the astrologers; and although the rains, snows, wind, January 8. and cold, were extremely violent, yet he continued his march to Aksulat, where cottages and houses had been built for the reception of his army. Here the emperor being informed, that the mîrza Kalîl Soltân had, a second time, concealed in his apartment, Shâdi Mulk, one of the concubines of the amîr Sayfo'ddîn, whom he had married for love, he ordered her to be put to death; but by means of the great empress, it being pretended she was with child, the order was countermanded, and the lady committed to the care of the black eunuchs.

Timûr took such care with regard to provision and arms, that every horseman had enough of both to serve ten men. Besides, several thousand loads of corn were carried in waggons, to sow the fields on their route, to supply them in their return. Several thousands of camels also were in the train, that, on pressing occasions, their milk might serve for nourishment to the soldiers. Although the cold was so extreme, that several men and horses perished on the road, some losing their hands and feet, others their ears and noses, yet Timûr proceeded from Aksûlat, and crossing the Sihûn over the ice, at Zarnûk, February 27, arrived at Otrâr. This river was frozen so hard, that they were obliged to dig two or three cubits deep in ice to get water; and, during the months of January and February, waggons, men, and beasts, could pass either the Jihûn or Si-hûn, in any part of them. That same day, one corner of the roof of the palace where the emperor lodged took fire, which accident was considered by the courtiers, who before had been scared with frightful dreams, as a prognostic of some misfortune to his majesty ¹.

At this place an ambassador arrived from Tokâtmîsh Khân, formerly emperor of Kipjâk, who had, for a long time, wandered as a vagabond in the deserts of that country, confessing his master's ingratitude, and imploring forgiveness. Timûr not only gave Kara Koja a magnificent audience, but assured him he would, at his return from China, again conquer the empire of Tushî Khân, and bestow it on Tokâtmîsh. On the 25th of March his majesty was attacked with a burning fever, and believed he heard the hûris say, "Repent! for you must appear before God." On this intimation he sincerely repented of his sins, and resolved to make satisfaction for them by good works. Al-

Arrives at Otrâr.

A bad omen.

Appoints an heir, and dies.

¹ Hist. Tim. Bek, vol. ii. p. 372—380. cap. 27—29.

though

though his sickness daily increased, yet he was continually enquiring after the condition of his army. When he found death approaching, he sent for the empresses and principal amirs. He bid them not weep, but pray for him. He said, he had hopes God would pardon his sins, though numberless; and consoled himself with the reflection, that he had never suffered the strong to injure the weak. He exhorted them to procure ease and safety to the people, as an account would be required of all in power at the day of judgment. He then declared his grandson, Pîr Mehemed Jehân Ghîr his universal heir, and lawful successor, commanding them all to obey him, and sacrifice their lives to maintain his authority. He ordered all the amirs, great lords of the court, and generals, to come before him, and made them swear to see his will executed. He commanded that all those who were absent should take the same oath.

The lords, bursting into tears, promised to fulfil his testament. They proposed sending for the mîrza Soltân and amirs at Tâshkunt, that they might hear his majesty's will from his own mouth; alleging, that their declaration could not have the same force with them; but Timûr desired they might not be sent for, as they could not come time enough to find him alive: he said, he had no other desire than to see the mîrza Shâh Rûkh once more, but that was impossible. After having recommended brotherly love and concord to the princes his children, he ordered one of the doctors to read the Korân at his bed's-head, and often repeat the unity of God. At night he several times made profession of his belief, "That there is no other God than God," and then expired, on the 17th of Shabân, 807 (S), after he had lived seventy-one years, and reigned thirty-six^a.

Timûr Bek may be said to have brought the crown into his family, he being the first emperor of it. At the age of twenty-five he attained the highest dignities, with surprising courage, and an ambition astonishing to all the world. Endeavouring to perfect the great talents which he had received from nature, he spent nine years in different countries; where his great sense and elevated genius appeared in councils and assemblies, while his intrepidity and valour, whether in personal combats or pitched battles, drew upon him the admiration of all mankind.

^a Hist. Tim. Bek, vol. ii. p. 380—387. cap. 29—31.

(S) Which answers to Wednesday the 1st of April, 1405.

He made himself master of the three empires of Jagatay *Power and* Khân, Tushi Khân, and Hûlâkû Khân; so that his power, *conduct.* riches, and magnificence, were greater than can well be imagined.

There remain infinite monuments of his grandeur in the *Public* cities, towns, castles, and walls which he built; in rivers *works.* and canals which he dug, as well as bridges, gardens, palaces, hospitals, mosques, and monasteries, which he erected in divers parts of Asia in so great a number, that a king might be accounted very powerful and magnificent, who should have employed thirty-six years only in building the great edifices which Timur caused to be founded ^{w.}

Timur, according to the historian Arabshâh, was in his *His person.* person very corpulent and tall. He had a large forehead and big head. His countenance was agreeable, and his complexion fair. He wore a large beard, was very strong, and well limbed; had broad shoulders, thick fingers, and long legs. His constitution was amazingly vigorous; but he was maimed in one hand and lame of the right side. His eyes appeared full of fire; his voice was loud and piercing; he feared nothing; and although approaching fourscore years of age, his understanding was found and perfect, his body vigorous and robust, his mind constant, and unshaken like a rock.

He did not like raillery, and could not bear a lye. *Prudence* There was no joking or fooling before him, for he loved *and sage-* the naked truth, even although it was to his own disad- *city.* vantage. He neither grieved if he miscarried in any attempt, nor appeared overjoyed on any great success. The device of his seal was, "I am sincere and plain." He had a clear and solid understanding, was surprisingly happy in his conjectures, vigilant, active, and unshaken in his resolutions ^{x.}

Timur took great delight in reading history, and was well versed in the state of countries, provinces, and cities. He was penetrating, subtle, close, and dissembling; just by inclination, liberal from disposition; but ambition had in a great measure extinguished his humanity; war had familiarized him to blood, and his religious zeal had inspired him with the most cruel, implacable, and pernicious fanaticism.

Timur left behind him fifty-three descendants; thirty-six males and seventeen females.

^w Hist. Tim. Bek, lib. v. p. 424, & seqq. cap. 48.
portrait by Ahmed Ebn Arabsh. p. 2, & seq.

^x His

His sons, and grand-sons. The mîrza Jehân Ghîr, his eldest son, died before him, but left two princes, Mehemed Soltan, who also died before his grandfather, leaving three sons; Mehemed Jehân Ghîr, nine years old at the death of Timûr; Sadvakkas, six, and Yahia, five. Jehan Ghîr's second son was the mîrza Pîr Mehemed Jehân Ghîr, twenty-nine years of age. He had seven sons; Kaydu, nine years old; Kaled, seven; Buzenjer, Sadvakkas, Tenjer, Kayser, and Jehân Ghîr.

Timûr's second son, the mîrza Omar Sheykh, deceased, left six sons; Pîr Mehemed, twenty-six years old, who had one son, of seven years, named Omar Sheykh. Rûstem, aged twenty-four, who had two sons, Ozmân, six years old, and Soltân Ali, one year. Eskânder, twenty-one years of age. Ahmed, eighteen years. Sidi Ahmed, fifteen; and Bayera Hassân.

The mîrza Mirân Shâh, thirty-eight years of age, had five sons; Abûbekr, twenty-three years old, who had two sons, Alengher, nine years of age, and Ozmân Chelebi, four. Omar, twenty-two years old. Kalîl Soltân, twenty-one years. Ayjel, ten; and Siorgatmish, six.

The mîrza Shâh Rûkh, twenty-eight years of age, had seven sons; Olûk Bek, eleven years old. Ibrâhîm Soltân, of the same age. Baysânkâr, eight years. Siorgatmish, six. Mehemed Juki, three years. Jân Aglen, two years; and Turwi, one year.

Daughters and grand-daughters. Besides these princes Timûr had one daughter, named Soltânâ Bâkht Begûm, and sixteen grand-daughters. Omar Sheykh had three daughters; Mehemed Soltân, three; Mirân Shâh, four; and Shâh Rukh, one; Pîr Mehemed Jehân Ghîr, three; Abûbekr, one; and Kalîl Soltân, one. The mirza Soltân Hussayn, twenty-five years of age, was the son of Timûr's daughter, named Akia Beghi, or Taji Khân; and his father was the amîr Mehemed Bey, son of the amîr Mûssa ^y.

^y Hist. Tim. Bek, lib. vi. cap. 48. p. 427, & seq.

S E C T. VI.

*Distractions which arose on the Death of Timûr, and
the Usurpation of Kalil Soltân.*

AS soon as Timûr's death was known, the empresses *State of affairs.* tore their faces and hair; the court-lords rent their cloaths, and, flinging themselves on the ground, passed the night in lamentation. Next morning the body was washed, and embalmed with camphor, musk, and rose-water; then wrapped in linen, and laid in a coffin of ebony. As the design of the war in China was not yet abandoned, his death was concealed; and advice sent to the mîrzas, particularly Pîr Mehemed Jehân Ghîr, to repair immediately to court. Next day the mîrzas, empresses and amîrs, who were at Otrâr, departed with the corpse, for Samarkand; and, having crossed the Sihûn, two parasangs distant, on the ice, entered a wood; where it was agreed in council, that they should march to Tâshkunt, under the command of the mîrza Ibrâhîm Soltân, who, on his arrival, should deliver up the command to his elder brother Kalil Soltân: that this latter should bear the title of emperor during the campaign; and proceed with the whole army to conquer China: lastly, that, at their return to Samarkand, they should hold a general dyet, to execute Timûr's last will and testament.

These resolutions being formed, several lords were sent with Timûr's coffin to Samarkand; where they arrived the 6th of April, and buried it with the usual solemnity. The empresses, and other ladies, followed, with the mirza Olûk Bek; while the mîrza Ibrâhîm Soltân took horse, at the head of the army, to march into China. When they arrived at the bridge of Kaldorma, on the river Arj, east of Otrâr, and one league from it, expresses were sent to the mîrzas Kalil Soltân and Soltân Huffayn, to join them at Jûklek, a town five leagues east of the same city, in order to proceed in the expedition. But this great design was frustrated by the mîrza Soltân Huffayn, in whose breast the death of Timûr rekindled the inclination of revolting, which he had discovered in the war of Damascus: for he immediately disbanded part of the troops of the left wing; and, taking from them their horses, passed the Sihûn at Kojend, with one thousand men, each having two horses,

horses, and took the road to Samarkand: his design was, to have entered the city by stratagem².

Kalil Soltân elected.

This conduct being reported to the amîrs Sheykh Nûro'd-dîn and shâh Mâlek, they immediately gave notice to Argûn Shâh, whom Timûr had left governor at Samarkand; and ordered him to secure that ambitious prince, if he approached the city. They wrote also to the mîrza Kalîl Soltân, and his great amîrs, who were at Tâshkunt, six days journey from Otrâr, to acquaint them with the design of sultân Huzzayn, and that it was proper to return with their troops to Akar, to concert measures with them for the public good. They afterwards directed their march to Samarkand; and, having crossed the Sihûn on the ice, next morning joined the empresses. The amîrs, with sultân Kalîl, having had advice, before the express from Otrâr arrived, of the proceedings of sultân Huzzayn, their fear caused by Timûr's death was much increased; and, thinking the best way to prevent the evil, was, to create an emperor, the mîrza Ahmed Omar Sheykh, the great amîrs, and other principal officers, advanced the mîrza Kalîl Soltân to the throne at Tâshkunt, and swore obedience to him.

Secures Samarkand.

The empresses, with the mîrzas and amîrs who attended them, wrote to the mîrzas of Kalil Soltân, reproaching them with their breach of oath to Timûr, and acting contrary to his last dispositions. The amîrs, having read the letter, sent Berendak to Aksulat, where the empresses were encamped, to acquaint the amîrs, that what they did was with a good intention; but, since they found what they had done was agreeable neither to their sentiments, nor the late emperor's will, they were ready to join with them in such measures as they should judge proper for carrying his will into execution. Upon the receipt of this, the amîrs Sheykh Nûro'd-dîn and shâh Malek wrote a second letter to those at Tâshkunt, exhorting them to annul the oath they had taken through inadvertency; and, by a written instrument, signed by Kalil Soltân as well as themselves, submit to the mîrza Pîr Mehemed. When Berendak was dismissed, the empresses and mîrzas, with their troops, continued their route. The mîrza Omar Sheykh and shâh Mâlek, went on before; but, on their arrival at Samarkand, Argûn Shâh, who had been gained by the promises of Kalîl Soltân, shut the gates against

² Hist. Tim. Bek, lib. vi. cap. 31—35. p. 387—397.

them:

them: he even refused to let in either shâh Mâlek or sheykh Nûro'ddîn, to confer with the amîrs, pretending it would be contrary to the orders he had received from Timûr. He said, however, that he believed his majesty had ordained the mîrza Pir Mehemed his successor; and that he would deliver up the government of the city, as soon as the mîrzas and amîrs should, in an assembly, agree upon the succession^a.

Those amîrs who looked on all that Argûn Shâh had said to be evasive, returned to the empresses at Ali Abâd. *Renounces the empire.* Mean while, Berendâk being returned to Tâshkunt, the amîrs drew up a manifesto, which every one signed and sealed, and the mîrza Kalil Soltân himself was obliged to subscribe. The mîrza ordered Atîlmîsh to carry this paper to the amîrs Nûro'ddin and shâh Mâlek, and from them to Pîr Mehemed; directing him to assure the mirza, that he was his sincere friend, and would acknowledge him for his father's successor, pursuant to his last will. But, in this profession, Kalil Soltân acted the hypocrite; his sole desire being to reign, in which he was encouraged by some amîrs who were about him. He seized all the horses, mules, and camels, belonging to Timûr, as well as the mîrzas and amîrs of his attendants, which had been left to graze at Tâshkunt and Sayrâm, and distributed them among his own party: he gave them likewise abundance of money, stuffs, and arms, which belonged to the soldiers who were in those quarters; and then departed, at their head, for Samarkand.

When he reached the Sihûn, he ordered the amîr Berendâk, with the troops of the right wing, to cross the river, *Assumes it again, without reserve.* on a bridge of boats, above Shâh Rûkhîya. As soon as he had passed, he broke down the bridge, and went to join the empresses, who were then on their way to Samarkand. The amîrs Kodadâd and Shâmsî'uddîn Abbâs, with the same view, marched to Achik Ferkint, pursuant to a secret agreement made before with Berendâk, to abandon Kalil Soltân, and do nothing contrary to Timûr's will. The mîrza, on this advice, passed the Sihûn with his troops. Mean time Berendâk, being informed, on the road, how Argûn Shâh had refused the amîr shâh Mâlek admittance into Samarkand, he was surprised; and, excited as well by his ambition as his cowardice, without regarding his oath, immediately returned to join the mîrza Kalil Soltân,

^a Hist. Bek, lib. vi. cap. 36—38. p. 397, & seqq.

to whom he swore fidelity a second time. Hereupon the mîrza, with his party, declared the instrument void, wherein they had promised obedience to Pîr Mehemed; and at the same time continued his route to Samarkand; with design to usurp the empire.

When the amirs Sheykh Nûr'uddîn and Shâh Mâlek received advice of these proceedings, they advised the empresses to proceed to Samarkand, while they attended the mîrzas to Bokhâra; from whence they proposed to go meet the mîrza Pîr Mehemed, Timûr's heir. When the empresses arrived at Samarkand, the amîrs of the city would not admit them on that day. Next morning they entered; and took up their residence at the kanika of the mîrza Mehemed Soltân, where Timûr's coffin lay. There several grandes of the empire, assembling in mourning habits, made lamentation over the emperor's corpse, and were joined in expressions of grief by all the inhabitants ^b.

Comes to Samarkand.

Meantime the mîrzas Olûk Bek and Ibrâhîm Soltân, having arrived at Debbûs, a fortress on the river of Samarkand, received a letter from Koja Yûsef and Argûn Shâh, importing, that their refusing to open the gates to them, was not through any motive of treason, but to obey Timûr's will: that they would use the mîrza Kalîl Soltân in the same manner, should he come; and, in short, would resign the city to none but the mîrza Pîr Mehemed, the lawful successor. Notwithstanding this declaration, the princes received advice that they had gone out to meet Kalîl Soltân, and conduct him to Samarkand; they proceeded therefore to Bokhâra, which they put in a posture of defence. The mîrza Kalîl Soltân entered Samarkand on the 27th of April; and took possession of the magnificent imperial palace, where all the treasures of Asia were amassed. There, being seated on the throne, he received the submission of the mîrzas, amîrs, and principal men of the state.

Creates a khân.

As soon as he was installed, he gave the title of khân to the mîrza Mehemed Jehân Ghîr, son of the mîrza Mehemed Soltân, and nephew of the mîrza Pîr Mehemed, though that prince was but nine years of age: his name also was placed at the top of all the patents, and imperial orders, according to custom; although the mîrza Kalîl Soltân assumed the sole disposal of every thing, as the lawful sovereign. Two days after his elevation, the new emperor went to the kanika, where Timûr's tomb was, to

^b Hist. Bek, lib. vi. cap. 39—43. p. 405, & seq.

pay his devotions, and perform the public ceremonies of mourning; at which the empresses, mîrzas, amîrs, and all the people, assisted in black habits.

Being thus established on the throne, he distributed his immense treasures profusely among the amîrs, principal lords, and soldiers. This liberality, or rather prodigality, was the first cause of his ruin: the second was his violent passion for Shâdi Mulk, before mentioned: for when he found himself an absolute sovereign, he resigned every thing up to the will of this beauty, and took no pleasure but in her company. She, on her part, shewed no regard to either princes or nobles, but treated all the world with insolence and disdain. Being inferior in rank to the deceased emperor's wives, these latter became jealous of her growing greatness, and she conceived a great aversion to them. She persuaded Kalil to give them, as well as Timûr's concubines, in marriage to some considerable amîrs, in order, as she said, the more firmly to engage them in his interest. Accordingly he disposed of those great ladies in such a preposterous manner as disgraced his own family, and rendered them miserable for life. He neglected merit; but squandered away his wealth on worthless favourites, and advanced strangers of mean extraction, so as to alienate the affection of his own amîrs and generals. In effect, his misconduct intailed upon him the aversion not only of his soldiers, but all his subjects; and affairs falling into confusion by his ill management, all his grandeur vanished in less than four years^c.

This is the substance of what Sharîfo'ddîn Ali has written concerning the reign of Kalil Soltân: but here we must take leave of that well-informed historian, to follow others who lived at too great a distance to be well acquainted with the affairs of the descendants of Timûr.

Kalil Soltân was exceeding liberal. He had at his disposal the Arab and Persian troops, with their best commanders, who were charmed with his affability, good-nature, and generosity. He was finely shaped; dexterous in managing his arms, valiant, and munificent. He began his reign with the concurrence of the army: but this consent was not to be depended on. His amîrs and chief officers expected that he should be attacked on all sides as soon as the severity of the season was over; and only waited opportunities to serve their respective interests. We have already mentioned the desertion and return of Bren-

^c Hist. Tim. Bek, lib. vi. cap. 44—46. p. 413—423.

dâk or Berendâk, of whose perfidy at that time Kalîl Soltân took no notice : he even heaped favours on him ; but, when his affairs were settled, put to death the traitor when he least suspected, seized all his effects, and extirpated his whole family.

Khodadâd rebels.

The next who pulled off the mask was Khodadâd Hufsayn, governor of the provinces beyond the Sihûn, and the frontiers of Turkestân. This prince had always esteemed himself equal to Timûr himself, as being of the house of Soltân Hufsayn : on which account he bore the rank as sovereign in those countries. But as Kalîl's affairs were quite unsettled when he passed the Sihûn, he was obliged to keep up a seeming friendship with him, and leave him in possession of the government which he held before. On Khodadâd's revolt, those who sought an occasion to quit Kalîl Soltân, repaired to his standard. Now the winter was over, sheykh Nûro'ddîn, who had been one of Timûr's chief adherents, revolted openly, and joined the rebel. Shâh Mâlek, another of them, retired from Samarkand ; and, passing the Jihûn, declared for Shâh Rûkh, who held the government of Herât and Khorassân⁴.

Allâhdâd alarmed.

As soon as Allâhdâd, governor of Esbara, on the frontiers of Jetah, towards Mogulestân, heard of these transactions, he consulted his friends ; who advised him to leave that fortress, and return to his own country. Next day the officers of the troops under his command repairing, according to custom, to pay him their respects, and receive his orders, he asked them privately, what was to be done in this conjuncture. As the officers engaged to follow his orders, upon oath, he told them, his resolution was to wait on Kalîl Soltân ; and desired, in the mean time, that they would stay and watch the Mungls. Things being thus settled, he began his journey, with his wives and children, though the country was covered with snow. At Kulatajuk he received a mandate from Kalîl Soltân, ordering him not to take any step against his interest, but to remain in his post at Esbara.

Joins the revolter.

This order disconcerted all his measures ; but, while he debated with himself what was to be done, a deputy arrived from Khodadâd, advising him to leave Esbara, and come to him as soon as possible. Nothing could arrive more opportunely, to deliver him out of the perplexity which he was in : he therefore made haste to join Khodadâd, who was overjoyed to see him : then passing the Sihûn at Ko-

⁴ Arabsh. Continuat. Hist. Timur. p. 7—82.

jend, they marched towards Samarkand; and, at Tisek, began to ravage the country with fire and sword. Mean time the troops which Allâhdâd had left at Ebara, fearing the Mungls might attack them, began to consult what course to take. Some were for maintaining, and others for quitting that post. At length the dispute rose to such a height between the two parties, that they came to blows, and one of the captains was killed. At night part of the troops left the place; and the rest following their example, the whole detachment came up with Allâhdâd, who composed their difference, and resolved to march with them to Samarkand^f.

This adventure persuading Khodadâd that the enmity between Allâhdâd and Kalil Soltân was irreconcilable, he made him his confidant, and asked his advice. As he had intercepted a troop of servants belonging to the army, he was inclined to put them to the sword: but Allâhdâd alleging, that it was most prudent to shew lenity, especially at first, and that by relieving them, he might gain the friendship of their masters, he took his advice, and dismissed them courteously. After this incident, Kalil Soltân sent a deputy to dispose Allâhdâd to mediate the difference between him and Khodadâd, promising to satisfy both their expectations. The cause of their animosity is said to be this: Kalil Soltân having at first been posted in the provinces near Khodadâd, his grandfather ordered this latter to have an eye over him, and regulate his conduct. As Khodadâd was naturally rough, severe, and morose, he treated the prince with rigour and harshness; which irritated him to such a pitch, that he procured poison to be given him: but the other discovering it in time, took remedies, and escaped.

From that time a violent animosity subsisted between them, which at last became public, and was the occasion of great disorders in the state. Allâhdâd communicated to Khodadâd the letter of Khaïl Soltân; and took an oath on the Koran, never to quit his service, or change his party for any other; adding, that if he went to Samarkand, he would do his utmost to reconcile the difference between him and Kalil Soltân; put his affairs on a good footing; and procure him Tumâna, one of the wives of Timûr. Having, by these and many other artifices, acquired the confidence of Khodadâd, he returned to his

*Invited by
Kalil.*

Goes to Samarkand.

^f Arabsh. Continuat. Hist. Tim. p. 83—88.

friends at Shâh Rûkhîya ; where crossing the Sihûn, he made what haste he could for Samarkand.

Is made wazir.

Kâlîl Soltân was overjoyed to see him ; and, as the post of prime wazîr was vacant, he bestowed that important office on Allâhdâd, in preference to all the other wazîrs and grandees of the state. The new minister soon restored every thing to order, and detached troops to guard the frontiers. In the management of affairs he was assisted by Berendâk, Argûn Shâh, and one Kajuk, through whose hands every thing passed, under his control. Meanwhile sheykh Nûro'ddîn and Khodadâd continued their ravages ; and became at length masters of the frontiers of Turkestân, with the territories of Sayrâm, Nasikand, Andekân, Khojend, Shâh Rûkhiya, Otrâr, and Segnâk, besides other cities and provinces in those parts. Sometimes, crossing the Jihûn, they wasted the country of Great Bukhâria ; but could never get any footing there ; for Kâlîl Soltân, in his turn, passed that river, and always put them to the rout ⁵.

The Mungls spread again.

When the Mungls first heard that Timûr was marching towards them with an army capable of forcing its way through all opposition, they dispersed themselves over the country, and retired, some into castles, others to the tops of inaccessible mountains. The inhabitants of Dâsh, and those to the north, withdrew likewise into deserts : but, as soon as they heard of Timûr's death, and the troubles which ensued in his dominions, they resumed fresh courage ; and, returning to their respective countries, resolved to take advantage of the present opportunity. The Mungls first took the field ; and, invading Esbara and Afikol, over-ran the provinces, till they reached the neighbourhood of Khodadâd, whom they obliged to deliver up all the places taken from them by Timûr, and then made an alliance with him.

Pir Mehemed arms.

In the mean time, Pîr Mehemed, cousin-german of Kâlîl Soltân, to whom Timûr had bequeathed the succession, departing from Kandahâr, with a numerous army, towards Samarkand, sent a message to Kâlîl Soltân, and all the great lords, importuning, that as his grandfather had appointed him his successor, he thought it strange that any person should seize the capital of the empire, which belonged only to him, and oppose his accession to the throne. In answer to this message, Kâlîl Soltân alleged, that, in

this conjuncture, the sovereignty was to be held either by inheritance or acquisition. If by the former, that his father Mirân Shâh, and uncle Shâh Rûkh, had a better right than either of them, and he might hold of them either by grant or deputation. If by the latter, that he (Pîr Mehemed) could have no pretensions, as being at a distance, while himself was in possession : that, as to his grandfather's will, it was of no signification ; for that he himself became master of so many countries by force, and actually divided them, during his life-time, among his sons and grandchildren : that, as Pîr Mehemed had Kandahâr for his share, it was fit that he (Kalil Soltân) should retain what he had conquered ; especially as the principal persons of the state had acknowledged him for their sovereign : that however, if his father and uncle allowed of his competitor's pretensions, he would no longer dispute the point with him.

The lords, on their part, returned an answer to the message of Pîr Mehemed, without either allowing or contesting his demand ; only Abdo'lwâl, the chief doctor in Great Bukhâria, declared in express terms, that although Pîr Mehemed was the appointed successor of Timûr, yet heaven had not favoured his cause ; for that, if fortune had designed him for the empire, he would have been near the capital at Timûr's death : that therefore his best way would be, to rest content with what God had ordained him, and not put it to the hazard, by invading the property of another, lest he should lose the substance in following the shadow. Soltân Kalil, however, judging his cause stood in need of stronger arguments, raised a powerful army, and sent it against Pîr Mehemed, under the command of his cousin Soltân Huslâyîn ; accompanied by Kajuk, Argûn Shâh, Allâhdâd, and other principal Gète commanders. In the month of Zu'lkaadeh, 807, they began their march ; and arrived at Bâlk, where the general pretended to be sick, and sent for all the commanders, on pretence of consulting about the war. When they were assembled at his house, he assaulted them furiously ; ordering those, whom he had placed for the purpose, to spare none who resisted ^b.

After this perfidious transaction, Soltân Huslâyîn, who was rash and violent, declared himself sovereign, and was acknowledged by the people. The officers knew not what to think on this occasion : however, Allâhdâd recollecting

*Backed
with forces.*

^a Arabsh. Contin. Hist. Tim. p. 94—103.

himself, declared, that he had some good advice to give him. Then taking him aside, told him, that he was absolutely devoted to his service ; that Kâsî Soltân had no title to the sovereignty ; and that if he (soltân Huzzayn) had but acquainted him with his intentions, he would have disposed matters entirely agreeable to his wishes. Huzzayn, deluded by these professions, thenceforth put confidence in him ; and first consulted him, if he should put to death his companions. Allâhdâd made use of several plausible reasons to dissuade him from this measure ; and knew so well how to flatter him on the weak side, that he quite diverted him from that design ; yet advised him, for his better security, to keep them in chains.

Deserted, and flies.

Soltân Huzzayn followed his counsel ; and having exacted an oath of fidelity from them, retired towards Samarkand. At the same time he sent to acquaint Kalîl Soltân, that he was coming to claim a share of his uncle's dominions, as well as the rest, and challenged him to the field. Then exacting a new oath of his commanders, he set them at liberty, and restored them to their respective posts. Kalîl Soltân, who had been informed by Allâhdâd of the condition they were in, immediately advanced to meet Huzzayn ; who, with his usual imprudence, gave the command of his right wing to Allâhdâd, and that of the left to his two companions. When the two armies met, and were ready to engage, all those commanders joined Kalîl Soltân ; so that his competitor, finding himself abandoned, fled into Khorâsfân, to his cousin Shâh Rûkh, where he soon after died, whether a natural death, or by poison, is not known ⁱ.

Pîr Mehemed defeated.

*Hejra 808.
A.D. 1405.*

Mean while Pîr Mehemed continued his march, and came at length to Nakshab, where, soon after, Kalîl Soltân advanced against him with all his forces ; and, after a bloody battle, fought on the 2d of Ramazân 808, put him to flight, and took all his family prisoners. By this victory he acquired great reputation, and seemed to be established on the throne : but Jalâlo'ddawlet, son of Soltân Ahmed, of Baghdaâd, who had been delivered out of prison by Kalîl, seized the juncture, and made his escape to Irâk, which, it was said, had thrown off the yoke of the Jagatays. On the other side, Pîr Mehemed, returning to Kandahâr, raised fresh forces ; and, repassing the Jihûn, resolved once more to try the fate of arms : but his troops turned their backs almost as soon as the signal was

ⁱ Arabsh. Cont. Hist. Tim. p. 103—108.

given for battle ; and he fled himself for safety to a neighbouring castle called Shaduman. As the enemy immediately invested the place, and he had not men enough to defend it, he caused the common people to mount the walls ; who, being accoutred with false armour, framed for the occasion, were taken for soldiers by the besiegers. This artifice was of service for some time ; but being at length discovered, he found there was no way left for him but to beg quarter, which was granted ; and both parties came to an agreement, under oath, to relinquish all claim to each other's territories, and live together in amity for the future.

Pîr Mehemed, in consequence of this accommodation, *His country usurped.* returned to his own dominions ; but had not been there long, before Pîr Alitâza, his wazîr, who had been with him in both his expeditions, rebelled against him, and took the field with a powerful party. Pîr Mehemed marched against him with his troops ; but was defeated, and taken prisoner. The rebel wazîr, in order to sound the great men of the state, told them in ambiguous terms, that the affairs of the world being in great confusion, there appeared manifest signs that the last day was at hand : “ This (says he), is the time when deceivers and impostors bear the sway. Timûr is gone, who was the Lame Deceiver. This is the time of the Bald Impostor ; after whom, the Blind Deceiver will come. If the Bald must reign, I am he.” As the answer he received was not satisfactory, he summoned the governors of provinces : but, although he addressed himself to them in a very humble manner, they paid no regard to his representation ; giving him to understand, that each of them thought himself as deserving of the sovereignty as he. The wazîr, finding that he could not gain his point, repaired to the sultân of Herât : but Shâh Rûkh, instead of giving him a kind reception, punished him for his perfidy ; and afterwards marched to conquer the country of Kandahâr, which submitted without opposition ^k.

It was in the same year that the Tatars of Rûm, who were subject to Argûn Shâh, took the field, and attempted to shake off their captivity. They crossed the Jihûn over the ice ; and left Karazm, in order to return to their own country : but the inhabitants every where opposing their flight, and being no better united among themselves than

Kara Tatars revolt.

^k Arabsh. ubi sup. p. 109—119.

the troops of Irâk were before, they remained dispersed through the country.

Afterwards Idekas (T), descending from the North with an army as numerous as the sands of the sea, entered the provinces of Khowarazm, of which Mûsîka was then governor. This man, terrified at the approach of the Tatars, abandoned the country, and left it to the invader; who, advancing with his cavalry towards Bokhâra, ravaged the neighbouring territory, and returned, after having routed the forces of Kalîl Soltân. He gave the government of Karazm to one named Ankas; under whom the country remained in peace.

Kalîl Soltân's successors.

While Kalîl Soltân was employed with his forces against Pir Mehemed, Khodadâd, and sheykh Nûro'ddîn, taking advantage of his absence, approached Samarkand; but not daring to attack the city, they ravaged the neighbouring lands, and then withdrew. Kalîl, at his return, gave his troops a little rest, and then proceeded with a numerous army, to ravage their territories in his turn. On his arrival at the Sihûn, Shâh Rûkhîya and Kojend, surrendered immediately. He then turned towards Tâshkunt, which, after a short siege, likewise submitted. These obstacles being removed, he marched in pursuit of his two enemies, who still fled before him, waiting for an opportunity to surprise him, which at length had like to have happened; for one night, at a place called Sarbekhân, Kalîl advancing alone before the baggage, they, on notice given by their spies, who were always in his army, sent out a detachment to intercept and take him; but, fortunately, a party of his cavalry, who were separated from the rest, coming up at the same time, he escaped that imminent danger; after which miscarriage the enemy dispersing themselves through the deserts, he gave over the chace, and returned to his dominions¹.

Sheykh Nûro'ddîn returns.

As the friendship between Khodadâd, and sheykh Nûro'ddîn was not fixed upon a very solid foundation, they quarrelled about the chief command. At length the latter, retiring toward Sagnâk, made himself master of it, and soon after, sent to ask Kalîl Soltân's pardon for his revolt, desiring to be restored to his favour. Kalîl readily granted his request; and, to assure him of his good will, sent him Tumâna, one of Timûr's wives; after

¹ Arabshah, ubi sup. p. 96. and 120—122.

(T) Or Idekû, made khân of Kipjâk by Timûr.

which

which incident they continued in friendship during his reign ; but after Shâh Rûkh had established his power in Samarkand, Shâh Mâlek went to Sagnâk, under pretence of paying him a visit, and renewing their ancient friendship. Mutual oaths of sincerity having been taken, sheykh Nûro'ddîn, at the request of the other, came out of the castle on horseback to give him an interview. After they had embraced, and discoursed some time in an amicable manner, shâh Mâlek retired to his troop, where he remained till his men went and paid their respects to the sheykh Nûro'ddîn. Among the rest there was one Argudak, a very strong man, whom shâh Mâlek had engaged to perpetrate his design. When this person came up, he kissed Nûro'ddîn's hand, but at the same time, seizing him by the neck, pulled him off his horse, and throwing him on the ground, cut off his head in sight of all his people. When Shâh Rûkh heard of this treacherous action, he was overwhelmed with grief ; and cursed shâh Mâlek, whom he reproached in bitter terms. As for Argudak, he ordered him to be bastinadoed severely in public, and for a long time would not suffer either of them to come into his presence.

In the month of Safar, 810, Kalil Soltân sent for a party of soldiers, under the command of Allâhdâd, and some other captains, to rebuild Termed, which had lain in ruins ever since the time of Jenghîz Khân. These commanders, dividing the work among them, not only raised the walls to a proper height, but also built houses, and other places fit for inhabitants, within the space of fifteen days. They then gave notice to the descendants of the ancient possessors, to come and dwell in the new city ; but these people, having settled themselves in the gardens and plains of the old town, which was about a league distant, chose rather to continue where they were. Allâhdâd ordered proclamation to be made through the country, granting the property of the houses to those who first should take possession of them ; by which means, in a little time, New Termed was filled with inhabitants, and soon became a flourishing city.

As soon as Shâh Rûkh heard of this transaction, he sent troops also under Marzab, brother of Jehân Shâh, with orders, in like manner, to rebuild the castle named the Fort of the Indians, which stood in the extreme end of Khorassân, on the Jihûn, opposite to Termed : the fort was finished without any interruption from Allâhdâd, who always lived in peace and friendship with Marzab.

Soltân

Treacherously slain.

Hejra 810.
A.D. 1407.Termed
rebuilt.Shâh
Rûkh's
power.

Soltân Ahmed and Kara Yûfet returned amicably to Irâk Arabî, and while the former was re-establishing himself at Baghdâd, the latter made war upon the Getes; from whom he wrested the province of Azerbejân, after he had defeated their armies and slain the mîrza Mirân Shâh. Persian Irâk was at peace under the sovereignty of Pîr Omar, but one of his near relations, named Eshkânder, rebelled against him, and seized the throne, after having defeated and taken him prisoner. Shah Rûkh marched to attack the usurper, whom having seized he put to death, and took possession of his dominions. By this conquest all Ajem fell under the power of Shâh Rûkh, who enjoyed the whole without a rival; his father having, in his life-time, cut off all the princes in that large country who could have given him any disturbance ^m.

Affairs of Irâk.

There seems to be some mistake in this account of Arabshâh, with relation to the affairs of Persian Irâk, at least it does not agree with the memoirs or extracts which we meet with from other authors.

Troubles at Samarkand.

About this time all the strangers, who had for many years past flocked to Samarkand, began to abandon it, on account of the scarcity and dearness of provisions. Some retired, with leave, to their respective countries; others went away by stealth. At length, plenty returning, the inhabitants enjoyed the sweets of peace; but this tranquility did not long subsist: Kalîl Soltân had married Shâdi Mulk, the relict of amîr Sayfo'dâîn, and so doated on her, that he transacted nothing without her advice. This princess had an ancient servant, named Bâba Termes, a person of mean descent, with squinting eyes, and a face full of pimples, rude and ill-tempered. As, on her advancement, her domestics shared in her good fortune, Bâba Termes, who was the chief of them, became a great man. From the management of his mistress's affairs, he, by degrees, rose to the most important employments of the state, and at length disposed of all things at pleasure, without any regard either to Allâhdâd or Argûn Shâh, whose orders he often contradicted and contemned.

Soltân Kalîl betrayed. These two lords, enraged to be treated in such a manner by this upstart, consulting how to remedy the evil, could think of no better expedient than to inform Khodadâd, and advise him to march with his forces towards Samarkand. Khodadâd accordingly began his march, moving slowly till he came to Ourataba. Kalîl Soltân assem-

^m Arabsh. ubi sup. 122—128.

bled a numerous army, and sent it against the enemy, under the command of Allâhdâd and Argûn Shâh. These generals took the field; but instead of fighting the rebels, they sent for more forces, and at length intreated Khalil Soltân to come himself in person, as the surest means to repulse the enemy. The deluded prince, suspecting no treachery, immediately proceeded with his courtiers, of which circumstance Allâhdâd gave notice to Khodadâd; who marching in the night, came up with Khalil Soltân's train near Soltâniya, a little city built by Timûr, and surrounded them before they were apprised of their danger¹.

The prince and his attendants made a valiant defence; *Is taken* but as they were only a handful of men, they were soon *prisoner*. defeated; and, after most of them had been slain, Khalil Soltân fell into the hands of his enemy, who carried him to his camp. There Khodadâd protested, with the most solemn oaths, that he had no design to hurt him in the least, and that he would soon give him an incontestible proof of his sincerity. In the mean time he desired Khalil Soltân to send orders to Allâhdâd, and those he commanded, to surrender, without making any resistance; a step which was accordingly taken. Khodadâd being by these means master of all the forces of the country, began his march towards Samarkand, without taking notice of Allâhdâd and those of his party, who now, too late, found that he was deceived in his hopes, and ruined beyond redress. This revolution happened in the year 812.

As soon as Khodadâd arrived at Samarkand he made his son, named Allâhdâd, assume the title of sultân before *Khodadâd* *usurps*. witnesses, and, in short, entirely changed the state of affairs. When these tidings were brought to Shâh Rûkh, he was greatly incensed, and resolving to revenge the affront done to his father's house, issued orders for assembling all his forces. Mean while he detached Shâh Mâlek with a powerful army, to stop the progress of the rebellion, and followed in person with the rest of his troops. Khodadâd, on advice of this march, knowing himself not able to resist such a power, and fearing either to be deserted, or delivered up by his followers, thought it best to provide for his safety in time. Accordingly, after he had seized all the treasure he could find, and packed up as much rich furniture as he could conveniently carry off, he set out for Andekân, leaving Allâhdâd, Argûn Shâh, and

¹ Arabsh. *ubi supra*, p. 129—135.

Bâba Termes, in the castle of Samarkand, not caring to embarrass himself with their company.

*Flies from
Samar-
kand with
Kalil Sol-
tân.*

Although he took Kaiîl Soltân along with him he left Shâdi Mulk behind, whom he had reduced from her state of grandeur to a very low condition. After his departure, the people being left without a commander, resolved to take care of their own interests. Allâhdâd and Argûn Shâh were desirous to march out and meet Shâh Rûkh, who now approached the city; but Abdo'lwâl, followed by the rabble, would not permit them. This doctor had great authority among the populace, and during the short interregnum, disposed of all things at pleasure. He continually incensed the people against Allâhdâd and his associates, till Shâh Mâlek and Shâh Rûkh arrived. As soon as this prince drew near Samarkand the citizens went out to meet him, and with joyful acclamations conducted him into the city, where he quickly re-established order. As to Allâhdâd and his colleagues he caused them to be seized and put to death, after they had undergone the most cruel torments; only Bâba Termes was respite for some time longer, that he might receive the punishment in this life due to his crimes. But he eluded their design; for one day, pretending he had concealed treasure in a certain place, when he came to a deep pond which lay in the road, he on a sudden disengaged himself from the hands of his guards, and leaped into the water, where he was drowned in their sight.

*Shâh Rûkh
enters.*

When all disturbances were composed, Shâh Rûkh went to visit the tomb of his father; where he caused all the funeral ceremonies to be performed again. Then he ordered most part of the rich moveables, the arms, and other things of value, which were in the sepulchre, to be carried into the magazines; plundering the treasures, and searching the most secret places for hidden wealth. At length his officers seized on Shâdi Mulk, and made her suffer a thousand indignities: they tortured her, to discover her effects; and led her in chains through the streets, shouting after her as an infamous woman. Meanwhile Khodâdâd, retiring to Andekân, entered into an agreement with Kalil Soltan, and promised never to do him any injury for the future; assuring him at the same time, that this disgrace would never have happened to him, but through the perfidy of Allâhdâd and Argûn Shâh. He urged this discovery as a proof of his sincerity; and, though he put the

• *Arabsh ubi supra, p. 135—141.*

prince in mind of his attempt to poison him, yet declared he was so far from revenging it, that he would do his utmost to re-establish him in his dominions.

Accordingly, he caused the kotbah to be made in the name of Kalil Soltân, throughout Turkestan; and then, *Khodadâd slain.* leaving him at Andekân, departed, in order to demand succours of the Mungls in his behalf. The Mungls had, on the death of Timûr, come to an agreement with Khodadâd; they likewise sent ambassadors, with rich presents, to Kalil Soltân; who received them with great civility, and dismissed them loaded with favours. As this amity was strictly cultivated afterwards with the Mungls, as soon as Khodadah arrived among them, they seized his person, and sent advice to Kalil Soltân; acquainting him, that they were ready to obey his commands, either in putting Khodadâd to death, as the author of his present misfortunes; or sending, by him, the succours which he had desired in his name. Kalil Soltân, in answer to this message of the Mungls, displayed the miserable condition to which that amir had reduced him; adding, that the traitor now placed him (the prince) as a buckler before him, to ward off the strokes of his own bad fortune. Then he told them, that, as they knew better than he what designs Khodadâd had in view; he therefore left it to them to act in the affair as they should judge most expedient.

On the receipt of this answer, the Mungls immediately *Kalil Soltân resigns.* cut off that commander's head, and sent it to Kalil Soltân; who thenceforward continued on the frontiers of Turkestan, amusing himself with composing pathetic elegies in the Persian language, on the absence of his beloved Shâdi Mulk. At length, no longer able to support his uneasiness, he marched with his troops towards Samarkand, and put himself into the hands of his uncle. Shâh Rûkh received him with honour; and, without speaking of the evils that were past, delivered up to him the chief object of his affections. Then, leaving at Samarkand his son Olugh Bek, to govern that province, he returned to Khorassân; carrying with him Kalil Soltân, to whom he afterwards gave the command of the country dependent on Ray: but he did not enjoy that settlement long; for he soon after died, by means of poison which his uncle caused to be given to him privately; and, by his death, put an end to the troubles in which the country had been involved. Shâdi Mulk, unable to bear this new affliction, stabbed herself with a poinard; and was buried at Ray, in the same tomb with her unfortunate consort. *His death.*

S E C T. VII.

The Reign of Shâh Rûkh.

Shâh Rûkh. **B**Y this conquest, or rather voluntary submission, of Great Bukhâria, Shâh Rûkh became peaceable possessor of the greater part of the empire of his father Timûr: for, besides that large region, he was master of Karazm, Khoraffân, Kandahâr, and part of Hindûstân, Jorjân, Mazânderân, Persian Irâk, Pârs, Kermân, and, in short, all the country of Irân, or Persia at large, as far as the province of Azerbejân, which was then subject to Kara Yûsef

A.D. 1402.

the Turkmân⁹. Timûr in 805, divided the countries to the west of Persian Irâk, among the three eldest sons of Mirân Shâh; Abûbekr, Omar, and Kalîl Soltân. To the first he gave Arabian Irâk; Omar was invested with Azerbejân, Rûm or Anatolia, and Syria; and Kalîl had for his share Armenia, Arrân, Georgia, and Trabizond. It may be proper, therefore, in this place, to inquire how the dominions granted to these three princes came to be lost.

Omir takes Irâk. Arabian Irâk was then in the hands of Kara Yûsef; who, on his return from Syria, whither he had fled from the arms of Timûr, had seized it, on some disgust against Soltân Ahmed, whom he drove out of the province: but Abûbekr, advancing with a superior force, obliged the Turkmân to abandon Irâk; and rebuilt Baghâdâd, according to his grandfather's directions. After Timûr's death, Omar Mîrza, resolving to join his brother Abûbekr's territories to his own, made war upon him; and, having surprised him in the city of Soltânîya, took him prisoner. Thus Irâk fell into the hands of Omar, with the city of Baghâdâd, its capital¹. Soltân Ahmed, whom, with Kara Yûsef, the sultân of Egypt had set at liberty, on receiving news of the death of Timûr, entered Baghâdâd, with some of his friends, in disguise; and, exciting a sedition against Omar's governor, the people expelled the latter, and proclaimed Ahmed sultân.

Recovered by Abûbekr. In the mean time Abûbekr, escaping out of prison, raised forces, and drove Omar out of his dominions, which he soon became master of; and, while he was employed at the siege of Ispâhân, towards the end of the year 808, the

⁹ Arabsh. ubi supra p. 146. ¹ D'Herb. Bibl. Orient. p. 20. & 693. Ait. Aboubekr & Omar Mirza.

Amîr Ibrâhîm, marching from Shîrwân, seized the city of Tauris: but was soon obliged to abandon it at the approach of Soltân Ahmed, who thus was re-established in all his dominions. Ibrâhîm having, in 809, reduced Ispâhân, soon obliged Ahmed to quit Tauris, and retire to Bâghdâd; and, Oînar being soon after slain in Khorâslân, by the troops of Shâh Rûkh, Abubekr, by his death, remained in peaceable possession of Tauris. But this prince, though brave; was unfortunate, and did not long enjoy either his own or his brother Omar's territories: for Kara Yûsef, taking advantage of these divisions which reigned among those princes, entered Azerbejân with a numerous army of Turkmâns. Abûbekr advanced with his forces to repel the invader; and, in 810, fought two battles with the Turkmâns, on the banks of the Euphrates: both which he lost; and, in the first, his father Mirân Shâh, who accompanied him in that expedition, was slain.

A.D. 1405.

After the last defeat, Abûbekr fled to the province of Kermân, and from thence to that of Sajestân, or Sistân; where having raised forces, he began his march with design to make head against the Turkmâns, and drive them out of Azerbejân; but, in his return, he was killed⁵. Mean while Kara Yûsef proceeded with his conquests; and, in two or three years, subdued that province. Then, leaving Tauris in a good posture of defence, he marched against Kara Osmân Bayandûri, who was possessed of Diyârbekr; which, on the other's approach, he abandoned⁶. During his absence, Soltân Ahmed, not able to bear the loss of Azerbejân, which he considered as his patrimony, took the field, and next year surprised Tauris. Kara Yûsef no sooner received advice of this event than he marched against the sultân with a powerful army, and overthrew him two leagues from Tauris. Ahmed concealed himself in a garden; where being discovered, he was put to death, at the instigation of the lords of Irâk.

Conquered
by Kara
Yûsef;

In 815, Kara Yûsef, entering Georgia, slew Constantine the king; and brought Sheykh Ibrâhîm, king of Shîrwân, *with other countries.* prisoner to Tauris⁷. From what has been said, it appears, that this Turkman conquered great part of the countries which Timûr had given to his grandchildren Omar Mîrza and Kalîl Soltân. And it may be presumed that the rest of them returned in subjection to their former lords; as Syria to the sultân of Egypt, and Rûm (or Anatolia) to the Othmân emperors; or else were seized by the neigh-

⁵ Mirkond & Khondemir ap. D'Herbel. p. 20. & 150. art. Aboubekr and Avis; also Texeira, p. 321. 324. ⁶ Ibid. ⁷ D'Herbel. p. 150, & seq. art. Avis.

bouring princes. Kara Yûsef, extending his conquests eastward, took Soltâniya, Kasbin, and other cities in Persian Irâk : while Shâh Rûkh, though desirous to resent this injury, as well as revenge the death of his brother Mirân Shâh ; yet, being employed about other affairs, was not at leisure to oppose him, till the year 821 ; when he began his march with a powerful army, to attack his dominions. As soon as this intelligence was brought to Kara Yûsef, who had marched toward Antab, a city of Syria, near Hâlep, he desisted from that enterprize, and turned back to meet the sultân ; but died on the route, at Ojân, or Ujan, near Tauris ^{w.} After his death, Amîr Eskânder, son of Kara Yûsef, continued the war against Shâh Rûkh ; by whom being defeated in Diyârbekr, he retired towards the Euphrates, while the victor marched to Tauris : but, being denied entrance by the inhabitants, he returned to Khoraffân ; and Eskânder came back to his capital.

In 828, this prince advanced to Soltâniya, and took it ; of which exploit, Shâh Rûkh being informed, he marched again to Tauris, where he routed Eskânder, who retired towards Rûmestân (or Anatolia.) Nevertheles, Shâh Rûkh could not make himself master of that city. He therefore returned to Khoraffân, to recruit his army : and then marched to Ray in Irâk, which he reduced. There Jehân Shâh, brother of Eskânder being defeated by his brother, was reconciled to him, and received the investiture of Azerbejân, for which he became his tributary. Eskânder fled to Alenjâk, where he was killed by his own

A.D. 1437. son in 841.

Although Pîr Mehemed Jehân Ghîr was appointed Timûr's successor, and Kalîl Soltân actually possessed the capital of his empire, with the provinces north of the Jihûn, for four years together ; yet Shâh Rûkh is by historians reckoned the immediate successor of that conqueror, and the beginning of his reign is fixed in the year of the Hejra 807. He rebuilt the famous fortress or castle of Herât, which his father had destroyed, and employed seven thousand men about that work : he likewise repaired the walls of the city itself, and those of Marû, which had lain in ruins ever since the time of Jenghîz Khân.

This prince is called by historians Mîrza Shâh Rûkh, or Shâh Rûkh Mîrza ; also Shâh Rûkh Bahâdr, or the Valiant. He was named Shâh Rûkh by his father Timûr, because he received the news of the birth of this prince at the time when he was playing at chess ; and had made the stroke which the Persians call Shâh Rûkh, that is, when

Opposed by
Shâh Rûkh.

A.D. 1418.

Hej. 828.

A.D. 1424.

The sultan's
victories ;

and other
acts.

A.D. 1404.

Whence
named.

^w Texeira, p. 321.

the rûkh, which we call the tower, has given chec to the king.

Shâh Rûkh died in the year 850, in the city of Ray, or Rey (in Persian Irâk,) after he had lived seventy-one years, and reigned forty. He had five sons; Ulug Beg, who succeeded him, Abû'l Fetah Ibrâhîm, Bayfankar, Soyûrgatmîsh, and Mohammed Jûki. All these princes, excepting the eldest, died during the life-time of their father. Abû'l Fetah Ibrâhîm governed Pârs (or Proper Persia,) for the space of twenty years, and died in 838. This prince left in Shîrâz, the capital, several monuments, which have preserved his memory: among others, a famous madraßah, or college, which bears the name of Dâr al Sâfu, that is, the *House of Joy and Pleasure*. There are extant several little poems, as well as inscriptions, of this prince's composing; and it was to him that Shârif o'ddîn Ali Yezdi, who is reckoned the most elegant of all the Persian historians, dedicated the history of Timûr, entitled, Dhâffer or Zâffer Nâmeh, that is, the *Book of Victories*; which was written by his order, in the year 828, of which we have given the abstract.

Mîrza Bayfankar, or Bayfangor, who died the year before his brother Ibrâhîm, left three sons; Mîrza Alao'ddawlet, Soltân Mohammed Mîrza, father of Yadighiar, and Mîrza Babr Abû'l Kassem. Soyûrgatmîsh commanded in the country of Gâznah and the Indies. He died before his two elder brothers, in the year 830.

Mîrza Mohammed Jûki, the fifth and last son of Shâh Rûkh mentioned by historians, died in 848, two years only before the death of his father*.

S E C T. VIII.

The Reign of Ulug Beg, his Son Abdo'llatîf, and Soltân Abdo'llah.

UPON the death of Shâh Rûkh, in 851, the empire of Timûr fell again into division; for his three grand-children, the sons of Bayfankar his third son, seized each a share. Alao'ddawlet, the eldest, possessed himself of Khorassân; Mohammed, the second, kept Persian Irâk and Pârs, of which he was governor; and Abû'l Kassem Bâbr retained Jorjân and Mazânderân: so that nothing remained to mîrza Mohammed Jûki, surnamed Ulug Beg, or the *Great Lord*, eldest son and successor of Shâh Rûkh, except-

* D'Herbel. p. 770. art. Schah Rukh.

Hejra 850.
A.D. 1446.
*His death,
and sons.*

ing the countries to the north of the river Jihûn and Turkestan; which he had governed for near forty years.

As soon as Alao'ddawlet heard of the death of his grandfather, he seized on Herât, the capital of Khorassân, under pretence of commanding in behalf of his uncle Ulug Beg. He found great treasures in that city, which he plundered; and detained as prisoner the person of Abdo'llatîf, Ulug Beg's eldest son, who was yet very young. Ulug Beg sent ambassadors to his nephew, to treat of peace, and redeem Abdo'llatîf out of his hands: but this peace lasted but a short space; for Ulug Beg advanced the year following, with his two sons, Abdo'llatîf and Abdo'lazîz, at the head of a powerful army, to attack him; and, meeting with him at Morgâb, fourteen parafangs from Herât, gave him battle. Alao'ddawlet, not able to withstand the shock of his uncle's arms, was defeated, and retired to his brother Bâbr; while Ulug Beg entered triumphantly into Herât, and ascended the throne of his father Shâh Rûkh.

Defeats the brothers.

However, he did not remain long in peace; for the two brothers, Alao'ddawlet and Bâbr, having assembled a considerable army, resolved, if possible, to drive him out of Khorassân. Ulug Beg, marching from Herât against them, forced them to abandon Astarabâd, which they had already reduced; and obliged them to take shelter with their other brother, sultan Mohammed, who reigned in Persian Irâk. Ulug Beg, content with having put them to flight, returned also to Herât, where his presence was very necessary: for, in his absence, the inhabitants of the suburbs of that great city had revolted, and placed at their head Yar Ali, the Turkmân, son of Eskander, and grandson of Kara Yûsef, mentioned in the reign of Shâh Rûkh, with a design to seize Herât: but the victorious prince returned time enough to chastise them for their rebellion, and gave the pillage of the suburbs to his troops. After which transaction he returned to his royal city of Samarkand.

Hejra 852.
A.D. 1448.

Slain by his son.

The absence of Ulug Beg soon gave mîrza Bâbr an opportunity to come again to Astarabâd, and from thence to Herât; whose inhabitants, in resentment for the plundering of their suburbs, opened their gates to him. This misfortune was succeeded by a greater; for, not long after, Abdo'llatîf rebelled against his father, and marched to reduce Bâlk. Ulug Beg, willing to bring his son to reason, advanced with his troops towards that city; but Abdo'llatîf, instead of submitting, went at the head of an army to meet his father, and give him battle. Ulug Beg was

was defeated ; and, being taken prisoner, was put into the hands of Abbâs, who, after some formal proceedings against him, at length put him to death, in the year 857.

This prince was endowed with great qualities ; for, besides being very courageous, he applied himself to study *A learner.* the sciences, and particularly astronomy. It is under his name and authority that the tables, entitled, *Zij Ulug Beg*, were composed, at Samarkand, by Ali Ebn Gayâ-tho'ddîn Mohammed Jamshid, surnamed Al Kushji, and by Salâho'ddîn Kâzi Zâdeh al Rûmi, the greatest astronomers of their time. This latter, who had been Ulug Beg's master, dying before the work was finished, the whole burden fell upon the former. The work, entitled, *Mârifat al Tawârik* (U), calls this prince Soltân al Hind wa al Sind, that is, *King of the two Indies*, and gives him a reign of forty-one years ; although he properly reigned no more than two years after the death of Shâh Rûkh. Khonde-mîr, Al Jannâbi, and Ebn Yûsef, dignify this prince with the surnames, or titles, of Al Mâlek al Saïd, Kurkhân, and Sâheb Kerân ; all which Timûr bore, and left them as hereditary in his family ^y.

Ulug Beg was succeeded by his unnatural son Abdo'l-latif ; who, to his parricide added fratricide ; having also caused his brother Abdo'lazîz to be assassinated, in order to secure himself on the throne : which he did not enjoy longer than six months ; at the expiration of which his own soldiers shot him to death with arrows.

After the death of Abdo'l-latif, Abdo'llah, son of Ibrâhîm, son of Shâh Rûkh, took possession of his dominions. This prince succeeded his father Ibrâhîm in the sovereignty of Pârs, or Proper Persia, in the year 1438, with the consent of his uncle Shâh Rûkh : but being at length driven out of his dominions by his cousin-german Mohammed Mîrza, son of Bay Sangor, son of Shâh Rûkh, he fled to his uncle Ulug Beg, at Samarkand ; who received him with great hospitality, and gave him his daughter in marriage. He seems to have continued in that city during the remainder of the lives both of Ulug Beg and Abdo'l-latif ; a circumstance which gave him an opportunity, on the death of the latter, to seize the throne : but he pos-

^y Texeira, p. 317. D'Herbel. p. 83. 414. art. Alaeddin & Ulug Beg.

(U) It has been published by Mr. John Geaves, with a Latin version, under the title of *E-pochæ Celebriores.*

fessed it no more than one year ; for being twice attacked by Abûsaïd Mîrza, he was the last time slain in battle, in the year 855.

S E C T. IX.

The Reign of Abûsaïd Mîrza.

A.D. 1541.

*Soltân
Abûsaïd
Mirza.*

ABUSAID Mîrza, the son of Mohammed, the son of Mîrân Shâh, son of Timûr, was in the army of Ulug Beg when he made war on his son Abdo'llatîf, on the banks of the river Amû, and seemed to live in very good understanding with that prince : but having an ambitious mind, and an enterprising head, he took the advantage of that war, and the troubles which ensued in the city of Samarkand, to discover the design which he had, for a long time, entertained, of making himself the chief of a new party, and master of some provinces. With this view he joined his forces to those of Il Argûn, one of the most powerful lords of the country, and marched with him to Samarkand ; where Abdo'lazîz, another son of sultân Ulug Beg, commanded for his father : but this latter not thinking himself strong enough to oppose such numerous forces, abandoned the city, and retired to Jahar, or Chaar Divar, that is, *the Four Walls* ; where he believed himself in greater security.

*Secures
Bokhâra.*

Ulug Beg immediately quitted the Amû, to go and relieve his capital ; and thus left the way open to his rebel son Abdo'llatîf, who did not fail to pass the river, and follow at his father's heels. That prince having seized Samarkand, after his parricide, in 854, Abûsaïd was no longer in a condition to undertake any thing ; and therefore was obliged to retire to the camp of Il Argûn : but Abdo'llatîf, considering him as a thorn in his foot, found means to draw him out of that post, and take him prisoner. However, his confinement did not continue long ; for he made shift, soon after, to escape to Bokhâra ; where, being informed that Abdo'llatîf was dead, and Abdo'llah had succeeded him, he managed matters so well by his intrigues, that he obtained possession of Bokhâra, and of the country belonging to it. Then he declared war openly against Abd'ollah, and marched towards Samarkand : but being met by the sultân, he was defeated, and constrained to fly into Turkestan.

Next

Next year Abûsaïd, strengthened by the powerful assistance of Uzbek Khân, of Kipjâk, returned to attack Abdo'llah, from whom he took several castles; and at length came to a bloody battle, in which the sultân being slain, Abûsaïd became peaceable possessor of all the provinces to the north of the Amû, which belonged to Ulug Beg. However, this victory cost Samarkand very dear; for the Uzbeks, or soldiers of Uzbek Khân, having entered the city, treated the inhabitants with great inhumanity. Abûsaïd made use of artifice to drive them out; for going alone, and in a plain dress, to the gate, he there discovered himself to the burghers who guarded it, unknown to the Uzbeks; and entering the city, presently made himself master of the principal posts; which having secured, he obliged the Tartars, partly by force, and partly by presents, to quit the place, and retire home with their leader ^z.

In the year 862, sultân Bâbr, one of Timûr's grandsons, A.D. 1456. who reigned in Khorassân, being dead, and his son Mah-mûd on the throne, Abûsaïd, who had for a long time meditated the reduction not only of that province, but of all Irân, or Persia at large, immediately put himself in a condition to accomplish his design. He entrusted part of the execution to the care of sheykh Mîr Haji, governor of Bâlk, and advanced with his army towards Herât. Ahmed Yessawl, who commanded there in behalf of sultân Ibrâhîm Mîrza, retired into the citadel called Ektiâro'ddîn. Abûsaïd having become master of the city, and in vain summoned Ahmed to surrender, gave several assaults to the castle; but was always repulsed, and made no progress in the siege.

At this juncture some malicious persons having informed him, that sultân Ibrâhîm Mîrza had sent couriers to the sultâna Jaurshâd, his mother, and held a secret correspondence with her; he, in a transport of anger, hastily gave orders to put her to death. Immediately after this unnatural step, Shîr (or Mîr) Haji arrived in the camp, having left one he confided in to guard the strong castle of Niretû, which was taken by surprize.

Abûsaïd apprehending that the children of sultân Abdo'llatif were preparing for war in order to recover their father's dominions, quitted at length the city of Herât, and took the road to Bâlk. He sent, however, one of his generals before him, with the best part of his army, to

A.D. 1450.
Ascends the
throne.

A.D. 1456.
Enters
Khorassân.

Niretû for-
tress lost.

Retires to
Bâlk.

^z D'Herbel. p. 34, &c. art. Abousaid Mîrza.

disperse the troops which those young princes had assembled in the neighbourhood of that city. As these princes, named Ahmed and Jûghi, were rash enough, with their new-raised troops, to hazard a battle against well disciplined forces, they suffered for their ill conduct; for Ahmed was killed in the action, and Jûghi escaped with great difficulty.

Turkmân ravages.

This expedition being finished Abûsaïd went to pass the winter at Bâlk; but he did not remain long in peace, for Alao'ddawlet and mîrza Ibrâhîm, his relations, and Jehân Shâh the Turkmân, son of Kara Yûsef, advanced from Azerbejân in Khorassân, committing horrible ravages. Abûsaïd was obliged, in those unlucky conjunctures, to quit Herât, which most of the inhabitants, not thinking themselves secure against the fury of the Turkmâns, had already abandoned, on the news of their approach. They had now encamped six months about that city, when Abûsaïd having assembled all the forces of his dominions, advanced to give them battle at the river Morgâb. Jehân Shâh, surprised at this motion, sent Pîr Budak, the bravest of his sons, with a body of troops, to reconnoitre the sultân's army, but he was driven to the very camp of his father. The Turkmân having at the same time received intelligence from Azerbejân, which made him very uneasy, resolved to return to that province. Accordingly he sent away the heavy baggage before, and then dispatched Sayd Ashûra to the sultân with proposals of peace².

Hejra 863. Abûsaïd insisted at first that Jehân Shâh should be content with Azerbejân, and yield up to him all that he possessed in Persian Irâk and Khorassân; but after much negotiations it was agreed, that the Turkmân should remain master of Irâk, and not enter into Khorassân beyond the city of Semnân in Komes, which was to serve as a frontier to both dominions. After the conclusion of this treaty, made in 863, the enemy took their route for Irâk; but committed such cruel ravages wherever they passed, that they scarce left a house standing. Upon their retreat Abûsaïd made his entrance into Herât, where commerce was again restored, the want of which had caused a great scarcity in that city. To ease the inhabitants, therefore, both of that capital and the province, which had suffered extremely during the stay of the Turkmâns, he sent his

Makes peace.

² D'Herbel. p. 35. art. Abousaid Mirza.

army into Great Bukhâria, keeping with him no more than two thousand horse for his guard.

The princes Alao'ddawlet, mîrza Ibrâhîm, and mîrza *Defeats the Sanjar, his relations, who had territories bordering on his, príncipes.* the limits of which they were desirous to extend, seeing the sultân in a disarmed state, entered into a confederacy among themselves to attack him. However, unprovided with troops as he was, he made no difficulty to meet them, with the few men he had, between Saraks and Marû; but his courage was happily seconded by fortune; for, when he was upon the point of engaging, two of his commanders arrived with fresh forces, and the confederate princes were defeated. Sanjar was taken prisoner and put to death; the other two princes escaped, and Abûsaïd returned triumphantly to Hérât, where he resolved to retake the strong castle of Niretû, which had been lost by surprize; and this aim he very easily accomplished by means of the intelligence which he kept up in the place.

Mîrza Ibrâhîm, who, after his defeat, had fled to Da- *Ibrâhîm megân, having assembled fresh troops, marched towards dies.* Tûs, or Mashhâd, in hopes to repair the loss he had lately sustained, and take that city by stratagem; but death, which surprised him on the road, rendered all his designs abortive, and delivered the sultân from a competitor, who, for a long time, disputed with him the empire of Timûr Bek. In the course of the same year Abûsaïd had a son by his queen, the daughter of Alao'ddawlet, whom he named Shâh Rûkh; and, towards the end of it, shâh Mahmûd, son of sultân Bâhr, whom the Turk-mâns had obliged to fly into the province of Sejestân, was killed in a battle, which he fought in Hindostan^b.

In 864, Abûsaïd receiving advice that sultân Huzzayn, *Hejra 864.* son of Mansûr, son of Baykâra, son of Omar Sheykh, son *A.D. 1459.* of Timûr Bek, had advanced as far as Sebzwâr, pillaging and ravaging all before him, sent a body of forces under the conduct of the amîr Ali Pârsi and Hassan Sheykh, towards Mazânderân, which belonged to Huzzayn, and followed in person with the rest of his army. An obstinate battle was fought between these two monarchs, in which Huzzayn having been entirely defeated, Abûsaïd was received into Astarabâd, capital of the country, and proclaimed sultân. This prince, after he had passed some time in that city, gave the government to his son Mahmûd, and set out for his imperial residence of Hérât; but

Routs sultân Huzzayn.

^b D'Herbelot, p. 36. art. Abousaid Mirza.

before he got thither he met with a great alarm, for Khalil Hendûgha, who commanded in Sajestân, in the time of sultân Babr, took the occasion of the sultân's absence, to present himself before Herât, which he imagined would yield to him without striking a stroke; but the inhabitants putting the city in a posture of defence, formed a body of troops, with which they vigorously repulsed Khalil, and obliged him to return to his own country.

*Khalil
Hendûgha
submits.*

*Hejra 865.
A.D. 1460.*

Abûsaïd, who was informed, while in Mazânderân, of Khalil's enterprize, made forced marches in order to relieve his capital; but finding the city in as good condition at his arrival as when he left it, he rewarded the fidelity of the inhabitants, and then marched towards the province of Sajestân to punish the rashness of Khalil, who not having forces sufficient to resist so powerful an enemy, had recourse to his clemency, and having sworn obedience to him, the sultân pardoned his offence, without depriving him of his government; however, he made him dependent on shâh Yahia, who was descended from the ancient kings of the country. In 865, mîrza Alao'ddawlet, who had retired towards the coast of the Caspian Sea, to Mâlek Yansûn, died a natural death, and his corpse was conveyed from thence to Herât, where it was interred in the college built by his mother the sultâna Jawhershâd.

*Peace with
Jûghi.*

At the same time Abûsaïd being informed that mîrza Mohammed Jûghi, son of sultân Abdo'llatîf, ravaged the plains of Great Bukhâria, he marched with his army and passed the Jihûn, to reduce this young prince to his duty; but he had no sooner arrived at Samarkand, than Jûghi, unable to keep the field against him, took refuge in the city of Shâh Rûkhîya, where Abûsaïd proposed to besiege him; and would have forced him to surrender if the war, which sultân Huffayn had declared in Mazânderân, had not obliged him to abandon his enterprize, and make peace with Jûghi. Huffayn had taken the field a second time, and besieged Astarabâd, capital of Jorjân, where Abûsaïd had left his son Mahmûd governor. This prince sallied out of the city with all his forces, and gave the enemy battle; but he lost the victory, and was obliged to fly into Khorassân, from whence his father had already sent to his generals to guard that frontier. Soltân Huffayn entered in triumph the city of Astarabâd, where, for a time, he enjoyed the fruits of his conquest in repose; but imagining that the wars of Great Bukhâria, in which Abûsaïd was engaged, would afford him time enough to subdue Khorassân, he marched with his army into that province, leaving

leaving Abdo'rrahmân Argûn to govern Mazânderân and Jorjân, which then composed one state^c.

The generals of Abûsaïd finding that they were not able to oppose him in the field, resolved to fortify Herât, and defend that city. Soltân Huffayn did not fail to appear before it with his army; but not with design to besiege it; for he did not believe that the inhabitants either would or could defend themselves. However, finding, after he had waited eleven days encamped at Bâghzagun, that there was no likelihood of their surrendering, he invested Herât in form. He then battered the walls, and attacked the place with his best troops for twenty days; but was always repulsed by the bravery of the garrison. Mean while Abûsaïd being on his way to relieve the city, Huffayn was obliged to raise the siege, and marched to the river Morgâb to dispute the sultân's passage; but his troops being dispersed for the sake of spoil, and his officers divided in their opinions, he retired towards Astarabâd by the way of Sarkas or Sarakhs.

This retreat, though made without any loss on the part of Huffayn, proved a great victory to Abûsaïd, who driving his enemy continually before him, obliged him to quit Astarabâd, and consequently to abandon the provinces of Mazânderân and Jorjân, whose inhabitants went out to meet the victor. Abûsaïd having thus a second time become master of these provinces, put to death Hendûgha and his sons, whose disloyalty he had often experienced, and committed the government of Astarabâd to his son Mahmûd, whom Huffayn had expelled. He returned afterwards to Herât in 866, where he punished with death Moezzo'ddîn, president of the diwân, or council of that city, who had disobeyed his orders during his absence.

Having no enemy to divert him, he, in 867, took the field in order to reduce Mohammed Jûghi, who had fortified Shâhrûkhîya so strongly, that it was deemed impregnable. He passed the Jihûn, and, arriving at Samarkand, made great preparations for the siege of Shâhrûkhîya, which resisted a whole year against all his forces. At length Mohammed, unable to hold out any longer, sent a person of great authority to the sultân's camp, to obtain honourable conditions; but Abûsaïd obliged him to surrender at discretion, and sent him prisoner to Ektiâro'd-dîn, the castle of Herât, where he remained till his death. The sultân entered Shâhrûkhîya in 868, and soon after re-

*Expelled his king-
dom.*

*Jûghi re-
duced.*

turned to Herât, which suffered greatly by the plague that year ^d.

Hejra 868. He had not been long in this city before he received advice that sultân Huffayn had made a second irruption into Khorâsân. He sent a powerful army against this prince, under the conduct of his principal generals; but they were entirely defeated in battle; so that, had not Huffayn been deserted by his best troops and principal officers, who revolted from him, he would have pursued his victory, and involved Abûsaïd in great difficulties; but this unexpected retreat of his enemy affording him leisure to re-establish his affairs, he, next year, went to winter at Marû, and finding himself in profound peace, he celebrated the circumcision of the princes his sons, with great magnificence, and diversions, which continued for five months. While he passed the following winter at Marû, he received advice of the death of Jehân Shâh, the Turkman, which was the occasion of a new war; for this sultân, who was of the family of the Black Sheep, having been slain in battle by Haffan Beg, or Ufun Haffan, sultân of the dynasty of the White Sheep, his son Haffan Ali, who succeeded him, implored the assistance of Abûsaïd.

Abûsaïd makes war on Haffan Beg. This prince, led by ambition no less than generosity, would not lose so fair an opportunity of opening a way to the conquest of Irâk and Azerbejân. However, being willing to consult Nâstro'ddîn Obeyd'ullah, counted the ablest politician of his time, he sent for him from Samarkand to Marû, where he then was in winter-quarters; and, after a conference with him, resolved to undertake the war against Haffan Beg. Pursuant to this resolution, he, in the year 872, decamped from before Marû, and marched to attack the provinces of Irâk and Azerbejân. When he arrived on the frontiers of this last province, at the head of a very numerous army, he detached several bodies, who penetrated into Irâk and Pârs, and made themselves masters of all the places through which they passed. Meanwhile Haffan Beg sent several ambassadors, to solicit a pacification; but although Abûsaïd received them with great civility, and dismissed them with presents for their master; yet his answer always was, that Haffan Beg should come himself to his camp, and that he then would make known his intentions. At length he entered the country, resolving to pass the summer at Karabâgh; but the Turkman prince knew so well how to cut off his provisions and fo-

^d D'Herbel. p. 37. art. Abousaïd.

rage, that his army began to dwindle in a short time. So that, fearing to be besieged, he retreated with a very few men ; for the greater part of his troops were already dispersed, and the rest had joined the enemy. When Haffan Beg, who watched the sultân's motions, found he was gone, he sent two of his sons in pursuit of him, who took him prisoner, and brought him to their camp ^e.

Haffan Beg received Abûsaïd with a great deal of humanity, and was disposed to save his life ; but having deliberated in his council what was proper to be done with him, all his officers, particularly the kâdhi, or kâzi, of Shirwân, were for putting him to death ; and the rather, as Haffan Beg had already acknowledged the mîrza Yadighiar, son of Mohammed, son of Baysankor, for the lawful emperor and successor of Timûr, in the provinces to the south of the Jihûn. Thus this powerful prince lost his life, in the year 873, through his own fault, and for refusing to make peace, so often sued for by the enemy. Hafsan Beg, however, prevented his tent from being plundered, and preserved the honour of all the ladies of his haram. He afterwards commanded the officers of Khorassân to acknowlege Yadighiar for their sovereign.

According to the Nighîristân, and Al Jannâbi, this prince extended his dominions, which, at first, consisted of Khorassân, and the countries to the north of the river Jihûn, from Kâshgar in the East, to Tauris in the West ; and from Kermân in Irân, and Multân in Hindustân, to Karazm on the east side of the Caspian Sea. The same authors add, that he was surprised, and slain in an ambuscade laid for him in the mountains of Karabâgh, near Tauris, after he had lived forty-two years, and reigned twenty ^f : but according to Mîrkond, he was put to death by Yadighar, to whom he was delivered up ^g.

Sultân Abûsaïd left behind him eleven sons ; namely, *His sons.* Ahmed, Mahmûd, Mohammed, Shâh Rukh, Ulug Beg, Omar Sheykh, Abubekr, Morâd, Khalîl, Veled, and Omer.

The mîrzas Mohammed and Shâh Rukh fell into the hands of Haffan Beg, and remained a long time prisoners in Irâk ; from whence at length escaping, they passed some years in the same province, in a miserable state. In 899 of the Hejra, departing for Khorassân, Shâh Rûkh died, in the country of Sâri, and was interred at Herât :

^e D'Herbel. p. 37. art. Abousaid.
Tex. p. 318.

^f Ibid. p. 34—17.

but his brother Mohammed was taken prisoner by Soltân Hüsflayn.

Soltân Ahmed.

Soltân Mahmûd, when the Turkmâns became masters of Abûsaïd's camp, made his escape to Herât: but could not stay there long; for Soltân Hüsflayn, son of Mansûr, having reduced Khorâsfân under his obedience, in a short space of time, Mahmûd was obliged to take refuge with his brother Ahmed, who reigned at Samarkand, in Great Bukhâria. There he was very kindly received, and lived for a while in great harmony with his brother; till, by the solicitations of those he conversed with he went out one day, under pretence of hunting, and hastened, with those of his party, towards the springs of the Jihûn, where he seized the province of Badagshân, and the adjacent country.

Soltân Mahmûd.

Ahmed dying in the year 899, Soltân Mahmûd joined the dominions of his brother to his own; but he did not enjoy them long; for he died the same year, and left four sons; Massûd, Baysankor, Ali, and Veïs.

His sons.
Massûd.

Soltân Massûd succeeded his father; but his brothers, Baysankor and Ali, rebelling against him, he seized the latter, and caused a hot iron to be passed before his eyes; however, as the operation did not take away his sight, he fled to Bokhâra, and having assembled some troops, retired for shelter to Soltân Hüsflayn, in Khorâsfân. On the other side, Baysankor, unable to hold out longer against Massûd, left Samarkand in disguise, and fled to Konduz, a city on the Jihûn, belonging to Badagshân, accompanied by the amîr Khoſrû Shâh, who was one of Soltân Massûd's enemies. This prince, being thus delivered from his two brothers, enjoyed the sovereignty of Great Bukhâria peacefully, at Samarkand, till the year 905.

Hejra 905.
A.D. 1499.
Ali.

Mean while, soltân Ali continued at the court of Soltân Hüsflayn; who conceived so great an affection for him, that he gave him his daughter in marriage, with a very considerable portion. He also furnished him with an army, to dispute the patrimony of his ancestors with his brothers Massûd and Baysankor. Ali accordingly entered Great Bukhâria, and made considerable advances; but when he was on the point of succeeding in his enterprize, he unhappily listened to the envoys of Khoſrû Shâh; who, pretending to obey him in every thing, deluded him so much with artful speeches, that he fell into the snare, which frustrated all his designs; so that he was obliged to return to his father-in-law Soltân Hüsflayn.

Baysankor.

When Khoſrû Shâh had ruined the affairs of Soltân Ali, by his artifices, he determined to get rid of Baysankor, who

who continued at Konduz, by the snares which he laid for him also; and having at length compassed his design, he, by that prince's death, became master, not only of Konduz, but also of Baklân, Hessar, and the whole country of Badakshân.

As for Mîrza Veïs, or Weïs, fourth son of Mahmûd, he *Veïs.* was all the while in Turkestan; whither, to avoid these troubles, he had retired to his relations by his mother's side.

Ulûg Beg, the fifth son of Abûsaïd, obtained from his *Ulug Beg.* father the government of Kâbul and Gâzan, with the Indies; which provinces he was master of in the H. 899, A. D. 1493.

Omâr Sheykh, sixth son of Abûsaïd, became, by his father's death, sovereign of the country of Andekân; which he possessed till the year 899, when he broke his neck, by a fall from the top of a pigeon-house. He reigned with the reputation of a very good prince; and was succeeded by his son Bâbor, or Bâbr, founder of the empire of the Mungls, who reign at present in Hindûstân.

Abûbekr, seventh son of Abûsaïd, had for his share, *Abûbekr.* during his father's life, the country of Badakshân; which he possessed also after his decease; till, quarrelling with Soltân Huffayn, he was taken prisoner, in a battle fought between them, and put to death, in the year 884 ^h.

Soltân Morâd, the eighth son, for some time governed *Soltân Morâd.* the provinces of Kermefîr and Kandakâr; and, when his father Abûsaïd conquered Irâk, he advanced, by his order, to seize the province of Kermân; but receiving advice on the road of his defeat, and death, he returned to his first government. After this event, Yûsef Tarkhân revolting against him, he had recourse to the protection of Soltân Huffayn, who sent him under a strong escort, to his brother Ahmed, at Samarkand. However, he did not remain long there; for, not meeting with a very favourable reception, he soon returned to Soltân Huffayn's court, where he was hospitably entertained; but at length, in 880, he was accompanied by the officers of that prince to the castle of Niretû; and from that time we have no account of him.

Mîrza Soltân Kalîl, the ninth son of Abûsaïd Mîrza, remained at Herât during his father's unfortunate expedition against Hassan Beg: so that Soltân Huffayn having subdued Khorassân, he was obliged to put himself into the

^h D'Herbel. ubi supra, p. 38.

hands of that conqueror. Hūssayn sent him into Great Bukhāria, where his brother Ahmed reigned; but Kalīl taking upon him to act as master as soon as he entered the country, Ahmed sent one of his generals, with some troops, to curb his insolence; so that he was soon after slain in an engagement on this occasion.

Soltân Veled.

Soltân Veled, tenth son of Abūsaïd, passed his days in a private condition, among the Oriental Turks of the tribe of Erlat; till he died at length of poison, infused by one of his domestics in his drink.

Omar Mirza.

Soltân Omâr Mîrza, youngest son of Abûsaïd, was at Samarkand at the time of his father's death; but Ahmed being obliged to banish him from his court, on account of some disturbances which he excited, he retired to his brother Abûbekr, who was then encamped near Marû, at the time that Soltân Hūssayn entered with his army into Khorassân. Abûbekr opposed the invader's progress; but having been defeated and slain, Omar retreated toward Abiurd or Bawerd, and Nessa; where being taken by some of Hūssayn's officers, he was sent prisoner to Herât, and confined to the castle of Ektiârō'ddin; from whence, in 883, he was conveyed to the castle of Niretû; after which removal, we hear no more of him¹.

The Reign of Soltân Ahmed.

Soltân Ahmed.

AFTER the death of Abûsaïd, his eldest son Soltân Ahmed, of whom some account has been already given, succeeded him at Samarkand, in the country of Mâwara'lnâhr, now called Great Bukhāria, and reigned twenty years; at the end of which he died, in the year 899^k, of Christ 1493.

The Reign of Soltân Bâbr.

Soltân Bâbr.

THE mîrza Soltân Bâbor, or Bâbr, was the son of Omar Sheykh, sixth son of Abûsaïd Mîrza, according to Khondemîr. By the death of his father, in 894, he became sovereign of the country of Andekhân; and on the decease of Soltân Ahmed, in 899, he ascended the throne of Great Bukhāria; but in 904, Shay Beg Soltân, invading that region with an army of Uzbeks from beyond the river Sihûn, drove him out of his kingdom. Bâbr, after his expulsion, retired to Gaznen, or Gazna, and thence into Hindustân, where he made considerable conquests; over which he reigned till the year 937 of the Hejra, of

¹ D'Herbelot, ubi supra, p. 39.

^k Texeira, p. 319.

Christ 1530¹: but as we shall have occasion to speak of his actions more at large, when we come to treat of the race of Timûr who reigned in India under the name of Jagatays and Great Mogols, we shall say no more of them at present.

S E C T. X.

Of the Princes descended from Timûr, who reigned in Khorassân, and other Parts of Irân, after the Death of Shâh Rûkh.

AS the empire fell into confusion after the death of *State of Timûr*, the like anarchy prevailed at the demise of *Irân*, his son Shâh Rûkh: so that, excepting the twelve years during which Abûsaïd held Khorassân, that province, with some neighbouring countries, was possessed by other princes descended from Shâh Rûkh, and not by those who were his immediate successors in Great Bukhâria.

Baysanker, son of Shâh Rûkh, dying in 837, during his father's life-time, left four sons; Rokno'ddin, Alao'd-dawlet, Soltân Mohâmmmed, and Abû'l Kâsiem Bâbr; who all made a great noise in the world. Shâh Rûkh, on Bayfanker's death, gave his father's employments to the eldest, and pensions to the other two princes.

As soon as Alao'ddawlet heard of the death of his grand-father Shâh Rûkh, he seized on the city of Herât, capital of Khorassân, under pretence of commanding in *Alao'd-dawlet seizes Herât*. behalf of his uncle Ulug Beg, who reigned at Samarkand. He there found great treasures, which he plundered; and seized the person of Abdo'llatîf, son of Ulug Beg, whom he kept prisoner for a considerable time: but Ulug Beg, having passed the Amû with a powerful army from Great Bukhâria, defeated, and obliged him to fly to his brother the Mîrza Bâbr. These two princes joined their forces, and marched to oppose their uncle; who, judging the match to be equal, left them in possession of Herât, and returned to Bâlk^m.

Shâh Rûkh being dead in 850, Mîrza Bâbr, who then *A.D. 1446.* governed the province of Jorjân, entered that of Khorassân; where his brother Alao'ddawlet had already seized Herât, *Bâbr pos-
seßed of Jorjân.* and encamped with his forces near the city of Tûs (or *Jorjân.* Mâshhâd,) near the sepulchre of the Imâm Ali Rîza.

¹ D'Herbelot, p. 38. 163. art. Abusajd Mirza & Miran Shah.

D'Herbelot, p. 83. art. Alaeeddoulat.

But, by the mediation of friends, hostilities were prevented between the two brothers; and the country of Kabushân appointed the boundary between their dominions; after which accommodation, Bâbr returned to Astarabâd, the capital of Jorjân.

*Opposes
Ulug Beg.*

Next year, Bâbr, having received advice that his uncle Ulug Beg was in arms on the borders of Bastâm and Damegân, and had already passed the bridge named Pul Ibrîshîm, or the Bridge of Silk, to attack his brother Alao'ddawlet, sent Kalîl Hendûgha, one of his generals, to follow the Soltân; and marched himself, with his best troops, towards Herât, in order to intercept his passage to that city. As this march obliged Ulug Beg to quit Khorassân, Bâbr soon reduced Herât, which his brother Alao'd-dawlet had already abandoned; where he exercised great violences towards the inhabitants. But they were revenged on him some time after: for Yâr Ali, the Turkmân, having advanced to besiege him, the citizens delivered one of their gates to his enemy, and obliged him to fly to the castle of Ektiâro'ddîn; which he pillaged, and abandoned. Yâr Ali, seeing himself master of such a potent city, imagined the war was entirely over, and thought of nothing but diverting himself; when the troops of Bâbr, which still hovered near Herât, found an opportunity to seize a gate; and surprising Yâr Ali, in the midst of his debauch, brought him before Bâbr, who ordered his head to be struck off in the public market-place.

*Imprisons
Alao'd-
dawlet.*

Bâbr, thus master of Khorassân, gave the city of Tûn to his brother Alao'ddawlet, who had not appeared since his flight from Ulug Beg: but afterwards, having conceived some jealousy of him, seized him, with his son Ibrâhîm, and sent them prisoners to Herât. In the sequel, giving himself up to pleasure, and neglecting affairs, his officers committed many disorders in the city: but the revolt of Shâh Husseyin, in the province of Sajestân which depends on Khorassân, roused him effectually. He forthwith took the field, and marched with great expedition against the rebels, who not being prepared to encounter him, submitted to pay an annual tribute. In the mean time the amîr Hendûgha, dissatisfied with the fiery temper of Bâbr, put himself at the head of several malcontents, and seized the city of Astarabâd. Bâbr immediately advanced against him, and gave him battle; which at first proved adverse, and fatal to Soltân Abûsaïd, who commanded his army; but at length Ali Behâdr, his second

cond general, slew Hendûgha, and obtained a complete victory^a.

At this juncture Alao'ddawlet escaped from prison, and fled to Irâk, to his brother Mohammed; who, on the death of their uncle Shâh Rûkh, seized on that province, together with Pârs (or Proper Persia;) and, still gaining ground, was advanced as far as the borders of Khorassân. Bâbr met him with a considerable army; but was entirely defeated by his two brothers, and obliged to take shelter in the castle of Omâd; while Mohammed entered Herât, and delivered the Mîrza Ibrâhîm to his father Alao'ddawlet. Bâbr some time after quitted Omâd; and, by the way of Abiurd, or Bawerd, marched towards Astarabâd, knowing that the inhabitants were discontented with the amîr Hâji Janashîrîn, whom Mohammed had made governor. The latter met him at Tûs, and fought an obstinate battle, but lost it; and, being taken prisoner, with several officers, all were put to the sword. Soltân Mohammed, who had advice of this march, made haste to support his general: hearing by the way, that he was defeated, he advanced so expeditiously with three hundred horse only, that he surprised Bâbr in his camp, and obliged him to fly to the castle of Omâd.

The victor, however, that the enemy might not perceive the small number of his troops, retired also to his former camp; where he was astonished not to find one of his soldiers, who on a false report of his defeat, had all dispersed. At the same time he was informed, that his brother Alao'ddawlet, whom he had sent to Kermasîr in Kermân before the battle, taking advantage of Bâbr's second retreat to Omâd, had repaired to Herât, and been admitted by the inhabitants. These tidings much surprised Mohammed; who, seeing that all the advantages he had gained by the war, served only to exalt Alao'ddawlet, quitted Khorassân in disgust, and returned to Irâk. Bâbr no sooner heard of his brother Mohammed's retreat, than he left Omâd, and marched to attack Herât; which Alao'ddawlet quitting on his approach, he the second time entered that city: but, not content with this conquest, he marched to Bâlk, whither his brother had fled; and, driving him out of that city also, pursued him into the mountains of Badakshân, till he was able to proceed no farther for the snow. Thus he became master of Bâlk, Konduz, and Baklân; where having left governors, he returned to

*Flies to
Mohammed.*

*Recovers
Herât.*

Flies again.

^a D'Herbelot, p. 160. art. Babor.

Herât: but was greatly surprised, at his arrival, to find that Avîs Beg, whom he entrusted to guard the castle of Ektiâr'oddîn, had revolted².

Bâbr recovers Herât. The soltân, instead of undertaking to force a place which was capable of making great resistance, thought of a stratagem, which succeeded to his wish. He sent an order to the governor, forbidding him to stir out of the castle when he should make his entrance into the city: then sending forward his whole band of music in the evening, he mixed with them some of his bravest officers. These when they approached the city, gave out that the soltân was come. Avîs immediately sent his son into the corridor, to receive him, and followed in person, leaving his brother in the fortress: but Sheykh Mansûr, one of the pretended musicians, fell upon the son of Avîs Beg, whom he stabbed, while his companions dispatched the father. After this execution, the castle was immediately surrendered to Bâbr, who being informed that his brother Alâ-o'ddawlet lay concealed in the tent of Eskander Beg, which was in the rear of his camp, caused him to be taken from thence, and put under a strong guard.

Hejra 855.
A.D. 1451.

Defeats
Moham-
med.

In 855 Soltân Bâbr went to pass the winter at Astara-bâd, and made some stay afterwards at Bastâm, where being informed that his brother Mohammed intended to make war upon him again, he sent an ambassador to obtain a peace at any rate. Soltân Mohammed seemed not inclined to grant his request: he pretended that part of Khorassân belonged to Irâk; that the money which was coined there ought to bear his impress; and that his name should be mentioned in the public prayers. However, Bâbr consented to all these demands, rather than hazard a war; and, quitting Bastâm, went into the country of Mazânderân. Mean while Mohammed, disregarding the treaty which he had made with his brother, marched with his army towards Khorassân, and advanced as far as the city of Esferayn. Bâbr was extremely troubled at this violation of the treaty; and assembling a body of troops in haste, marched towards his brother; who met him at Kaburân, where was fought one of the most bloody battles that ever was recorded. The two soltâns performed prodigies of valour; and victory for a long time seemed doubtful on which side to declare. But at length Mohammed, being hurried too far by his courage, found himself on a sudden surrounded, and taken prisoner³.

• D'Herbelot, p. 161.

¶ D'Herbelot, p. 161.

Bâbr, having gained this important victory, caused *Puts him* Mohammed to be slain without remorse: and, having thus *to death.* got rid of his youngest brother, he ordered the eyes of Alao'ddawlet, the eldest, whom he kept prisoner, to be put out: but the persons who were appointed to execute that sentence, in pity to this prince, moved the hot iron before his eyes in such a manner, as not to deprive him of sight. Bâbr believing he should have no more disturbance from his brothers, marched towards the province of Pârs, to take possession of it, as belonging to him by the death of Mohammed. The great lords of the country came to pay him homage: and he entered triumphantly into the city of Shîrâz. But he had scarce arrived, when he received advice that Jehân Shâh, the Turkmân, son of Kara Yûsef, had entered Persian Irâk with considerable forces, and already besieged the city of Kom. In consequence of this invasion he left Shîrâz, under the government of Mîrza Sanjar, one of his relations, to discharge his fury on the Turkmân, when he was stopped by more unwelcome tidings from Herât; importing that his brother Alao'ddawlet, assisted by the amîr Yadighiar Shâh, and several of his near relations, had taken the field against him.

On this advice, judging it of more importance to pre-
serve Khoraffân than Irâk, he returned to Herât, by the
way of Yezd, where he left the Mîrza Kalîl, son of Jehân
Ghîr, to command: but, before he arrived, the amîr Pîr
Darwîsh, and his other generals in Khoraffân, had pacified
the troubles, by obliging Alao'ddawlet to retire to (Ray in
Kuhestân, of Persian Irâk.) Bâbr, having thus restored
peace to his dominions, thought of nothing but taking his
pleasure; when, in 857, Sanjar, and the other lords whom
he had left at Shîrâz, being put to flight by Jehân Shâh,
arrived at Herât. He therefore put himself in motion,
resolving to carry the war into Irâk and Azerbejân, which
the Turkmâns had subdued. At Astarabad he received advice
from Bâlk, that Soltân Abûsaïd, who reigned in Great Buk-
hâria, had passed the Jihûn; and, having defeated and slain
his generals, was encamped near that city.

Bâbr, reflecting that it was of more importance to pre-
serve Khoraffân than subdue Irâk, left the Turkmâns at
liberty to pursue their conquests, and marched back to
Herât.

When he arrived at Morgab, he understood that Abû-
saïd had repassed the Jihûn: but this intelligence did not
hinder him from proceeding towards Great Bukhâria; which
he entered, by fording that river at Kondûz and Baklân.

Defeats
Alao'-
dawlet.

A.D. 1453.

Marches
against
Abûsaïd.

Abûsaid, finding himself hard pressed, sent ambassadors with proposals of peace: but, without hearing them, he continued his march till within a league of Samarkand; where several considerable persons waiting on him, to dispose him to an accommodation, he gave them no other answer, than that he had come too far to return so hastily. Nevertheless, after losing a great number of officers as well as soldiers, without gaining any advantage, in a siege of forty days, he listened to terms of peace: the chief conditions of which were, that the Jihûn (or Amû) should separate the two dominions, and the prisoners be exchanged.

Hejra 859.
A.D. 1454.

Pacifis
Sægestân.

After this agreement, Bâbr returned to Herât, where he remained in peace till 859; when finding that Shâh Husseyin, who had become his tributary, did not act according to his engagements either by him, or the officers whom he sent into the province of Sajestân, ordered the amir Kalil Hendûgha to reduce that prince to reason. Kalil contrived matters so well, that Husseyin was obliged to fly, in which he lost his life by the snares which one of his own domestics laid for him; and thus Kalil became master of all the country which bears the name of Nimrûz, that is, the South, as well as that of Rostam, from the famous commander Rostam, who was a native and governor of that country. At the same time Bâbr bestowed on the mîrza Sanjar the government of Marû and Mokhân.

Hejra 860.
A.D. 1455.

Bâbr d'es.

In 860 Bâbr, having recovered from a dangerous fit of sickness, retired to Tûs for change of air; and went to visit the tomb of imâm Rîza, from whom Tûs has taken the name of Mashhâd Mokâddes, that is, the *Holy Sepulchre*. Here he made presents worthy of a great prince; and in the exercise of his devotion made a vow to abstain from wine: but, next year, forgetting this engagement, he relapsed into his debauches; and his blood being overheated, died suddenly in a transport of passion, much regretted by all his subjects.

He was succeeded in his dominions by his son the mîrza Shâh Mahmûd; who (in 862) being compelled by the Turkmans to fly into Sajestân, was next year killed in a battle which he fought in Hindostân, in the reign of Abûsaid; who thus became possessed of Khorassân⁹.

The race of Bâbr being extinct, as well as that of Alao'ddawlet, there remained only the mîrza Yadighiar,

⁹ D'Herbelot, p. 162.

or Yadighar, son of their brother Mohammed, late sultân of Persian Irâk and Pârs. It does not appear where this prince retired to, immediately on the death of his father; but, in 873, we find him at the court of Haffan Beg, or *Hejra 873.* *A.D. 1468.* Uzun Haffan, prince of the dynasty of the White Sheep, who had the year before exterminated that of the Black Sheep, by the death of Jehân Shâh. Haffan Ali, son of Jehân Shâh, having prevailed on Abûsaïd to make war in his favour against Haffan Beg, the sultân, in the year above mentioned, marched towards Karabâgh; where being vanquished by the joint forces of the Turkmân and Yadighiar Mîrza, Haffan Beg caused the officers of Khorassân, who were in Abûsaïd's army, to acknowlege Yadighiar for lawful emperor, and successor of Timûr, probably in resentment of Abûsaïd's assisting his rival Haffan Ali.

Yadighiar, that year, besieged Astarabâd: but he was *Reduces Khorassân.* opposed in his enterprize by Soltân Huzzayn, already possessed of Khorassân, who relieved that city, and defeated his troops. Yadighiar, on this repulse, retreated to Haffan Beg at Tauris, who assisted him a second time, and gave him troops, with which he routed Huzzayn, obliging him to fly towards Fariâb and Bâlk. By this victory Yadighiar became master of Khorassân: but he abandoned himself so entirely to his pleasures, that he wholly neglected his affairs, and took no more precautions than if he had no competitor to his dominions. This insensibility furnished Huzzayn with leisure to wait an opportunity to attack him unexpectedly, which he found soon after; for surprising him in the midst of his debauches, with only a thousand horse, he slew him in the year 875; and this prince was the last of the family of Shâh Rûkh who reigned in Khorassân¹.

Huzzayn Mîrza was the son of Mansûr, or Almansûr, *Soltân Huzzayn.* son of Baykarah, son of Omar Sheykh, second son of Timûr. He was surnamed Abû'lghâzi, on account of his victories: but we have little more to add concerning them, than what has been already related in the foregoing reigns. After the defeat and death of Yadighiar Mîrza, his near relation, he ascended the throne of Khorassân, in its capital Herât: but this conquest did not procure him a settled repose; for he was engaged in several wars with the Uzbek Tatars, who made frequent incursions upon his territories; and had already driven mîrza Bâbr out of

¹ D'Herbelot, p. 470.

Great Bukhâria, which they seized. Against these newcomers he obtained some signal victories, and designed to have expelled them ; but he died at Wadekis, in 911, after a reign of thirty-six years over all Khorassân. This prince, who was a lover of virtue and the sciences, left several children ³.

Badio'zzaman and Mozaffer, two of Huffayn's sons, reigned both together at Herât, after their father's death, but did not long enjoy his dominions ; for being invaded by Shaybeg, khân of the Uzbeks, and not able to oppose him, they abandoned the country to their enemy. Bâdio'zzamân went first to Kandahâr, and thence to 'Trushîs ; from whence he returned with what forces he could assemble, to attack the Uzbeks : but being overthrown, he fled to Shâh Ismael Sofi, who then reigned in Persia, who gave him lands about Tauris for his support, besides ten sharifins in gold every day for his table. Bâdi continued in this situation for seven years, till 920 ; when Soltân Selîm, emperor of the Turks, having taken Tauris from the shâh, he was carried to Constantinople, where he died, in 923 ⁴. Mozaffer died in 915, in the mountains of Khorassân, whither he had fled for fear of Shaybeg ⁵.

Abu'l
Mâhan.

There still remained two of Timûr's posterity, Abû'l Mahân Mîrza, and Ghîl Mîrza. These princes joined Dhu'l Nun Argûn, prince of Kandahâr ; who marching against the Uzbeks, in support of their right to the empire of Timûr, carried them along with him : but he was slain in battle ; and the two princes being taken, and executed, an end was put to the empire of Timûr's descendants in Khorassân, after they had reigned there for the space of fourscore years.

³ Texeira, p. 320. D'Herbelot, p. 464. ⁴ Texeira, p. 321.
D'Herbelot, p. 464. ⁵ Al Jannabi ap. Poc. Supp. ad Hist. Dynast. p. 97.

C H A P. XVI.

History of the Shâhs reigning in Persia.

S E C T. I.

Of the Sofian Family, and Origin of the Shâhs.

THE founder of this dynasty in Persia was Ismael, Family of Ismael. f暑named Sûfi, or Sofi ; of whose family or descent it will be proper to give some previous account. The father of this remarkable person was sheykh Hayder, or Haydr, the son of Soltân Juneyd, the son of sheykh Ibrâhîm, the son of sheykh Ali, the son of sheykh Mûsa, or Mûsâ, the son of sheykh Sefi, who was the thirteenth descendant in a right male line from Ali, the son-in-law of the prophet Mohammed ; if the Persians may be believed, who have the greatest veneration for this family.

When Timûr Beg, or Tamerlan, returned into Persia, Sheykh Safi. after the victory obtained over Ilderîm Bâyezîd, he carried with him a multitude of people out of Karamania, and other parts of Anatolia, all whom he intended to put to death on some remarkable occasion ; and with this resolution he entered Ardevil, or Ardebîl, a city of Azerbêjân, about twenty-five miles to the east of Tabrîz, or Tauris, where he continued for some days. At this time there dwelt in that city a person named sheykh Safi, or Sefi, reputed by the inhabitants a saint, and as such much revered by them. The fame of Safi's holy life and virtue induced Timûr to gain his friendship ; and with that design he visited him often in person. When he was going to depart from Ardevil, he went to take leave of the sheykh ; and, as a token of his esteem, offered to grant him whatever favour he should ask.

Sheykh Safi, who had been informed of the conqueror's design to put the captives to death, seizing this occasion, A glorious action. requested that he would spare the lives of those unfortunate men. Timûr, desirous to oblige him, not only granted their lives, but delivered them up to him, to dispose of as he thought proper. The sheykh, when he had them in his possession, provided them with clothes, and other necessaries, and then dismissed them, to return into their respective countries. This instance of universal benevolence so far gained the hearts of those people, and their

their compatriots, that, in token of gratitude, they repaired in great numbers to see Safi, bringing him presents; and this so frequently, that few days passed on which he was not visited by many ^x.

*Soltân
Juneyd.*

Nor did this respect cease with the life of those who had received it from him; but their posterity continued to pay the same acknowledgement to the race of Safi, till the days of Soltân Juneyd, his third grandson; who lived in Jehân Shâh's time, the son of Kara Yûsef, third prince of the Kara Koyunlu dynasty. This prince growing jealous of the great authority which Juneyd had attained, by the vast number of such attendants, both horse and foot, who continually waited on him, ordered him not to receive the visits of such multitudes of people. Juneyd resented this injunction in a spirited manner; and, to avoid a second more disagreeable message, went away with his devotees from Ardebîl to Dîyârbekr; where Uzun Haffan Beg, who then reigned at that place, received him very kindly, and gave him to wife his sister Kadija Katûn, who bore him a son named Hayder, or Haydr.

*Conquers
Shîrwân.*

Juneyd was very serviceable to Uzun Haffan for several years, particularly in his incursions into Gurjeslân, which he frequently made under pretence of religion, compelling those whom he made prisoners to embrace the faith of the prophet; at length, entering the kingdom of Trebizon, and killing the king, he some years after placed his son Haydr on the throne, who held it after his father's death. Juneyd, having enriched himself with the plunder which he had taken in his several expeditions from the Georgians and Armenians, settled in the province of Shîrwân: but his great wealth, added to the number of his adherents, inspired the people of the country with such jealousy and distrust, that they formed a conspiracy against him, in which he perished with most of his followers ^y.

*Hejra 892.
A.D. 1486.*

After Uzun Haffan had slain Jehân Shâh, and taken possession of his kingdom, Haydr removed to Ardebîl, where he married Alemshâh, the daughter of Haffan, his own cousin-german, by whom he had Ali Pâthshâh and Ismael, who was born in the year 892. Next year Haffan furnished Haydr with some forces to make war on Ferokzâd, or Farrokyâzar, king of Shîrwân, who had killed Juneyd in battle, by the assistance of Yâkûb

^x Texeira, cap. 48. p. 337. D'Herbel. p. 503. art. Ismael Schah.
^y Texeira, p. 338. D'Herb. p. 406. art. Giuneid.

Beg, the Turkmâns general; but in attempting to revenge his father's death, he lost his life, and occasioned the destruction of almost the whole Sofian family (U), which was very numerous: all his sons were killed, excepting Yâr Ali and Ismael, who were taken. Ali was afterwards murdered by Rostam Beg; and Ishmael, being set at liberty, fled to Ghilân, or Khilân, where he continued six years under the protection of the king, who was a friend to his father Sheykh Haydr ^z afterwards, leaving that country and his benefactor, he began to appear in the world on the following occasion.

S E C T. II.

The Reign of Shâh Ismael Sofi.

HERE was at this time, among the Mohammedans, an infinite number of people dispersed over Asia, who publicly professed the sect of Ali, and among these a particular party who followed that of Haydr, which Sheykh Safi, one of his ancestors, had brought into great reputation. Ismael, who had assumed the surname of Sofi (X), finding Persia was all in confusion, with the troubles occasioned by those of the Ak Koyunlû family; and hearing that there was a great number of the Hayderian sect in Karamania, a province of Anatolia, removed thither. There having assembled seven thousand of that party, all devoted to his family, in 906, when he was but fourteen years of age, he invaded Shîrwân; and engaged Ferokzad, whom he considered as his father's murderer, with that handful of men overthrew, killed

Hejra 906.
A.D. 1500.

Shâh Ismael Sofi, subdues Shîrwân, and Azer-bejan.

^z Texeira, p. 339. D'Herb. p. 421. art. Haydr; & Pocock Suppl. p. 63.

(U) Haydr was called also Al Sûfi, and Sheykh Sûfiyat: hence his descendants, who assumed the name of Sûfi, were called Sûfiyat and Haydariyat, that is, Sofian and Haydarian.

(X) Sofi signifies properly, in Arabic, *a man cloathed in woollen*, from *Sof*, or *Sûf*, which signifies *wool*. But there is some reason to believe that the word comes from the

Greek *Sofos*: for the Musulmans denote it by a sage, or philosopher, who lives separate and retired from the world, by a kind of religious profession. Sofi, therefore, signifies a religious Mohammedan, who is called also Dervîsh, or Darwîsh, both in Turkish and Persian; and in Arabic, Fâkir.

him,

him, and became master of his kingdom. Next year, marching from Nakhshivân with his army to Tauris, where Alwand resided, that prince abandoned the country and fled.

Hejra 908. After this success, Ismael marched into the kingdom of A.D. 1502. Zulkâder, but had no sooner turned his back, than Alwand returned to Tauris; to the relief of which place ^{also Persian} Ismael hastening, the other fled to Bâghdâd, and thence to Diyarbekr, where he died. Ismael remained at Tauris, but sent his forces into Persia against Morâd Beg, the remaining Turkman prince, who being defeated, with the loss of ten thousand men, next year abandoned Pârs and Kermân. Ismael passed the winter at Kom, in Persian Irâk, and from thence sent Elias Beg with an army against the city of Ray, or Rey, formerly its capital; but Huseyn Beg Jelohi, who lay in the way to meet him, hazarding a battle, defeated and killed him; Ismael on the news of this defeat set out immediately in quest of Huseyn, who retired to the strong fortress of Firûzkûh: this place the shâh besieged, and, by cutting off the water which was conveyed to the fort by aqueducts, obliged the enemy to surrender within the space of one month.

Hejra 911. This war being terminated, Ismael set out for Khoras-

A.D. 1505. fân; but he had not advanced far, when Reyh Mohammed Karrahi, with some forces, possessed himself of Yazd

Conquers
Pârs, in Pârs; Ismael turned back upon him, and after a brave

defence took both the city and Karrahi, whom he caused

to be burnt alive. The victor marching to Shîrâz, ordered

by proclamation, that every man who had been en-

gaged in the war against his father Haydr, should be put

to death; on which occasion between thirty and forty

A.D. 1508. thousand persons perished. In 914, while he wintered at

Turon, sultân Huseyn Mirza, king of Koyraffân, died;

and Shaybek Khân, the Uzbek, subdued his dominions,

driving out his son Badi Azzaman, who fled to Irâk for

protection.

Hejra 916. Ismael in the sequel marched into the country of Rûme-

A.D. 1510. stân, or the Turks, and having given the government of Di-

yârbekr to Mohammed Khân Estayalu, in 916 (Y), ad-

vanced to Bâghdâd, where Bâribeg commanded; who, on

his approach, left the city and fled along with Morâd Beg,

the last of the Ak Koyunlû Turkmans in Anatolia. Thus

(Y) Because the Turks are of the Romans, or Roman em-

now possessed of the country pire, which Rûmestân signifies.

that

that capital of Arabian Irâk fell into the hands of Ismael, although he lost a great number of men in passing the Tigris: hence turning towards the province of Khûzestân, he took the city of Shuster, which is the capital, and although it was the depth of winter, he afterwards marched into Shîrwân, where he reduced the cities of Bakû and Dârbend.

At length, in the year 917, he directed his march to Khorassân, against Shaybek Soltân Khân, who, after the death of sultân Husseyn, son of Baykâra, grandson of Timûr, had seized that province. On his approach the Uzbek retired to Mârû, or Marwo, but being at last provoked to battle, he lost it with his life; by which event, Ismael acquired Khorassân and Mâwara'l-nâhîr. Two years after this accession was born his son Tahmâsp, or Thamas; and in 920, Selîm I. sultân of the Turks, attacked Arzenjân on the Euphrates. Ismael, who was then at Ispâhân, the capital of Persian Irâk, in order to stop the progress of the Othmâns, took the field, and was met by Selîm in the plains of Chalderon, near Koy; where Ismael being defeated with the loss of five thousand men, retired to Tauris, and thence to Kafshân. Selîm pursuing his good fortune, reduced Tauris, where having staid a fortnight, he returned to Amasia in Anatolia. This year the Kezilbâsh flew Morâd Beg in Diyâbekr, and brought his head to shâh Ismael. Next year Selîm took the important fortress of Kemâk: he likewise subdued the country of Alâedeulet and Zulkâder, with the territories of Hâlep, or Aleppo, in Syria. In 922 the sultân possessed himself of Diyâbekr; but thinking the conquest of Egypt of more importance than that of Persia, he turned his arms on that side next year, and left Ismael in peace; who, from the time of his defeat, never undertook any thing of consequence till his death, which happened in 930, after he had lived thirty-eight years, and reigned twenty-four, reckoning from the defeat of Ferrokzâd, king of Shîrwân.

This prince was endowed with great courage, terrible to his enemies, and severe in military discipline; he was harsh and cruel, and ambitious to such excess, that he used often to say, "As there is but one God in heaven, so there ought to be but one king on earth." As he took the name of Sofî, or *Religious*, so he was exceedingly honoured by his subjects, whose enthusiasm or frenzy rose sometimes to adoration; nay, his soldiers would have ascribed to him a sort of divinity, but, haughty as he was,

Hejra 917.
A.D. 1511.

Defeats
Shaybek.

Hejra 920.
A.D. 1514.

Defeated by
Selim I.
who takes
Tauris.
A.D. 1515.

A.D. 1518.

and Diyâr-
bekr.

Hejra 930.
A.D. 1523.

Ismael's
character.

Greatly re-
verenced.

was, he always rejected this sort of incense. After having gained an important victory, when some saluted him by the title of prophet, others of angel, and others of God, finding he was not able to dissuade them from paying him such impious homage, he commanded a pit of great depth and extent to be dug, and throwing one of his shoes into it, ordered the man who loved him best to go fetch it out: no sooner was the word spoken, than some thousands to shew their zeal, leaped in; and the moment they were down, all the earth which had been dug out of it, was thrown upon them, so that they were buried alive for their impious adulation.

His sons.

Ismael had four sons, shâh Tahmâsp, Aleas or Elias Mîrzah, Sam Mîrza, and Bahrâm Mîrza^a.

S E C T. III.

The Reigns of Tahmâsp I. and Ismael II.

Shâh Tahmâsp. **T**AHMÂSP, the eldest son of Ismael, succeeded his father. He maintained several wars in Khorassân against the Uzbeks; who, having seized Karazm and Great Bukhâria, which bound Persia on the north, became very troublesome neighbours: but that which he carried on against Solymân, the Othman emperor, was more formidable. Solymân, having advanced with his forces to attack him in 941, at the time he had another war upon his hands in Khorassân, he was obliged to return with his army to oppose the Turks: however, he avoided coming to a battle, on account of the great artillery which Solymân had brought along with him. The sultân, having entered Persia, besieged Tauris, and took it; but afterwards, without penetrating farther into the country, withdrew, and retired to Kâra Amîd or Diyârbekr.

Actions and death. As soon as shâh Tahmâsp was informed of his retreat, he attacked his rear-guard, consisting of seventeen thousand men, which had been left, according to the custom of the Turks, to prevent their being surprised. In effect, he defeated this body of troops, and retook Tauris: but Solymân having marched back, the shâh fled before him, and ruined his own country, to avoid being pursued^b.

^a Texeira, D'Herbelot, & Pococke, *ubi supra.*
Annals ap. D'Herbelot, p. 1016, art. Thahamâsb.

^b Turkish

Tahmâsp

Tahmâsp began his reign in the year 930; and died in ^{Hejra 983.} 983, after he had reigned fifty-three years. He was poisoned ^{A.D. 1575.} by one of his wives, the mother of prince Haydr, out of an eager desire to set him on the throne after his father's death: but her design was frustrated by his sister, who bribed one of the officers belonging to the treasury to kill him, when he went to enquire what money his father had left^{c.}

He had two other sons, Ismael and Mohammed, who both reigned after him.

This is all the account, relating to shâh Tahmâsp, ^{In invaded by Solymân,} which has been transmitted to us from the oriental authors. Olearius says, that sultân Solymân, taking advantage of the weakness of shâh Tahmâsp, who did not inherit the virtues and great endowments of his father Ismael, recovered from the Persians, by his generals, all they had taken from the Turks, excepting Bâghdâd and Wan: that, two years after, he entered Persia in person, took Tauris, and besieged Soltâniyâh; while Tahmâsp, who was at Kafwîn, had not courage enough to attempt raising the siege, which yet, by accident, was abandoned: for, in March, some few days before their Newrûz, or new-year's day, there fell abundance of rain, accompanied with a violent storm, and the snow of the neighbouring mountains dissolving at the same time, all the valleys were overflowed, and the Othmân camp greatly distressed. This sudden inundation, joined to the colour of the water (which, probably, from the nature of the ground through which it passed, was reddish), so intimidated Solymân, that he immediately broke up his camp, and returned home. In his retreat, he destroyed all before him: but, being engaged by the Persians near Betlîs or Bedlîs, was totally defeated.

who re-treats.

According to the same author, the Persians spoke contemptuously both of his conduct and valour. They charged him with neglecting to administer justice to his subjects, and leaving the whole management of affairs to his ministers. They blamed him for giving protection to Humayûn, son of sultân Babr, the Mogol of Industân, who was driven out of his kingdom; and refusing to deliver him up, when demanded by the usurper. But surely this particular of his conduct deserves applause rather than animadversion^{d.}

^c Ebn Yusef. ap. Pocok. Suppl. ad Hist. Dynast. p. 65. ^d Olearius's Travels, lib. vi. p. 345.

Reduces
Georgia,
and its
princes.

It has been already mentioned in the reign of Ismael, that Georgia was reduced to pay tribute by shâh Ismael. That country, besides the kingdoms of Kaket and Karthuel, was then divided among several feudatory princes, who were continually at war among themselves. In the time of Tahmâsp, Karduel, or the Eastern Georgia, was possessed by Luarzab, who left two sons, Simon and David, between whom he divided his dominions: but, as neither was content with his share, they declared war against each other; and both solicited assistance of Tahmâsp. The youngest happening to apply first, Tahmâsp answered, that he would give him all his father's territories, provided he would turn Mohammedan. David embraced the proposal, and joined the Persian army, consisting of thirty thousand horse, which had already entered the country. From thence he was sent to Kafbin; and, as soon as Tahmâsp had him in his power, he made the same offer to Simon; who, finding himself hard pressed by the Persian arms, surrendered himself, but without renouncing his faith. The shâh, being now master both of the princes and their country, sent the elder prisoner to Jengha, near the Caspian sea; and made the other governor of Georgia, changing his name from David to Dawd Khân; at the same time he obliged him and the Georgian lords to take an oath of fidelity, and send him their sons for hostages.^e

Shâh Tahmâsp had, by several wives, eleven sons and three daughters. Among the sons, there were three who survived the rest; Mohammed, who, on account of his weak sight, had given up thoughts of governing, and embraced a devout life, was called Khodâbandeh, that is, Servant of God, Ismael, and Haydr. As Tahmâsp had a particular affection for Haydr, it was his design to make him his successor; and, for that purpose, he admitted him to a share in the administration during his life. When the shâh was near his end, the great lords sent to Mohammed, whose right it was by birth, to accept of the crown: and, on his refusal, gave notice to Ismael, who was then a prisoner in the castle of Kahak, where he had been confined by his father, for having, without orders, made incursions into the Othmân dominions. Mean while Haydr, who was but seventeen years of age, impatient to ascend the throne, had the presumption to put the crown on his

^e Chardin Voy. en Perse, tom. i. p. 125. Olearius, p. 345. Minad. Wars between Turks and Pers. p. 4.

head, and appear in that equipage before his dying father.

More effectually to carry his point, during Ismael's absence, he solicited his sister Peria-konkonna, who was older than any of her brothers, to make use of the interest which she had with the grandees, in his behalf. *Put to death.*

The princess had already declared herself in favour of the elder brother; yet, fearing Haydr would proceed to violences, which might prevent her securing the crown for Ismael, if she opposed his pretences, she suffered him to assume the title of king; and, as such, he was acknowledged all over the palace. However, she had all the avenues so well guarded, that it was impossible for Haydr's friends to carry any tidings of this transaction to the city: so that the young prince, beginning to distrust his sister, and apprehending her design was to sacrifice him to his brother's resentment, concealed himself among the women; till Shamal, a Georgian, his uncle by the mother's side, discovered him, and cut off his head^f.

The Reign of Ismael II.

ISMAEL, being thus raised to the throne from a *Shâb Ismael II.* prison, by the management of his sister, in order to reward her for the favour, put her to death. However, he did not long survive this instance of cruel ingratitude; for he died on the 13th of Ramazan, in the year 985, aged fifty. *Hejra 985.* His death was thought to be procured by poison infused in *A.D. 1577.* treacle, which he took often, and in great quantity. Others say, that he was slain by some of the great lords, disguised in women's apparel^g. He reigned one year and ten months.

Ismael confirmed the proverb, that "the reign of a *His great* prince, who returns from exile, is always cruel and *crusly*." for he began his reign with the execution of all the kindred and friends of Haydr, as well as of those who had advised his father to imprison him; pursuing such as he could not apprehend, even as far as the frontiers of Turkey, the religion of which he openly professed. In order to discover how the grandees were affected towards him, he caused a report to be spread of his death: but he appeared again too soon for those who had been so imprudent as to express an aversion to his government; for he

^f Olearius, ubi sup. Herbert's Travels, p. 198. Minad. p. 6.

^g Pocock. Suppl. p. 65. D'Heib. p. 505. art. Ismail ben Thahmasp.

took away the lives of all such as he had the least jealousy of ; and exercised such enormous cruelty, that his sister *He is slain.* Peria-konkonna, not thinking herself secure while he lived, took care to make away with him : but this step was taken so secretly, that when Olearius was in Persia, it was not known in what manner the inhabitants got rid of such a tyrant ^b.

S E C T. IV.

The Reigns of Mokammed Khodabândeh, Hamzeh, and Ismael III.

Shâh Mokammed.

ON the death of Ismael, Mohammed Khodâbandeh was sent for from Khorassân, of which he was governor, and coming to Kâfîn, ascended the throne. Beside the appellation of Khodâbandeh, which he obtained on account of his devotion, he had also that of Alzarir, or *the Blind*, given him, because his eye-sight was much impaired ; and it was for this reason that Ismael, who put to death all his other brothers, had spared him ^c.

Peria-konkonna slain

Olearius says, he could by no means be prevailed on to accept the crown, till he was made sensible that both his person and the kingdom would be exposed to great danger, in case it should pass to a strange family. However, he resolved not to assume it, but on condition that, before he made his entry into Kâfîn, they should bring him the head of Peria-konkonna (Z), who having embrued her hands in the blood of two of his brothers, might otherwise have it in her power to dispose of the kingdom to another ; for this princess had prostituted herself to several lords of the court, particularly to Amîr Khân, whom she had filled with hopes of ascending the throne.

Hejra 986.

His character.

As soon as Mohammed assumed the reins of government, he seemed studious to imitate those of his predecessors who had contributed most to preserve and exalt the glory of the state. This is the character given of him by Bizzarus ; but the Persians affirm that never any prince managed a sceptre with greater negligence and pusillani-

Olearius, ubi sup. Herbert, p. 199. Minad. p. 10. ^c Pocock. Suppl. p. 65. D'Herb. p. 613. art. Mohammed Khod.

(Z) As this seems to be the name of a princess said to be slain by Ismael, there must be some mistake, or great uncertainty, in this particular, among the Persian historians. Peria-konkonna may not be improperly rendered the *Fairy Queen*.

mity,

mity, insomuch, that finding himself unfit for carrying on any military design, he spent all his time within the palace gaming, and diverting himself with the women; that his enemies the Turks on one side, and Uzbek Tatars on the others, taking advantage of his effeminacy, invaded Persia, and seized several provinces, which continued in their hands as long as he lived^d.

At first, however, the Persians, under this prince, gained some considerable advantages against the Turks. *Defeats the Turks.* Minadoi relates, that in the year above mentioned, their general Tokomak, with only twenty thousand men, in the Kalderan plains, defeated a hundred thousand Othmâns under Mostafa Pâshâ, and killed thirty thousand, though not without the loss of eight thousand Kizîlbâsh, of whose heads Mostafa made a monument to intimidate their countrymen. Minadoi says, three thousand of them were the heads of prisoners; and that, ordering them to be laid in a heap, he sat on it while he gave audience to a young Georgian lord who paid him a visit; but this insult was retaliated on the Turks in the course of the same year; for being met a second time by Arez Beg and imâm Kûli Khân, as they passed the Konak in Georgia, thirty thousand of them were slain and decapitated to raise a higher monument to the Persian valour. Arez Beg, with ten thousand men, afterwards surprising the Tatars in their way from Mazândarân, where they had done great mischief, to join Ozmân Pâshâ, left by Mostafa in Shîrwân, he attacked and routed a great part of their army; but Abdo'l Gheray, the Tatar general, with some select troops, coming unexpectedly upon the backs of the Persians, turned the fortune of the day; for the latter, already fatigued, taking them for the Turks under Ozmân Pâshâ, were presently defeated; and their general Arez Beg being taken, was afterwards hanged at Shamakiya^e.

Mohammed Khodabândeh, informed of the shameful death inflicted upon Arez Beg, ordered his son amîr Hamzeh Mîrza, the wonder of his age, to revenge the injury. *His death revenged by Hamzeh Mirza.* The prince marched from Kafvîn with twelve thousand men, and in nineteen days coming up with Abdo'l Gheray and his Tartars, fell upon them with such fury, that in two hours they were totally routed. Then he entered Erez, put the garrison to the sword, and hanged Kaytas Pâshâ, to atone for Arez Beg. Here, likewise,

^d Olearius, lib. vi. p. 346. Minad. p. 15. Herbert, p. 200.

^e Minad. p. 31.

he recovered two hundred pieces of cannon, which his grandfather Tahmâsp had lost to sultân Soleymân. Hearing in the sequel where the Tatars were encamped, he attacked them again suddenly with his light troops, made a great slaughter, and unhorsing Abdo'l Gheray himself, sent him prisoner to Erez, where the queen-mother lay. Mean while Ozmân Pâshâ, with his forces, entering Shamakîya, the Persian prince marched thither with such velocity, that the amazed Pâshâ fled by night, leaving the city to his mercy, vengeance we should have termed it; for he set the houses on fire, and may be said to have quenched it with the blood of the inhabitants to punish their treachery^f.

Affairs of Georgia.

The Georgians shook off the Persian yoke after the death of Tahmâsp, as did most of the provinces of Persia during the reign of Ismael II. and the four first years of Mohammed Khodâbandeh, who sent an army into their country to reduce it to his obedience. On the news of its approach David Khân fled, but his brother Simon, who was in prison, taking that occasion to recover his possessions, turned Mohammedan, and was made governor of Tiflis, under the name of Simon Khân.

The war with the Turks continued almost all the reign of Mohammed, who was much distressed for want of sufficient forces to encounter the enemy both in Georgia and Persia; so that, although his eldest son, Hamzeh Mîrza performed wonderful actions, defeating great armies of Othmâns with a handful of men, yet by dint of numbers they gained many advantages, and at length, reducing Tauris, built a strong fortres in the middle of it, which was not recovered during this reign.

The Reign of Hamzeh, or Hamza.

Hejra 993.
A.D. 1584.
Hamzeh.

MOHAMMED Khodâbandeh died in the year of the Hejra, 993, and of Christ 1584, leaving three sons; amîr Hamzeh, Ismael, and Abbâs. Hamzeh, as being the eldest, was crowned king of Persia; yet Ismael, envying the advancement of his brother, had the address to prevail on the chief lords of the kingdom to conspire his death, which was effected in the eighth month of his reign in the following manner. Some assassins, dressed in women's cloaths, and covered with veils, according to the custom of the East, went one morning to the shâh's cham-

^f Herbert, p. 201.

ber-door, and pretending to the guards that they were the wives of some khâns whom the king had sent for, readily obtained admittance to the apartment, where they murdered the unsuspecting prince; but his death was soon after revenged upon the contriver of it^g.

The Reign of Ismael III.

WHILE Ismael was employed in contriving and executing this cruel fratricide, Abbâs Mîrza, who had the government of Khorâsân, left Herât, capital of that province, in order to visit his brother Hamzeh; but hearing on the road of his murder, thought it more advisable to return to his place of residence than put himself in the power of the murderer. Next year, while Ismael was in the province of Kârabâgh, Abbâs advanced as far as Kâswîn, where the frequent disputes which happened between the people belonging to the two brothers, heightened the distrust they had of each other. Abbâs had with him at this time Murshid Kûli Khân, whom, for his prudence and courage Mohammed Khodabândeh had appointed that prince's tutor. Murshid, knowing that Ismael would never pardon Abbâs, against whom he had spoken with great animosity, and that his own life depended on the safety of his master's, was resolved, if possible, to anticipate the king, now actually on the march against his brother. For this purpose he brought over some of the great court-lords, who, in hopes of gaining the favour of Abbâs, bribed one of Ismael's barbers, named Khûdi, to cut his throat while he was shaving him. The lords, who were present when the fact was committed, to justify themselves, cut the assassin in pieces, and burnt him to ashes. Thus died shâh Ismael III. after he had reigned eight months^h (A).

SECT.

^g Olear. Trav. lib. vi. p. 347.

^h Idem ibid.

(A) The two preceding princes are, by some European historians and travellers, put in the number of the Persian kings; by others, not. The case may possibly be the same with the Oriental historians; but the misfortune is, our extracts from them here fail us; for Mirkhond, of whom Te-

xeira has given an abridgment, so far as relates to the Persian kings, does not reach so low down. Ahmed Ebn Yûsef, made use of by Dr. Pococke in his supplement to Abû'lfaraj, wrote in the time of shâh Abbâs the first; and D'Herbelot, as if in them his sources for the history of the Sofian family had

S E C T. V.

The Reign of Shâh Abbâs I. surnamed the Great.

*Shâh Abbâs I.
His tutor's
insolence
severely
punished.*

ABBAS had already, by his spirit and moderation, so far gained the affections of the Persians, that he ascended the throne without opposition; but the favour of Murshîd Kûli Khân, who had chiefly contributed to his advancement, did not continue long; for assuming the same authority over the king as he had exerted while he was only mîrza, or prince, he excited the resentment of Abbâs, which proved his ruin. One day, when the shâh was going to give his opinion with relation to an important affair which had been proposed, that lord had the insolence to tell him before all the council, that he was not fit to speak about points of such a nature, as being above the reach of his years and understanding. Abbas dissembled his resentment at that time; but considering that if such liberties were allowed it would bring him into contempt with his subjects, he resolved to remove his governor out of the way.

He disclosed his intention to three lords of his council, Mahadi Kûli Khân, Mohammed Ustad Shâhi, and Ali Kûli Khân; but as this was a matter of the greatest consequence to them, and they doubted even the reality of the shâh's design, they endeavoured to dissuade him from it. He told them, that it was his will that Murshîd Kûli Khân should die by their hands, and that, if they scrupled to give him that testimony of their zeal for his service, he should find means to be obeyed. Those grandees finding it would be dangerous to resist any longer, followed the king into his favourite's chamber, who lying asleep on his back, Abbâs gave him the first blow with his sword across his mouth, and the others seconded it with each a stab; but Murshîd Kûli Khân, who was a very strong man, rising off his bed, put himself in a posture of defence, and doubtless would have dispatched some of his murderers, had it not been for one of his grooms, who coming in at

had failed him, under the title of Abbâs, says only, that there were two kings in Persia of that name, both well known to Europeans, by the relations of modern travellers. So that we

are turned over to them as the funds from whence we are to draw our materials for the reigns of shâh Abbâs and his successors.

the noise with a battle-ax in his hand, the shâh said to him, “ I would have the life of Murshîd Kûli Khân, who is become my enemy ; go, dispatch him, and I will make thee a khân.” The groom obeying the king’s command, went up to his master and killed him. Next day Abbâs put to death all the relations and friends of the deceased, to prevent any disturbances which their discontent might have raised against him ; and besides rewarding the groom with the dignity of khân, made him governor of Herât, the capital of Khorassân.

This monarch’s first actions discovered his abilities for governing his kingdom, and that he had no occasion for a director. His thoughts were wholly employed on recovering the large provinces which the Turks and Tatars had taken from his predecessors. He began by declaring war against the latter, who had seized the finest part of Khorassân during his father’s reign. Accordingly, having raised a powerful army, he entered that province, where he was met by Abdâllah, khân of the Uzbeks, who, at first, obtained some advantage over him, on account of the plague and bad weather, by which the shâh’s forces were incommoded. The two armies lay near six months in sight of each other ; but at last Abbâs attacked Abdâllah Khân, and forced him to retreat to Maishhâd. The shâh continued three years in Khorassân, in all which time the Uzbek was in no condition to disturb him in his conquests ; and when he attempted it, was so unfortunate as not only to be defeated, but taken, with his brother and three sons, whose heads were all cut off by the shâh’s orders¹.

*Repulses
the Uz-
bek.*

Abbâs, on his return from Khorassân, visited Ispâhân, the capital of Persian Irâk, and was so delighted with its agreeable situation, that he transferred thither the seat of his empire. His next expedition was against the Othmân Turks. Understanding, by his spies, that the garrison of Tabris, or Tauris, were under no apprehension of an attack, he privately assembled a few forces, and in six days marched thither from Ispâhân, though it is usually eighteen days journey of the karawâns. Being come to the pass of Shibli, within four leagues of Tabris, where the Turks kept a party of soldiers, rather to receive the duties on merchandizes, than hinder the entrance of the Persians, he, with some officers, left the army, and advanced as far as the barrier. The secretary of the custom-house, imagining them to be merchants, addressed himself,

*Removes to
Ispâhân.*

for the duties, to shâh Abbâs, who told him that the person with the purse was coming behind ; and calling to Dul-sikar Khân, bade him give the officer some money ; but while the secretary was telling it, he ordered one of his followers to dispatch him ; then obliging the soldiers who kept that post to submit, entered the pass with his army.

Takes Tabriz.

Ali Pâlhâ, governor of Tauris, immediately assembled a body of forces, and encountered the shâh, but was defeated and taken. The citadel, built in the midst of the city by Haffan Pâdshâh, held out a month, and was then treacherously surrendered. From hence Abbâs proceeded to Nakhjuan, the garrison of which retired to Irvân as soon as they heard of his being on the road ; having demolished the citadel of that city, called Kilshikalaban, he followed them to Irvân, which he took after a siege of nine months. This conquest facilitated the reduction of all the neighbouring cities and provinces, excepting Orûmi, which being strongly situated on the point of a rock, he besieged eight months in vain. Finding no hopes of becoming master of it by force, and that the Kûrds did him more injury than the Turks, he sought the friendship of their chiefs by presents, and, among other advantages, promised them the plunder of the place in case it should be taken by their means.

Perfidy to the Kûrds.

The Kûrds, who were a free independent people, and lived solely by rapine, embracing the offer, joined the shâh ; and by their assistance the city was taken. Abbâs having gained his point, sent to invite them to dinner with him, with a design to cut them all off, fearing they might, another time, do the Turks the like service. For this purpose a tent was erected, whose entrance had several turnings, so that those who went foremost were soon out of sight of those who followed, and a little way within were placed two executioners, who dispatched the guests as fast as they entered.

Shirwân and Kilân subdued.

From this fortress marching on, he became master of all the country between the rivers Kûr and Arrâs ; thence proceeding into Shirwân, he reduced Shamakîya, its capital, in seven weeks, with the whole province, the government whereof he bestowed on Julfakar Khân, his brother-in-law. The people of Dârbend killed the Turkish garrison, and submitted to the conqueror. He afterwards entered Kilân, and reduced the inhabitants, who, in the time of shâh Tahmâsp, had thrown off their subjection ; and as near Lankerân there was a great fen or morass, which in a manner covered the whole province, and rendered

dered the entrance very difficult, he ordered a road, or bank of sand, to be made through it from that town, and built khâns, or inns, for the accommodation of travellers, in several parts of the country^k.

It was the intention of shâh Abbâs to remain quiet with *Turks enter Persia.* the acquisitions he had made; but, about a year after, advice arriving that the Turks were marching, with an army of five hundred thousand men, towards the Persian borders, he assembled all the forces he could raise at Tabris, and ordered the inhabitants of the frontiers to retire, with their cattle, into the walled towns, desolating the country that the enemy might find no subsistence. Mean while, the Turks having advanced and encamped near Tabrîs, Abbâs caused it to be published throughout his army, that such as were willing to serve as volunteers, should list themselves in a separate body, and receive for every Turk's head they brought him fifty crowns. On this encouragement above five thousand Persians listed themselves, who every day made a prize of some heads, which were presented him as soon as he rose; among the rest, a soldier, named Bahrâm Tekel, brought him one morning five together, for which piece of service he was made a khân.

At the end of three months Chakal Ogli, the Turkish general, sent a kind of challenge to shâh Abbâs, giving *Are overthrown.* him to understand, that if he had as much confidence in God, and the justice of his cause, as he would have the world believe, he should not be afraid of hazarding a general engagement. Abbâs, scorning to be braved by his enemies, gave him battle, which having lasted the whole day, the Turks, who had lost a great number of men, retired in the night. Abbâs judging this retreat might be a stratagem of the enemy, kept his army on continual duty for three days together, without even entering his own tent all that time. At length, being satisfied that the Turks were retired towards the frontiers, he advanced to the mountain Sahend; where Mohammed Khân Kafak, Shâhirûkh Khân, Eskhar, and Yiskhân, Kurchibashi, were all cut to pieces, for having given poison to the shâh, who nevertheless received no harm, by means of an antidote, which he took immediately.

Two years after this transaction the Turks made another *Again defeated.* invasion with three hundred thousand men, and besieged the fortress of Irvân in the province of the same name; but were forced to raise the siege and retreat. They in

^k Olear. Trav. into Persia, lib. vi. p. 347.

the sequel besieged and took Tabrîs, under the conduct of Morâd Pâshâ, and kept it four months; during which five pitched battles were fought between the two nations, with little advantage to the Persians; yet at length shâh Abbâs defeated the enemy, and recovered the city. On his return from this expedition, at Ardebil he ordered Jul-fâkar, khân of Shamâkhî, to be killed, and gave his government to Yûsef Khân, an Armenian slave, who had long served him as a footman¹.

*A third
over-
throw.*

After this expedition Persia enjoyed peace for twenty years successively; at the expiration of which term the Turks invaded the country again with a powerful army, under the command of Khalîl Pâshâ, who was joined by several parties of Krim Tatars. The shâh sent against them Karchûkay Khân, the most valiant and fortunate of all his generals, who wearied them out, and forced them to retreat after several engagements, wherein he took prisoners Omerse Beg, and Shahin Keray Khân, two Tatar princes, besides the pashâs of Egypt, Halep, Arzerûm, and Wân. The king, instead of treating them ill, not only presented each with a vest and excellent horse, but sent them back without ransom.

*War in
Georgia.*

This war being happily terminated, shâh Abbâs entered Georgia, where Tamûras Khân, son of Simon, had the temerity to penetrate into the province of Segghen, situate in the midit of that country, and give him battle; but was forced to retreat with great loss. While he resided in those parts, hearing that his soldiers spent most of their money in tobacco, he forbade the use of it, and ordered the noses and lips of those to be cut off who were found to disobey his prohibition. A merchant who, ignorant of that order, had brought several bags of tobacco into the camp to sell, was, by his command, set upon a heap of faggots, with his bags about him, and consumed to ashes.

*The shâh's
sons.*

After the Georgian expedition shâh Abbâs went into Kilân, where he put to death his eldest son through jealousy. Besides four or five hundred concubines he had three wives, who bore him as many sons, Safi, or Sefi Mîrza, Khodabândeh Mîrza, and Imâm Kûli Mîrza. The two last were deprived of their eye-sight by his order, and confined to the castle of Alamût, thirty leagues from Kaf-wîn. The eldest son, whose mother was a Georgian, having fallen in love with a beautiful Circassian maiden, presented to his father by a Shîrwân merchant, begged her

¹ Olear. Trav. into Persia, lib. vi. p. 347.

for a wife, and had by her a son, named Sain Mîrza, who afterwards reigned by the name of Shâh Safi.

The cruel and tyrannical government of Shâh Abbâs, was by this time grown so odious and insupportable to the grandees, that some of them had the boldness to throw a note into Safi Mîrza's chamber, importuning, that if he would consent to the design they had in hand, he might immediately ascend the throne. Safi, shocked at being an accomplice in his father's death, carried the billet to him; at the same time protesting his detestation of the proposal, and absolute dependence on his will. The shah, who dearly loved this son, expressed great satisfaction at the discovery, and commended his affection and piety; but he was afterwards seized with such terrors, as deprived him of all rest, and obliged him to change his bed-chamber twice or thrice a night. While his mind was possessed with such continual uneasiness, that he conceived he should never be free from it as long as his son lived; his fears were heightened at Resht in Kilân by the false suggestions of a flatterer, that the prince, in conjunction with several great lords, had formed a new conspiracy against him^m.

Abbâs resolving, on this new alarm, to put his son to death, desired his general Karchûkay Khân to undertake the execution; but that brave old man, falling at the king's feet, said, he chose rather to die himself than embrue his hands in the royal blood. The shah, upon his refusal, proposed the same service to Bebût Beg, who not being so scrupulous as the other lord, went immediately, and meeting the prince on a mule, just come from a bath, accompanied only by a single page, seized the bridle, saying, "Alight, Safi Mîrza! It is the pleasure of the king, thy father, that thou shouldest die." The unfortunate prince, joining his hands and lifting up his eyes, exclaimed, "O God! what have I done to deserve this disgrace? Cursed be the traitor who is the occasion of it; but since it is God's pleasure thus to dispose of me, his will, and the king's, be done." He had scarce time to utter the words before Bebût gave him two stabs with a dagger, and laid him dead at his feet. The body was dragged to a fen not far off, where it continued above four hours.

When the news of this murder were brought to the city, the people ran in multitudes to the palace, threatening to force the gates unless the authors of it were delivered up.

Safi Mîrza put to death.

Disgrace threatening upon.

^m Olear. Trav. into Persia, lib. vi. p. 351.

The prince's mother, understanding that he had been slain by the shâh's order, ran to his apartment, and, regardless of his furious disposition, not only reproached him in severe terms with inhumanity, but flew upon and tore his face with her nails. Abbâs, instead of being angry with her, was at a loss what to say for himself; but at last, with tears in his eyes, spoke to this effect: "What would you have had me do? I was told he had a design upon my life. There is now no remedy: what is done cannot be recalled." In effect, shâh Abbâs no sooner heard of the execution, than he repented of his rashness. He shut himself up for ten days with a cloth over his eyes, that he might not see the light, lived a whole month on very spare diet, went in mourning a whole year, and ever after wore no clothes which might distinguish him from the meanest of his subjects (B). He likewise caused the place where the prince was killed to be made a sanctuary ⁿ.

Lords poisoned.

The first ten days of his mourning being over, he removed from Resht to Kafwîn, where he invited the khâns, whom he suspected, to a feast, with the flatterer who had made him jealous of his son, and causing poison to be mixed with their wine, saw them all die in his presence (C). The action of Bebût Beg was indeed rewarded with the office of Darûga of Kafwîn, and some time after, with that of khân of Kesker; but the next journey which the shâh made to Kafwîn, he ordered Bebût to cut off his own son's head, and bring it him. The khân was forced to obey, and coming back soon after with his son's head in his hands, Abbâs asked him how he did? "Alas! my lord (answered Bebût), I think I need not tell you; I have been forced to kill my only son, whom I loved above all things in the world; the grief of which, I fear, will bring me to my grave." The shâh replied, "Go thy ways, Bebût, and consider how great must have been my affliction when thou broughtest me the news of my son's death, whom I ordered thee to destroy; but comfort thyself, my

ⁿ Olear. ubi supra, p. 352.

(B) This agrees with what Herbert observes, that in 1628, when he gave audience to the English ambassador, he was dressed in a plain red calico coat, quilted with cotton.

(C) Chardin mentions, that being enraged at Ali Mirza Beg, he slew him with his own hand, and confiscated his estate, giving his palace, which was a very fine one, to the Dutch. Voy. tom. iii. p. 35.

son,

son, and thine are no more; and reflect, that in this respect thou art equal with the king thy master."

Not long after this transaction Bebût ended his life on the following occasion. One of his domestics giving him water to wash after dinner, according to custom, poured it on so hot that it scalded his hands. This accident so incensed the new khân, that he threatened to have the offender cut in pieces. The slave, considering that he had no quarter to expect from a master who had made no scruple to murder his prince and his own son, conspired with some of his fellows, and killed him the night following while he was intoxicated. Shâh Abbâs was not troubled at the loss of so hateful an object, and resolved to let the murderers escape with impunity, had not the other lords represented, that if they were not punished, not one of them would be safe after having chastised his servants. (D).

Although the shâh gave so many proofs of sorrow for his son's death, yet the prince's widow believed he had a design to make away with her son Sain Mîrza; so that, for a long time, she kept him concealed, and would not suffer him to be brought to court, although his grandfather designed him as his successor; as the eyes of his two younger sons being out, they could not ascend the throne. The shâh was reported to have had a great affection for the young prince; and yet, lest the vivacity of his spirit should revive in the people the affection for him which they had for his father, he ordered opium, about the quantity of a pea, to be given him every morning to stupify his senses; but his mother made him frequently take treacle, and other antidotes against the poison which she suspected might be given him. ^{P.}

About this time the shâh conquered the kingdom of Lâr, comprising a considerable part of the province of Pârs, or Proper Persia, which had been erected into a sovereignty in the year of the Hejra 500, by the Kûrds. These took it from the Arabs, and held it till the year 1612, when it was subdued by Abbâs, who having seized the king, put him to death for offering violence to, and robbing the karawâns which passed that way. ^{q.}

While shâh Abbâs was in Kilân, Tamûras Khân, taking advantage of his absence, entered again with an army

^o Olear. ubi supra, p. 353.

^P Idem ibid.

Hist. Pers. part ii. cap. 48.

^q Teixeira,

(D) Herbert, who travelled into Persia in the reign of shâh Abbâs, gives a different account of this affair.

into

into Georgia, and recovered all those places out of which he had been forced. Against him were sent Ali Kûli Khân, Mohammed Khân Kafak, Mortûsa Kûli, khân of Talish, and several other khâns, who brought intelligence that they found the enemy so advantageously posted, that he could not be attacked with any prospect of advantage. The shâh punished their backwardness with death, and next year marched thither in person, protesting, at his departure, that if he came back victorious, he would sell the Georgians at an abbâs, or fifteen pence a head. Accordingly, having met with success, and brought off a great number of prisoners, at his return a soldier went to him with two abbâses in his hand, and demanded two handsome young maids for them, whom he received accordingly. About this time many Georgian Christians left their country to settle in Ispâhân¹.

Taymuraz
king of
Kaket.

Chardin gives a more particular account of this expedition of Abbâs into Georgia, and the causes of it, from the Persian historians. The king of Kaket (E), named Alexander, had three sons and two daughters. The eldest son David, famous for his courage and misfortunes, under the name of Taymûraz Khân, given him by the Persians, was an hostage at the court of Persia, and educated along with Abbâs the Great, who was nearly of the same age. As soon as Alexander was dead, his widow, a wife and beautiful princess, named by the Georgians Ketavâna, and Mariâna in the histories of Persia, wrote to Mohammed Kodabândeh, desiring him to send Taymûraz, to succeed his father, and accept of his brother, as hostage in his room. Taymûraz was accordingly dispatched for Georgia, after having taken an oath of vassalage.

Luarzab
king of
Karthuel.

Simon, king of Karthuel or Karduel, died at the beginning of the reign of Abbâs, leaving the crown to Luarzab, his eldest son, a minor, under the tuition of his first minister, named Mehû by the Georgians, and by the Persians Morâd; who one day surprising the king in private with his beautiful daughter, on signifying his concern, Luarzab swore he would never have any other wife but her. However, the marriage was prevented by the queen, and ladies of the country, who declared they would never

¹ Olearius, ubi sapra.

(E) Kaket, as hath been observed before, is one of the two great provinces into which Georgia is divided, and Karthuel, or Karthuel, the other.

pay the submission of subjects to a person of a mean family, as Mehrû's daughter was. The king alleged this declaration as a reason to the father for not marrying her; but, as the Georgians are very vindictive, he was advised to dispatch Mehrû, to prevent his revenge. The design was to poison him, at a banquet; which being discovered by the page who gave him the cup, he made his escape to Shâh Abbâs, who was then at Ispâhân, on his return from the conquest of Shîrwân.

Mehrû told the shâh his case, and demanded justice *Provokes Abbâs.* of him, who, he said, was the true sovereign of Georgia. As a still surer way to be revenged of Luarzab, he used all his art to inflame Abbâs with love for that prince's sister, named Darejân, celebrated for her beauty by the Persian poets, under that of Pehri. Abbâs sent ambassador to demand her, who were informed, that she had been promised to Taymûraz, king of Kaket. The shâh, more inflamed by this refusal, sent a third ambassador to renew the demand, writing, at the same time, to Taymûraz, not to espouse Luarzab's sister, and to come to court. Luarzab, provoked at these repeated insults, abused the ambassador, and dismissed him, without farther answer. Abbâs, not being in a condition to execute his design against Georgia, *A.D. 1610.* dissembled his resentment; and as he was then sending a Carmelite missioner into Europe, to excite the Christian princes against the Turks, with whom he was at war, he ordered that frier to pass through Georgia, and exhort Taymûraz not to join with, or, in any sort, assist his enemies.

Taymûraz, either through credulity or fear, complied, *A.D. 1613.* and soon repented of his conduct: for, in 1613, Abbâs left Ispâhân, with a design to invade Georgia; but, as he was full of artifice, he treated this war as an amorous intrigue. He said, that Luarzab's sister loved him, and had written letters to him; that she had even been promised to him; and that her brother was perfidious. At the same time, he had many Georgians among his troops; gave pensions to several of the great lords of the country; and corrupted others every day, by means of Mehrû. Some of the chief princes of the blood had turned Mohammedans, for the sake of governments and places. He had in hostage two sons of Taymûraz, and a brother and sister of Luarzab. All things concurred to render the conquest of Georgia easy. He judged it would not be difficult, as matters were circumstanced, to sow divisions among the people, and make the kings jealous of each other. *The shâh's policy.*

other. With this view, he wrote to Taymûraz, that Luarzab was ungrateful, a rebel, and a fool: that he was resolved to take the crown from him: and that if he (Taymûraz) would either seize or kill him, he should have the kingdom. He wrote in the same strain to Luarzab, against Taymûraz; and, at the same time, ordered his general Lâlla Beg to enter Georgia, with thirty thousand horse, and ravage the country^s.

Taymûraz
submits.

The two kings finding, on an interview, that their ruin was determined, entered into a strict league; and, to cement it the stronger, Luarzab, in earnest, gave the admirable Darejan to Taymûraz: at which incident, Abbâs was so enraged, that he swore he would kill his hostages; and hastened his march, to be revenged on the kings who had offended him. Taymûraz, seeing the Persian general approach, and that part of his nobles were inclined to submit, sent his mother Ketavâneh, or Mariâna, to Abbâs, who was still at Ispâhân, to ask pardon for her son. As this princess was still handsome, though not young, Abbas fell in love with her at first sight, and offered to marry her, if she would turn Mohammedan. On her refusal, he imprisoned her, in a private house (F), and made eunuchs of her two grandsons, after having forced them to change their religion. These steps being taken, he departed for Georgia.

Luarzab
opposes.

Abbâs having entered the country with his army, which daily increased, by the accession of Georgians, through hope or fear, Luarzab resolved to oppose him, hoping to inclose the Persians in the woods. In effect, the shâh having marched twenty-five leagues, Luarzab divided his troops in two bodies, and shut up the passage with heaps of wood, in such a manner, that the Persian army could neither proceed nor retreat. Mehrû, the general, perceiving the king greatly surprised, as if he thought himself betrayed, promised, in three days, to deliver him out of this difficulty, on forfeiture of his head. Accordingly, he ordered a road to be cut through the wood; and leaving the camp, which was blocked up by the Georgians, moved off with the cavalry. Abbâs, who insisted upon heading them in

^s Chard. Voy. en Persé, tom. i. p. 125, & seq.

(F) She continued in confinement several years, and was then removed to Shirâz; where, in 1624, she died, as it is said,

under torments, to oblige her to turn Mohammedan, by order of Shâh Abbâs.

person,

person, having crossed the wood, fell on the kingdom of Kaket: where he committed great cruelties, so far as to destroy the trees which nourished the silkworms; a damage not to be retrieved.

Luarzab, thinking all lost, fled into Mingrelia: but Abbâs, knowing his conquest could not be thoroughly secure, *Ensnared by promises,* while the kings were at liberty, wrote him a fothing letter; in which he told him, that he had no reason to fly, since his resentment was against the perfidious, the rebel Taymûraz; and that, if he would come to his camp, he would confirm him in the possession of Georgia; threatening otherwise to destroy it entirely, with fire and sword. Luarzab, out of love for his people, repaired to Abbâs; who loaded him with favours, and set him on the throne, with the greatest solemnity. This was an artifice to deceive the Georgians, and allure them to submit without fighting. Among the presents he made the king, one was a plume of precious stones, which he desired him always to wear on his head, as an ensign of royalty.

The day on which Abbâs left Tiflis, he asked Luarzab *is imprisone^d ed.* to accompany him to the first encampment. Luarzab complied; and going to see the shâh, without his plume, Abbâs, who had ordered one of his guards to steal it from him, asked him, where it was? the king answered, Somebody had stolen it. Abbâs, pretending to be provoked at his saying it was stolen in his camp, ordered him to be arrested; but durst not put him to death, for fear of exciting a revolt in Georgia. However, he sent him to Mazanderân, in hopes the bad air would carry him off. That not having the effect, he was removed to Shîrâz. At length Abbâs, hearing that an ambassador from the czar of Russia, at the instigation of the princes of Luarzab's party, was arrived on the frontiers, to solicit his deliverance; to avoid either setting the king at liberty, or denying the czar's request, ordered the governor of Shîrâz to make away with Luarzab, in such a manner that his death should appear to be the effect of accident. It was pretended that he fell into the water, when fishing; and Abbâs, in mentioning this circumstance to the ambassador, seemed much concerned at that king's death.

The brother of Luarzab, called Bagrat Mîrza, or the *Taymûraz* prince royal, who had before turned Mohammedan, was *re-esta-^d blshed.* made governor of Georgia in his room; and an army left to oppose Taymûraz. This prince, having for some time carried on the war, by means of small succours from the Turks, and neighbouring Christian princes, at length went

*Driven
out again.*

to Constantinople, to solicit more powerful aid, which he obtained. A great army was sent into Georgia, which defeated the Persians in several encounters, and re-established Taymûraz in his kingdom of Kaket. But he did not long remain unmolested: for, as soon as the Othmân forces were withdrawn, Abbâs returned to Georgia, and changed the face of affairs. He built fortresses throughout the country, which he filled with Persians; and carried away above fourscore thousand families, most of whom he transplanted into the provinces of Mazânderân, Armenia, Azerbejân, and Pârs, or Proper Persia; settling in their room Persians and Armenians. However, to reconcile these people, if possible, by lenient measures, he came to an agreement with them, on oath, for him and his successors, that the country should not be charged with taxes; nor their religion changed; that their churches should not be demolished, nor meskûs built there; that their viceroy should be a Georgian, of the race of their kings, but a Mohammedan; and that one of his sons, who would change his religion, should have the post of governor and grand prevôt of Ispâhân, till such time as he succeeded his father. After this accommodation, the Georgians continued quiet during the reign of Abbâs^t.

*Baghdâd
taken.*

Much about the same juncture Abbâs received letters from Bikirkeha, commander of the garrison of Baghdad, who, dissatisfied with the Othmân court, for refusing him the government of that city, on the death of the pâshâ, whose lieutenant he was, offered to deliver it up to the shâh. Abbâs, on this proposal, immediately marched that way, with a powerful army; but before he arrived, Bikirkeha, having changed his mind, sent him word, that he had only powder and ball at his service. The shâh was so provoked at the affront, that he swore not to return without taking Baghdad, though it should cost him his life. Accordingly, having passed the ditch, after a siege of six months, and sprung a mine, at which operation the Persians are very expert, he caused an assault to be given, and took the city by storm. Bikirkeha, being found among the prisoners, was sewed up in a raw ox-hide, and placed near the highway, till the hide shrinking with the heat of the sun, put him to a painful death: but his son, making it appear that he was not concerned in his father's offence, was gratified with the government of Shîraz.

^t Chard. ubi supra, p. 127. & seqq.

Next year, the Othmân emperor ordered Hafis Ahmed *The Turks* Pâshâ to besiege Baghdâd ; but Abbâs forced him to raise *baffled*. it, and continued eight months in sight of the Turkish army ; till it being so much diminished by sickness, as not to be able to endure the heats so well as the Persians, Hafis was obliged to retreat to Constantinople. The shâh, at his return from this expedition, began to build Ferabâd, in the province of Mazânderân, near a village named Tahona, situated on a pleasant river, which, not far from thence, falls into the Caspian Sea.

The last victory procured the shâh only two years rest ; *A great* for the sultân, desirous to recover Baghdâd, sent Khalil *overthrew.* Pâshâ, with an army of five hundred thousand men, to subdue it. Abbâs ordered Karchugay Khân to march to the relief of the place, with a small but chosen body of troops, while he followed himself with the rest of his forces. The Persian general, advancing to meet the Turks, harassed them with continual skirmishes for six months together, and, when he had sufficiently tired them, at last gave Khalil battle ; and, defeating, forced him to fly as far as Neched. On the first news of this victory, Shâh Abbâs left Baghdâd, to meet Karchugay Khân ; and, when he approached, alighting, said to him, " My dearest aga, I have, by thy care and conduct, obtained so noble a victory, that I would not have desired a greater of God : come, get upon my horse ; it is fit I should be thy servant." The general was so surprised at this discourse, that he threw himself at his feet, entreating his majesty to look on him as his slave ; and not expose him to derision, by doing him an honour which he could not possibly deserve. However, he was forced to mount, the king and the khâns following on foot only seven paces.

Shâh Abbâs waged many other wars against the Turks, but the most signal victory he ever obtained over his enemies, was the reduction of the city of Ormûs, which he took from the Portuguese six years before his death ¹.

The kingdom of Ormûs, or rather Hormûz, was formerly a dominion of pretty large extent, situate on the coast of Kermân and Pârs, where it first began, some time after the year of Christ 1000 ; and continued under a race of kings for about six hundred years ; but, by degrees, it fell to decay ; so that its bounds were reduced to those of *the Isle of Ormûz, taken from the Portuguese by the Persian army, and English ships.*

* Olear. ubi supra.

the island of Ormûs, and some other isles adjacent to it, in 1507, when it was taken from its king by the Portuguese; whom Shâh Abbâs expelled in 1622, by the assistance of the English, who joined him on the following occasion.

The Portuguese, who had always molested the English trade in the East Indies from the time they first failed thither, were resolved also to obstruct their commerce in the Persian Gulf; whither some ships arriving in 1621, they were attacked by Ruy Frera de Andrada, and forced to return to India with the loss of their chief commander Andrew Shilling. There having augmented their naval force, from two ships to nine, they set sail again for the Persian Gulf. At Kustak they were informed by their factor, that the king of Persia was at war with the Portuguese; that his forces had been seven months in besieging a castle, which Ruy Frera, on hearing of the shâh's design against Ormûs, had built on the isle of Kishmeh, or Kishom, to secure the water with which Ormûs was supplied from thence; and that the Persian general required the assistance of the English against the Portuguese, as their common enemy, in case they expected to trade in Persia.

The captains Waddel, Blyth, and Woodcock, finding that they could have no safe commerce in the gulf while the Portuguese had the dominion there, repaired to the camp of imâm Kûli Khân, viceroy of Shîrâz, chief commander in the expedition; and, having obtained very advantageous conditions for the English nation, in January 1622, sailed to Kishmeh; where, besieging the castle by sea, and sending some men on shore, it was surrendered in six days by Ruy Frera, who was sent prisoner to Surât, along with three ships of war. The other six ships went to Ormûs, where the Persians landed the ninth of February, and, with small loss, got possession of the town; while the English fleet battered the Portuguese galleons, five of which they sunk during the siege, which lasted ten weeks. On the 17th of March, a breach being made, by blowing up part of the castle-wall, the Persians made an attack; but were repulsed, with considerable loss. Three other breaches being afterwards made by mines, on the 18th of April the general gave an assault with all his forces, and gained part of the castle; so that the Portuguese, being hard pressed, surrendered the place, with themselves, to the English on the 21st; in all two thousand six hundred men; the cannon, in number a hundred and fourteen, fifty-three pieces mounted, and ninety-two of brass unmounted, were

were left to the Persians; excepting ten of the latter, which the English took to supply those which were damaged in the expedition. The king of Ormûs, Seyd Mohammed Shâh, an Arab of Maskât, whom the Portuguese had lately raised to that dignity, with a pension of one hundred and forty thousand rials, was delivered up, with all the Mohammedans, to the Persians ^{w.}

About the end of the year 1628 Abbâs took a journey *Abbâs falls sick,* to Ferabâd, in the province of Mazânderân, which was sick, the place he most delighted in; but he there fell ill of a dangerous distemper: sending for four of the chief lords of his council to his bed-side, he told them it was his will that his grandson Sain Mîrza should succeed him on the throne, and assume his father's name. When they mentioned the prediction of the astrologers, that he should reign but eight months at most, the shâh made answer, "Let him reign as long as he can, though it were but three days: it will be some satisfaction to me, to be assured that he shall one day have on his head the crown which was due to the prince his father."

As it was conceived that poison had been given him, his physician ordered him the hot bath for eight days together, and a bath of cows milk for four days more; but these remedies proving ineffectual, he prepared for death, and appointed the place where he would be interred; yet that the people should not know it, he ordered his funeral obsequies to be performed at three different places at once; namely, Ardebîl, Mashâd, and Baghâdâd. The general opinion was, that his body was conveyed to the last city, and thence to the Nichef of Kûfa, near the sepulchre of Ali; for that, going to Kûfa, after the reduction of Baghâdâd, and viewing the Nichef, he said, he had never seen a more delightful place, and that he should wish to be interred there. He ordered that his death should be concealed till his grandchild was secured of the succession; with this view, he directed that his body should be exposed every day in the hall of justice, seated in a chair of state, with the eyes open, and back to the hangings; behind this stood Yusef Aga, who from time to time lifted up his arm with a silken string, by way of answer to the matters proposed by Temûr Beg, on behalf of those who were at the other end of the hall. By this artifice his death was concealed for the space of six weeks ^{x.} According to Herbert, Shâh Abbâs died at Kasbîn, in the year 1628, after

^w Purch. Pilgr. vol. ii. p. 1785. Herbert. Trav. p. 115. ^x Olear. p. 354.

he had lived seventy years, and reigned forty-three over Persia, and fifty as king of Herât, capital of Khorâsfân ^y.

His character.

The Persians have a high veneration for Shâh Abbâs, and speak of him as the greatest prince their country has produced for many ages. He was undoubtedly wise and valiant, famous for great victories, and extending his dominions on all sides towards the Indians, Turks, and Tatars: but his cruelty entitles him to a place among those ferocious eastern tyrants, whom Providence seems to have sent into the world on purpose to harass, aggrieve, and destroy the human race. It must be owned, however, he had a sense of justice, and even employed some attention in behalf of the poor among his own subjects. It was usual with him, after leaving any city, to return incognito; and, going to the market, examine their weights, the goodness of the bread, and other provisions, severely punishing fraudulent dealers. At Ardebîl he ordered a rich baker to be put alive in a red-hot oven, for refusing to sell bread to the poor, under pretence that he was obliged to keep it for Abbâs and his soldiers, who, he said, could never be satisfied.

Care for the poor.

He commanded a butcher to be fastened by the back to the hooks on which he hung his meat, for using false weights. He could not endure those judges who took bribes; and severely punished such as were guilty of injustice or oppression. Understanding that a kâzî of Ispâhân, after he had taken presents from each party, advised them to accommodate the matter between themselves; he ordered the offender to be set on an afs, with his face to the tail, and his robe garnished with the entrails of a sheep newly killed; and, in that equipage, to take several turns round the meydan, while an officer proclaimed before him, that such was to be the punishment of a corrupt judge ^z.

Severe justice.

Even the punishments he inflicted on the vicious, favoured strong of brutal ferocity. The grand master of the ordnance was a person jealous even to madness: if any man in the neighbourhood appeared on the terrace of his house, as is customary during the heats, that officer's eunuchs, who seemed to be on the watch in all parts of the garden, flew him with a musket, under pretence that he might, from his terrace, look into the women's apartment of their master's palace. Complaints being made of this

^y Herbert, p. 206. ^z Olear. ubi supra, p. 356. See also Tavern. Trav. lib. v. cap. 2. p. 203.

barbary to the shâh, he commanded the grand master to take care what he did, and keep his wives locked up in their chambers in the night as well as day, if he was afraid the eyes of his neighbours would discover them; but this advice was not regarded by the grand master. One of the king's officers, who lodged near this jealous Musulman, happening at night to take the air on the terrace, was killed in the manner above mentioned. His family went in a body to Shâh Abbâs, to demand justice; and, representing that there were witnesses at his palace-gate, who could prove that more than twenty people in the neighbourhood had been murdered in the same manner, the king was exceedingly enraged; and said to some that were in waiting, "Go, kill that mad dog, his wives, children, and domestics; let not one soul of that accursed brood remain alive." Which sentence was executed that instant, and all the bodies buried in a ditch at one end of the garden ^a.

The example which he made of a certain infamous wretch who used to kidnap boys, in order to gratify his spurious passion deserves commendation. He used to ply all day long at a certain stone which was set in the ground, and when he saw any lad whom he liked, inveigled him with great dexterity; having abused him all night, he next morning at break of day carried him back, and left him in some by-place, that he might not discover where he had been lodged. Abbâs being informed of this enormity, sent some of his officers to seize the villain, and cut him to pieces on the stone where he watched for his prey; which stone is still to be seen at the entrance of the magazine of the arsenal of Feray built by that shâh at Ispâhân.

Shâh Abbâs studied all ways imaginable to establish wealth and good government in his dominion. Considering that Persia was a barren country where there was little trade, and consequently little money, he resolved to send his subjects into Europe with raw silk, to see what profit might arise from that commodity; his design was to buy up all that was produced in his dominions, and dispose of it by his factors; at the same time he thought it necessary to engage the European princes in an alliance with him against the Turks. He first sent to Henry IV. of France, but that prince died before the ambassador arrived. He afterwards sent another to the king of Spain, accompanied by a Persian merchant, with

The innocent punished.

A sodomite executed.

Attempts of Abbâs to promote commerce.

^a Chard. tom. iii. p. 39.

a considerable quantity of silk. The merchant would have sold the silk according to the shâh's order, and bought a present for the king; but the ambassador, overruled by a Portuguese Austin friar, who acted as their guide and interpreter, resolved to present him with the bales of silk: the king of Spain asked him, "If his master took him for a woman, and had sent him so much silk to spin?" And shâh Abbâs, on his return, in reward for the ill success of his negotiation, ordered his belly to be ripped up in the public market-place.

Percceiving, from repeated trials, the little inclination his subjects had to trade, he cast his eyes on the Armenians, who are sober, frugal, and patient, and as Christians were more fit to deal with the Europeans who professed that religion: of these he chose the most judicious, and entrusted them with silk, for which they were to pay at their return a reasonable rate, imposed by the shâh, who allowed them the surplus gains for their trouble and expence. These people, in a short time, became so expert in all branches of commerce, that at present they make voyages to Tong-king, Java, the Philippine Isles, and all parts of the East, except China and Japan^b.

Suppresses foreign p. 1. grimages. This prince was not only desirous that all the commerce should be lodged in the hands of his subjects, in order to enrich them, and draw money into the kingdom, but would not suffer the bullion once introduced to be exported. He saw that the annual pilgrimages of his subjects to Mecca carried out abundance of gold ducats, and therefore endeavoured to divert them from it, by establishing one at home, at Tûs, where is erected the tomb of imâm Rîdha, or Rîza, the last of the twelve imâms, who was murdered in that place; which thence acquired the name of Mashhâd, or the Place of Martyrdom. The Persians had always a great veneration for Rîza, and frequently resorted to Mashhâd, to pay their devotions at his sepulchre; over which hangs one of the legs of Mohammed's camel, esteemed a great relic. Abbâs, to effect his purpose, made the pilgrimage to Tûs in person, accompanied by his nobles; and, at his return, caused reports to be spread of great miracles wrought at the imâm's tomb: ever since which time, Mecca has been less visited by the Persians than it was formerly^c.

^b Tavern. Trav. lib. iv. cap. 6. p. 158.
cap. 2. p. 202.

^c Idem. lib. v.

The shâh, besides building Ferhâbad in Mazânderân, *Public works.* adorned several of his other cities with magnificent structures. Among other noble works at Ispâhân, he built the royal mosque and palace. He likewise caused the mountains, thirty leagues from thence, to be cut through, at an incredible expence, in order to augment the Zanderûdh, which runs through the city, by turning into it the stream of another river^d.

When Abbâs ascended the throne, Persia was divided *His policy.* among more than twenty princes, who had usurped their territories, and whom he was obliged to reduce. This shâh, to prevent the like division of the kingdom for the future, by degrees destroyed all the ancient families; and to render himself altogether absolute, reformed the troops, who were a check upon former kings, more than the janizaries are at present in Turkey. These families, as well as the troops, were all of the race of the Kurchi, who are those Turkmâns, or Tatars, so famous for their invasions and conquests; and who were associated together for their mutual preservation, in such a manner, that they might be said to have been masters of the kingdom. The method he took to destroy their power, was, to fill his court and army with the people inhabiting Georgia, and other countries on the north-west end of Persia; so that, as their power increased, that of the Kurchi diminished^e.

Shâh Abbâs, according to Herbert, who saw him at *His person.* an audience at Ferhabâd, was of a low stature; his aspect keen, his eyes small and fiery; he had a low forehead, a high and hawked nose, a sharp chin, and though bearded, his mustachios were exceeding long and thick, turning downwards^f.

S E C T. VI.

The Reign of Safi, or Sefi I.

WHILE the death of Abbâs was concealed at Ferhabâd, by exposing his body in the court of justice, Zeynel Khân hastened to Ispâhân; and taking with him Khosrew Mîrza Daruga, of that city, went to the apartment of the princess, mother of Sain Mîrza, called Taberik Kala; where, after informing her of the death of the

^d Chardin, tom. iii. p. 4, 20. 22.
217. ^f Herb. p. 206.

^e Idem, tom. i. p. 210.

shâh, he intreated her to put the young prince, then about sixteen, into their hands. The mother, who had still the death of her husband before her eyes, believing it was only a contrivance, and that they had an order from his grandfather to murder her son, locked herself in her chamber ; and made all the passages so secure, that the two lords, being afraid of losing the opportunity of executing the king's will, after they had lain three days at the door, sent the prince's word, that unless she granted them access, they should be forced to break it open. Upon this message she yielded, and delivered to them the prince, with these words : " Go, child, to the same place where thy father is ; here are the murderers ready to dispatch thee." But, when she saw those lords prostrate themselves and kissing the prince's feet, her fright was changed into raptures of joy ².

From hence the lords conducted the young prince to the royal palace, where they seated him in the divân khâneh, on a stone table, on which were as many carpets as there had been kings of Persia of his family ; for every king, at his coming to the crown, has one of these carpets (called kalitse adalet, or *carpets of justice*) made for him ; and having sent for all the lords who were about Ispâhân, they crowned him, kissed his feet, and wished him a long and happy reign. Immediately after his inauguration he took his father's name of Safi, according to the desire of shâh Abbâs ; and bestowed on Khofrew Mirza the dignity of khân, with the name of Rustam, which is that of one of the Persian heroes celebrated in their histories and romances.

Bloody disposition.

It is reported that shâh Safi came into the world with his hands bloody ; and that his grandfather Abbâs should say on the occasion, that this prince would often bathe his hands in blood. Accordingly, his reign was so sanguine, that Persia had not, for many ages before, seen so many executions ; for, immediately on his accession to the throne, he followed the counsel of the chancellor, and made away with Rustam Khân, whom he had appointed generalissimo of the armies of Persia, and governor of Téssîs, with several other lords. He likewise slew with his own hands, or ordered to be killed, all his relations, and other persons, of whom he had any suspicion. By these massacres he so accustomed himself to killing people, that he made it his practice, on the slightest occasions, to take away their

² Olear. Trav. lib. vi. p. 356. Tavern. lib. v. cap. 1, p. 197.

lives.

lives. He began his cruelties with an only brother; *Destroys his brother.* though by a different mother, whose eyes he caused to be put out. Khodâbandeh and imâm Kûli Mirza, his uncles, whom their father shâh Abbâs had deprived of sight, and imprisoned in the castle of Almût, were, by Sefi's order, cast headlong from a high rock; saying, that having lost the benefit of seeing, they were of no use in the world. The next instance of his barbarity was executed on the person of his uncle Ifâ Khân, and his three sons, on the following occasion.

Ifâ Khân was so much in favour with shâh Abbâs, that he bestowed on him his daughter, by whom he had three sons. This princess was very beautiful, and so agreeable in her conversation, that her nephew, shâh Safi, was extremely taken with her company. Being one day with the king, she took the liberty to tell him, she wondered that he, who was so young and vigorous, and had so many great beauties to command, could get no children, whereas she had three already by her husband. Safi made answer, that having many years to reign, he hoped, as he was but young, he should have time enough to get heirs to inherit the crown after him. His aunt replied, that ground not well cultivated rarely brought forth any thing, imprudently adding, " You speak very well, my liege, but after your death the Persians will be glad to pitch upon one of my sons to succeed you." The shâh was extremely incensed at the boldness and poignancy of the repartee, yet made a shift to dissemble it, and left the apartment without her perceiving his indignation.

But next day opened a dreadful scene to her view; Sefi commanded her three sons to be slain. At dinner he disposed the heads into one of the covered pots in which victuals are served up, and sending for the mother, ordered them to be taken out one after another by the nose, saying to her, " See the children of a woman who boasted so much of her fertility! Go, thou art young enough to bear more." The princess was so astonished at this horrid spectacle, that, for a while, she was not able to speak; at last, dreading his indignation, which was still visible in his eyes, she fell at his feet, kissed them, and said, " All is well, all is well; God grant the king a long and happy life!" This pretended submission saved her own; but as soon as she had left the room, Sefi sent for her husband Ifâ Khân, and pointing to the heads of his children, asked him what he thought of that pleasant spectacle? The khân, smothering the tenderness of paternal affection, made answer,

Puts to death his nephews and uncle.

swer, that he was so far from being displeased at what was done, that if his majesty had commanded him to bring the heads of his sons, he would have been the executioner himself; and that he would have no children at all in case it was the king's pleasure that it should be so. This abject flattery saved the father's life at that time; but Sefi reflecting that, after such treatment, Isa Khân could neither love nor be faithful to him, gave orders for his head likewise to be taken off^h.

It is the greatest crime to be faithful to tyrants, for they always hate their benefactors. Zeynel Khân, who had contributed no less than Isa Khân to this monster's advancement, performed an act of fidelity to his master, for which he deserved the death he suffered. The shâh having forced the Turks to raise the siege of Baghdâd, encamped with his army near Hamadân. At this place several lords, who were met together, reflecting on the executions with which the king had commenced his reign, said among themselves, that since, in his tender age, he could commit so many cruelties, it was to be feared that he would in time extirpate all the grandees of Persia. Zeynel Khân, who was present at this discourse, went immediately to the shâh, and gave him an account of what had passed, advising him to cut off those who had most credit among them, and so secure his own life.

Sefi having received an information to which probably he owed him his life, made him this answser: "Thy advice, Zeynel Khân, is so good, that I will immediately follow it, and begin with thee; for thou art the person of greatest age and authority among them, consequently must needs be of the conspiracy; in that also I shall follow the example of the king my grandfather, whose reign was neither safe nor happy till he had executed the person who had the same post of kurchi-bashî, which thou now enjoyest." Zeynel Khân replied, that his majesty might reward him for this proof of his fidelity, just as he thought fit; that, for his part, being arrived nearly at the greatest age man could attain to, it would not trouble him much to have his life shortened by a few days; but that possibly his majesty might one day be troubled for having put to death one of his most faithful servants, when he came to reflect on the importance of the discovery, and the zeal he had shewn for his safety.

^h Olearius, ubi supra, p. 357.

This answer respited his execution, which had been resolved on by the king, who immediately went to his mother's tent to acquaint her with what had been told him. Next morning that princess sent for Zeynel Khân to her tent-door, to hear from him all the circumstances of the conspiracy; but as soon as Sefi came to understand that the khân had spoken to his mother, he was so incensed, that he went and killed him with his own hand in her presenceⁱ.

The queen-mother, struck with horror at the action of *The queen's* her son, represented how much he was to blame for treating in such a manner one of his grandfather's most ancient servants, who had been a chief instrument in setting him on the throne. Sefi, for the present, seemed to be affected by her discourse: but, if he had in reality any compunction, her advice made no very lasting impression; for in a few days, the chancellor, the lord high steward, and even his own mother, found no better treatment at his hands.

One day, when Sefi was encamped at the mountain Sekiend, within a league of Tauris, the lord high steward, named Ugurlu Khân, who commanded the guard about the king, at which the chiefs are obliged to be personally present whenever the shâh is in the field, happened to sup with Tabûb Khân, the high chancellor; who had also invited the dawâtter, or the secretary of the closet, named Haïsan Beg, and a certain poet. Towards the end of supper, the kishiji bâshi, or captain of the guard, whose name was Mortûza Kûli Khân, came to give Ugûrlu Khân notice, that it was time to come to the king's tent: but the chancellor, unwilling to dismiss his guests, told the kishiji bâshi, that there was no necessity of Ugûrlu Khân's personal appearance; and that the king, being but a child, would take no notice of his absence. The captain insisted that the guard could not be set without the high steward, and repeated his instances for him to come away; saying, otherwise he should be obliged to complain to the shâh. The chancellor, offended with this sort of language, commanded his domestics to thrust Mortûza Kûli Khan out of doors; and they treated him so roughly, that he was hurt in the face^k.

Mortuza, incensed at this usage, went, all bloody as he was, to the king, and gave him an account of what had passed at the chancellor's. Sefi ordered him not to take notice of the insult: but the next day, Tabub being at

ⁱ Olearius, p. 358.

^k Olearius, p. 359.

dinner with the king, the shâh ordered him to approach; and said to him, “What does he deserve, who, eating the king’s bread, and living by the pure favour of his master, is so far from paying the respect due to him, that he treats him contemptuously?” The chancellor made answer, “He deserves death.” The king replied, “Thou hast pronounced thy own sentence: thou art the person, who, living solely by my favour, and eating at my table, hast had the insolence to treat me as a child, in the discourse which passed yesterday betwixt thee and Mortûza Kûli Khân.” Tabûb Khân would have spoken in his own defence; but Sefi, not giving him time to say a word, ran him into the belly with his simitar. At the same time the king commanded his rika (G) to cut his head into little pieces. Sefi, perceiving one of the pages, who, struck with horror, turned aside, not able to behold such an act of cruelty, said to him, “Since thy sight is so tender, it will be of no use to thee;” and commanded his eyes to be put out immediately.

*The execu-
tion of
the great
chancellor,*

*lord high
steward.*

and others.

The execution of Tabûb Khân was soon followed by that of Ugûrlu Khân; whose head the shâh ordered Ali Kûli Khân, the diwân beg, or president of the council, to bring to him. Ugûrlu Khân had just stepped out of the bath, and was going to dress; when, seeing Ali Kûli come in, attended by two servants, he was startled, though the other’s intimate friend, and said, “Woe is me! dear friend, I fear thou bringest me no good news.” Ali Kûli Khân made answer, “Thy fears are but too true, dear brother; for the king hath commanded me to fetch him thy head; the only way is, to submit.” Then he closed with him, cut off his head, made a hole in one of the cheeks, thrust his finger through it, and so carried it to Safi: who, touching it with a little wand, said, “It must be confessed, thou wert a stout man: it troubles me to see thee in that condition; but it was thine own fault: ’tis pity, if it was only for that goodly beard of thine. Haffan Beg, who had also been at the chancellor’s entertainment, received the like treatment: but the unhappy poet fared worst of all; for, being some time after falsely accused of putting these executions in verse, and singing them in the

(G) They are part of the shâh’s guards, who carry pole-axes, and often do the office of executioners: for, properly speaking, they have no execu-

tions in Persia, at least at court, where any lord, or other person about the king at the time, is sent on the office.

meydan,

meydan, he was carried to that place, where his nose, ears, tongue, feet, and hands, were cut off; and he died in great agony.

Not long after these inhuman proceedings, Safi sent for the sons of those lords, and said to them : “ You see, I have destroyed your fathers ; what say you ? ” The son of Ugûrlu Khân answered, without hesitation, “ What does a father signify to me ? I have no other parent but the shâh.” This unnatural reply restored him to the estate of the deceased, which otherwise would have been confiscated ; but the chancellor’s son was reduced to great misery, and had not any thing allowed him of all his father had possessed ; because he expressed more concern for his death, than satisfaction at what the king had done !

When Safi returned to Kâswîn, he summoned all the lords and governors of provinces to court. They all obeyed this order, excepting Ali Merdan Khân, governor of Kandahâr, and Dawd Khân, governor of Kenjeh ; who thought it enough to assure the shâh of their fidelity, by sending up one of their wives and children each, as hostages : but Safi did not look on that submission sufficient. Ali Merdan Khân therefore revolted, and delivered up the fortress to the Great Mogul. Dawd Khân, understanding by the akhta, or groom of the king’s chamber, who had been sent to him, that it was dangerous to repair to court, resolved to retire into the Turkish dominions. The better to effect this design, he thought proper to try how his servants stood affected ; and finding that fifteen of them were unwilling to follow him, he caused them to be cut to pieces in his presence. Then he wrote a very reproachful letter to Safi ; and went away with all his wealth to Taymûraz Khân, a prince of Georgia, his brother-in-law : from whence he removed into Turkey, where he was received with great friendship by Soltân Ibrâhim. The king, to be revenged of both, sent their wives to the public stews ; and exposed the son of Dawd Khân to the brutality of the grooms about court : reserving Ali Merdan’s son, who was very beautiful, for his own use.

Some time after this transaction, Safi sent orders to Imâm Kûli Khân, governor of Shîrâz, and brother to Dawd Khân, to come to court. The khân had notice sent him of the king’s intention to put him to death : but he firmly replied, that he could not be persuaded he should be so ill requited, after having

¹ Olearius, p. 359.

done such considerable services for the crown (H); yet that, whatever might happen, he would rather lose his life, than be out of favour with his prince, and become a criminal by his disobedience. Pursuant to this imprudent resolution, he repaired to Kâswîn, where the court was then kept; but was no sooner arrived, than his head was ordered to be taken off. This bloody tyrant, however, did not intend to take away the lives of imâm Kûli Khân's children: but, while his eldest son, about eighteen years of age, was prostrate at the king's feet, a wicked flatterer told Safi, that the youth was not the son of the khan, but of Shâh Abbâs, who, after having got one of his women with child, had bestowed her on the father. This suggestion occasioned the death not only of the young lord, but also of fourteen of his brothers; who being conducted to the meydân, were all beheaded near their father's body. The mother made shift to escape with the sixteenth, into Arabia, to the prince her father, who resided at Helbîsa, three days journey from Basrah. The bodies of imâm Kûli Khân, and his children, remained three days exposed in the meydân to public view; till Safi, fearing that the lamentation, which the khân's mother made there day and night, would occasion an insurrection, commanded them to be taken away^m.

The Persians for a long time lamented the death of imâm Kûli Khân, on account of his liberality. He was the son of Allawerdi Khân, who at his own expence, built the bridge of Ispâhân; and was as much esteemed as any lord of his time, for the noble actions he had performed in the warsⁿ.

Wealth and liberality. This khân was prodigiously rich; and so very magnificent, that his expences almost equalled those of the king: a circumstance which induced Shâh Abbâs I. to tell him one day, that he should spend one penny less than he every day, that there might be some difference between the expences of a shâh and a khân." Imâm Kûli Khân's noble qualities had gained him the affections of all people: for he was liberal as well as magnificent; hospitable to strangers, and took a peculiar care to encourage arts and sciences. For this end, he built a fair college at Shîrâz,

^m Olearius, p. 360, & seq.

ⁿ Olearius, lib. vi. p. 361.

(H) He conquered the greater part of the kingdom of Lâr, and the kingdom of Ormûs, in the reign of Abbâs I. with all the

coast of the Persian gulf, from cape Jâskes to Balsora (or Basrah.) Tavern. Trav. lib. v. cap. 3. p. 204.

for

Imâm Kûli
Khân,
and sons,
slain.

for the instruction of youth ; and several inns, as well in the city as on the road, for the benefit of travellers. He caused mountains to be cut through, in order to shorten the way ; and joined others by bridges, of so bold a structure, that it is difficult to conjecture how such prodigious arches could be turned over such vast precipices and torrents ^o.

This tyrant's cruelty respected the women no more than the men : he killed one of his concubines with his own hand, and committed several other murders. When he intended bloodshed, he usually dressed himself in scarlet, or some red stuff ; so that every spectator trembled when he appeared in that colour. As these unheard-of cruelties rendered him the terror of all his subjects, certain individuals undertook to shorten his days by poison ; but the dose which they gave him not proving strong enough, he overcame it, after a sickness of two months. When he recovered, he ordered a strict inquiry to be made ; and it was discovered, by a servant who had been ill treated by her mistress, that the poison had been prepared in the apartment of the women ; and given him by the direction of his aunt, Ifa Khân's widow. In the night, the palace was filled with dreadful shrieks ; and it was found the next day, that he had ordered a great pit to be made in the garden, wherein he had buried forty women alive ; some of them ladies of the faray, and others their attendants. Much about the same time a rumour was spread, that his mother had died of the plague ; but it is more likely, that she was sacrificed with the rest ^p.

Tavernier seems to excuse the cruel excusions of shâh Safi, by laying the cause of them on the queen-mother, and the etemâd addawlet, or prime minister, named Mirza Tâkeh, who paid her four hundred gold ducats every day for her private purse. These two governed the kingdom between them, and held a private council in her haram, to which he had free admission, as being an eunuch in the strictest sense of the word (I) ; and here they reversed in

Ladies buried alive.

*Apology for
Safi's slay-
ing the
lords.*

o Tavern. ubi supra.

p Olearius, lib. vi. p. 361, & seq.

(I) When he was governor of Ghilân, in the reign of shâh Abbâs, missing a page whom he had abused, and suspecting he was gone to complain to the king, in order to divert the

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storm, he deprived himself of the instruments of his crime, and taking a bye-road, went in a litter, with his surgeon, to court, where he presented the marks of his repentance in a

L

plate

the night whatever the lords concluded in the day, by changing at pleasure the king's mind, over which they had the ascendant. It was thought that shâh Abbâs had left a private order with these two, to destroy Imâm Kûli Khân, and seven other great lords, at the head of whom was Jâni Khân, as soon as Safi should be settled on the throne, and fill all places with governors in whom the king might confide. Accordingly the king, by their advice, began at Kâsfân with Imâm Kûli Khân. The other lords getting some intimation of the design against them, and judging on the king's return to Ispâhân that the time for their execution drew near, resolved to anticipate the etemâd ad-dawlet. With this view they met one morning before the palace-gate, killed the porter, and entering that minister's bed-chamber, slabbed him before he could rise. As soon as they had effected the busines they went to the king, and Jâni Khân told him what they had done. Safi dissembling his anger at so daring an attempt, answered, that they had done very well, and had only prevented the order which he intended to have given himself. But a few days after, while those lords were sitting in council, an eunuch entered, which was the signal for the king to withdraw; and as soon as he was gone, the chamber was filled with eunuchs, who fell upon and slew them. Their bodies were exposed in the meydân, where the people, kicking the heads, said, "These are the heads of those dogs who have opposed the will of the king:" for, generally speaking, in Persia, whatever the king does is thought to be right^p.

His severity.

Although Tavernier represents these executions rather as the acts of others than of Safi, yet he owns that he was very severe, and his punishments often amounted to the most inhuman cruelty. One day, when he was hunting, a poor peasant appeared from behind a rock, with a paper in his hand, having been deputed by the village to present a petition; but while the poor man cried for justice, Safi, without making any answer, shot two arrows into his body, and killed him on the spot. What moved him to this act of cruelty, was the rigorous custom which takes place with regard to his women, some of whom were along

^p Tavern. lib. v. cap. i. p. 194.

plate of gold to the king; who thereupon sent him back to his government, and recalled the page, whom he had sent to take his employment, and cut off the offender's head.

with

with him ; for on such occasions there is no mercy shewn to those who happen to be in the way when they pass. There is a custom no less tyrannical, and of pernicious *Rigorous customs.* consequence to the subject, touching the person of the king ; which is, that if any man points at him as he passes along the street, or upon the road, he must lose his hand. One day that shâh Safi was in the country, two merchants of Constantinople meeting him with his train upon the road, they stopped to see him ; when one of them innocently lifting up his hand to shew him to the other, by pointing to the heron feathers by which his cap was distinguished, two horsemen immediately rode up and cut off his hand with a scymetar.

The Persians, both men and women, are so addicted to *Two smokers.* tobacco, that should it be prohibited for any long *kers executed.* time, the revenue would suffer considerably. However, Safi having forbidden the use of it in his dominions, two rich Banyan merchants were found smoking in the Indian inn at Ispâhân, and being forthwith carried bound before the shâh, he ordered melted lead to be poured down their throats in the public meydân. The people imagined that the king pronounced the sentence only to terrify them, and that he would have reprieved them at the place of execution. Mean while four other merchants went to the etemâd addawlet, and offered two thousand tomans to save the lives of their friends ; but on the chief minister's communicating this offer to Safi, he fell into a passion, and asking whether those Indian dogs thought that a king of Persia would sell justice ? sent a second order for executing the unhappy smokers without delay ².

It is commonly observed that cruel men are cowards ; *Safi's victories.* but shâh Safi expressed courage enough when occasion required, and it is certain that the beginning of his reign is remarkable for the great victories which he gained over his enemies. He defeated Karib Shâh in the province of Kilân ; he forced the Turks to raise the siege of Baghâdâd, and took by assault the fortress of Ervân. Although, to speak impartially, the glory of these successes was owing to the valour and conduct of his generals, and to fortune, rather than to his own prudence ; for he discovered not much in any of his actions, which were for the most part rash and incongruous. At Ervân, Safi, finding the *Conduct at* *Ervân.* siege but little advanced in four months, grew so impatient, that he resolved to assault the place in person ; saying, he would rather die in the attempt than rise from be-

² Tavern, lib. v. cap. 3, 4, p. 205. & seq.

fore a town which the Turks had formerly taken in three days. He had already put on the cloaths of one of his servants to prevent being distinguished, and had given orders for a general storm. His mother, tutored by the lords, who durst not contradict him, urged the impossibility of taking a place before a breach was made, and that he was only going to destroy himself and the whole army; but all the answer she got was a box on the ear. In short, he was determined to pursue his resolution, and had taken a poll-ax in his hand in order to lead them on: when the principal lords, finding a necessity to interpose, fell at his feet, and entreated him to grant them but one day more to try their efforts: this request they obtained, and then ordering the whole army, even to the boys, to make an assault, carried the place by storm; but they lost in the action fifty thousand men.

Did one good action. The great success which, till then, attended his designs, soon failed him after he had put so many great persons to death; of which reverse, the taking of Bâghdâd by the Turks is a remarkable instance. The only good action which he did during his reign, was that of sending back to their respective countries, those poor people whom shâh Abbâs removed from Ervân, Nakhshivân, Khalej, and Georgia, to Ferhabâd in Mazânderân, where they were employed in great buildings, and lived in miserable slavery; yet but a few of them reaped the advantages of that equitable order; for out of seven thousand only three hundred reached their own country, the rest having perished by hunger and fatigue.

His wives. Safi took great pleasure in drinking wine, and was very kind to those who bore him company; but his chief recreations were women and hunting; not much troubling himself about the affairs of government, or the administration of justice to his subjects. He had three wives; one was the daughter of a colonel, whose first employment was to drive the mules which brought water to the king's kitchen; and came to be known to shâh Abbâs by helping him to some cool water one sultry day, while was hunting, when none else could meet with any. This service was requited by the king's bestowing on him the village where he was born, and made him known at court, where he found means to obtain an office. Some time after he procured a post in the army, where he proved so fortunate as to rise to the command of a thousand men. Abbâs thought his daughter so beautiful, that he made a present of her to the widow of Sâfi Mîrza, appointing her to be brought

brought up in order for a marriage with his son Sain, who married her accordingly at his accession to the throne.

His second wife was a Georgian, the daughter of Tay-mûraz Khân, often mentioned in the reign of Abbâs, whose peace with that prince was confirmed by means of this marriage^r.

One day, returning from the kalenter of Jûlfa's house, where he had drank to excess, he gave order that this queen should come to him. As she understood that he was in liquor, she made no great haste, so that he fell asleep; but awaking soon after, and not seeing her, he called for her a second time, on notice of which she immediately went to him. When she entered the chamber she found the king fallen asleep again, and, in expectation of his awaking, hid herself in a nich behind the hangings, where generally the matrasses and coverlets are laid by. Safi presently after rising from his slumber, and not yet perceiving the queen, in a great haste demanded the reason of her stay. The queen-mother, who was a Georgian slave, and hated the young queen, because she was a king's daughter, took this opportunity to do her an ill office, and having first traduced her character, gave the shâh to understand by a sign, that she was hidden in such a place. On this intimation Safi, rising in a fury, stabbed her four or five times in the belly with a dagger, and scarce knowing what he had done, went to bed again. Next day, forgetful of the fact, he called for the queen; but when they told him what had happened the night before, he was extremely afflicted, and sent an express mandate through his dominions that no man should drink wine, with an order, that the governor should stave all the casks, and spill the liquor, wherever they should be found^s.

The third queen was a Circassian lady, daughter of Bika, and sister to prince Musâl.

Besides these wives he had three hundred women in his faray; for the most beautiful virgins all over Persia were brought thither. The greatest lords themselves presented him with the maidens whom either they or their relations had brought up.

Shâh Safi, or Sefi, died in the year 1642, in the twelfth year of his reign, or, to speak more properly, of his tyranny. It was thought his life was shortened by poison, administered as the only remedy to deliver the Persians from his cruelties.

His other women.

^r Olear. p. 362, & seq.

^s Tavern. lib. v. cap. 1. p. 198.

His person.

There was nothing of his bloody disposition to be read in his countenance. On the contrary, his aspect was so mild and amiable, that none who saw him could imagine he possessed such a barbarous heart. He was of a middle stature, and very well shaped. It were to be wished that some learned philosopher would undertake to demonstrate for what moral purposes such inhuman monsters were sent into the world.

His cruel order.

He left a son named Abbâs, who succeeded him, being then but thirteen years of age^t. His father, it seems, for what reason none could ever discover, had given orders that he should be deprived of sight with the hot iron; but the eunuch charged with that office, in compassion to the young prince, only moved a cold iron before his eyes, teaching him to counterfeit blindness. When his father was in his last sickness he became deeply afflicted for having so treated his heir; the eunuch perceiving his grief, promised to restore the prince to sight, and accordingly, soon after, brought him, with the use of his eyes, to the king's bed-side. The joy which Safi conceived on this occasion prolonged his life till next day, and gave him time to command all the grandees to acknowledge him as his rightful successor.

S E C T. VII.

*The Reign of Abbâs II.**Shâh Abbâs II.*

TOWARDS the latter end of the year 1642, shâh Abbâs II. ascended the throne at Kâsfîn, with the usual ceremonies, and afterwards made his entry into Ispâhân. On the day of the solemnity all the citizens were ordered to be in arms, and march out of the city; where they were filed off on each side of the road. In the same manner were all the horse and foot ranged for five leagues together. All the road, for two leagues from the city, was covered with tissues of gold and silver, silk, carpets, and other rich stuffs. The English and Dutch factors went to meet the shâh. When they drew near they alighted, and the king being informed by Jâni Khân, general of the horse, held his leg stretched out of the stirrup for them to kiss his boot. On his left was the etemâd addawlet, or prime minister; and on his right the general

His inauguration.

^t Olear. lib. vi. p. 363, & seq.

of the cavalry ; yet they did not ride even with him, but so that the heads of their horses reached to the crupper of the shâh's. As soon as the king had passed over the stumps, the people scrambled for them, each carrying away whatever he could seize.

The king stopped at a garden, called Hezârjerib, a *Astrologer consulted.* quarter of a league from Ispâhân, thinking to have made his entry into the city ; but an astrologer came and told him, that the fortunate hour was past, and that he must remain three days before the lucky minute would return again. This proposal he complied with, and on the third day made his entry. For three days together fire-works were played off in the meydân, whose piazza was illuminated from top to bottom. In the principal inns the merchants had adorned the doors and windows of their chambers according to the mode of the country ^u.

Shâh Abbâs went several times to Jûlfa, where one day *Visits Jûlfa.* having seen the wife of the kalenter Gorja Safras, the report of whose beauty had excited his curiosity, he liked her person, and desired her to accompany his queens, who carried her into the harâm : there she continued fifteen days, and then returned home, with a valuable pearl necklace, which the king made her a present of when she went away ^w.

In the year 1643, the prince of the Uzbeks came in *A.D. 1643.* person, to solicit assistance of shâh Abbâs against his children, who had excited his subjects to rebel against him. His eldest son, who first took arms, having gained a battle, his other brother joined his interest ; and though the chief of the nobility still adhered to the father, yet, coming to a second engagement towards the end of the year 1642, he lost it, with his left eye, and retired into Persia. The shâh sent fifteen thousand horse for his escort as far as Kashân, which is four days journey from Ispâhân. His officers, tent, and led-horses, whose furniture was covered with jewels, were every day changed ; the way was covered with carpets for a league and a half from the city ; and the king himself went to meet him as far as where the stumps began to be laid. As soon as he saw the Tatar king he made a feint of spurring on his horse, and being come up, put his foot out of the stirrup, as if he intended to alight, but did not. The Uzbek prince, old as he was, presently leaped from his saddle to salute the shâh, who made him some compliments, and alighted. Then the etemâd ad-dawlet, and other lords, remounting him, the two kings

*Uzbek
prince re-
ceived
with ho-
nour.*

^u Tavern. lib. v. cap. 1. p. 199. ^w Ibid. p. 211.

rode together on the silks, Abbâs giving his guest the left hand. This prince lent him fifteen thousand horse and eight thousand foot, with sixty thousand tomans in money. The Uzbek, in return, gave him one of his provinces bordering on Persia, which yielded him a very considerable revenue for the inhabitants were all Turkmâns, who bred an infinite number of cattle, wherein the wealth of that province consists*.

*Recovers
Kandakâr,
by policy.*

Although Kempfer says this shâh's reign was famous for many warlike expeditions, yet authors mention but very few. The travellers, at least, speak of no more than two, namely, those against Khandahâr and Jaskes; in the first of which only he came off with success, and this success was owing more to policy or treachery, than force of arms or military skill. It has been already observed in the reign of shâh Safi, that Ali Mordan Khân, governor of Kandahâr, being sent for to court, rather than trust himself in the hands of that bloody prince, chose to deliver up that important fortress to the Great Mogul. All the world believed, after such a peace of treason committed by the father, that Safi would have ripped up the bellies of his two sons, who remained at his court as hostages. Nevertheless, he conferred on them the same kind of favours and employments which shâh Jehân bestowed on Ali Merdan Khân. This policy proved very advantageous to shâh Abbâs II. who, intending to recover Kandahâr, marched and besieged it with fifty thousand men; for the Persian troops, of whom the greater part of the Mogul's army consisted, remembering how kindly shâh Safi had treated Ali Merdan Khân's sons, gave very little opposition to shâh Abbâs, who in a short time reduced that fortress^y.

*Prince of
Jaskes'
revolt, and
successes
against the
Persians.*

Between cape Jaskes and cape Guâdel, the two most southern points of the coast of Persia, along the Indian sea, there lies a mountainous and marshy country, in several parts inaccessible, extending from the sea to the province of Kermân. This region was possessed by three petty princes. The two that reign towards the east are Ethnics; the third, who assumes the title of prince of Jaskes, and is most potent, professes Mohammedism. Shâh Abbâs I. after the conquest of the province of Ormûz, intended to subdue all the maritime parts beyond Jaskes; but meeting with resistance, was content that the prince should become his vassal, and pay him tribute; a condition which was performed during his reign; but on the accession of shâh

* Tavern. lib. v. cap. 1. p. 200.

^y Ibid. p. 198.

Sefî I. the prince of Jaskes refused to pay the tribute. At length, in the reign of Abbâs II. the khân of Ormûz, by his leave, invaded the country with twenty thousand horse; but as he marched, he fell into a bog and perished, with twenty or thirty horsemen.

The army, on the khân's death, retreated. However, soon after they entered the country again, led by the khân's brother, whom Abbâs had sent to succeed him. The new general marched to reduce the rebellious prince; but was defeated by him, with the loss of a great number of men. The prince of Jaskes, elated by this success, and believing the Persians would not return in haste, resolved on a voyage to Mecca, in order to return his prophet thanks; but the khân being informed of his design, caused him to be way-laid by sea, and brought to Ormûz. From thence he was conveyed to the mountains, ten or twelve leagues distant, whither the governor had retired, to avoid the heats; who immediately sent to acquaint Abbâs, and know what was to be done with his prisoner. Mean while the princess of Jaskes, hearing of her husband's misfortune, and being a woman of masculine courage, set out with five or six hundred horse; and hastening, by long marches, surprised the khân at midnight, killed him with her own hand, cut in pieces the greater part of his men, whom she found asleep, and carried away ten or twelve of his women, along with her husband, before the Persians could put themselves in a posture of defence.

Abbâs, still more incensed at this incident, dispatched the third brother to be governor of Ormûz, with a command to those of Shirâz, Lâr, and Kermân, to march with thirty thousand horse to revenge the affront, and reduce the rebel: but the prince of Jaskes, being assisted by the other two maritime princes before mentioned, defeated those troops, with the khân of Ormûz at their head. However, his lieutenant-general being taken prisoner in the battle, the khân, in revenge of his brother's death, caused his body to be stuck with lighted candles, and led about the streets, mounted on a camel, at noon: but after he had been thus tormented, for three days together, the khân relented at the intercession of the Dutch company ^z.

Shâh Abbâs II. reigned about twenty-four years, and, according to Tavernier, died of an inflammation in his throat, occasioned by excessive drinking: but this prince's

*Abbâs dies
in great
torture.*

^z Tavern. cap. 5. p. 217.

death

death is more particularly related by Kempfer and Chardin. The first informs us, that being at his palace of A-shirâf, in the province of Mazânderân, or Tabrestân, he took a fancy to lie with one of the dancers who belonged to the court ; and although the girl fell on her knees, intreating him to forbear, for that she was infected with the venereal disease, yet he would not be dissuaded. In a month the symptoms of the disorder appeared upon him, and his whole body was covered with ulcers. As he took no care to live regularly, and his physicians were at a loss how to treat it, the contagion degenerated into a cancer, which ate away the palate of his mouth, and the bones of his nose.

Eight days before he died, when it was too late, he began to live more regularly ; and removed to Khosrawabâd, a village near Damagân. There he passed his time among his women, in conversation, reading, and painting, in which he was continually employed : but while he flattered himself with the hopes of recovering, and being soon able to undertake his long designed expedition against the Uzbeks of Bâlk, he was one evening suddenly seized with such intolerable pains, that in the night he ran distracted ; and died about four in the morning, accusing his physicians of having taken him off by poison. Thus he miserably expired in the year 1666 ^a.

He was buried at Koni, where he lies under a magnificent sepulchre, near that of Safi, or Sefi ; the draught of which is given us by Chardin.

Character. Abbâs was a prince of great capacity, and famous for many warlike expeditions. Just, prudent, and gracious to all men ; but kinder to strangers than his own people, whom he would not suffer to abuse the Christians. He even removed some of his considerable officers, both ecclesiastical and civil, who bore them an ill-will ; comparing the state to a body, whose members ought to agree among themselves, and whose prince should distribute love and justice to all alike. If both Persians and Christians are to be believed, it is hard to name the virtue of which he was not possessed : but his passion for women brought him to his grave.

His cruelty. Such is the character of Abbâs II. given by Kempfer : but Tavernier, who was in Persia during his reign, and entertained by him at Ispâhân, says, he was no less cruel than his father Safi. In another place he observes, that

^a Kemp. Amæn. Exot. Fascic. 1. p. 28.

this shâh was too much addicted to drinking, and governed by passion. He adds, that otherwise Abbâs was a lover of justice, as well as very magnificent and generous to strangers ^b.

It may, indeed, be said in excuse of this prince, that the acts of cruelty which he committed were rather the effect of his drinking than his natural temper ; for most of those barbarous orders which we meet with an account of, were given when he was intoxicated. On the other hand the victims of his excesses were often the cause of their own misfortunes. However, it does not appear that in the following instance either of those palliations can be alleged in his favour.

In the year 1620, Abbâs the Great banished a vast number of eunuchs from court who were useless, and only incumbered his palace, assigning them a large habitation, divided into several piles of building, with gardens belonging to them : but, thirty years after, Abbâs II. finding that these eunuchs did not die fast enough, sent executioners one night to kill those who were youngest, and bury them in the garden without any noise : so that, in 1667, when Chardin was at Ispâhân, there did not remain above fifteen or sixteen ^c.

Abbâs was very kind to the Franks, or Europeans : he not only honoured Tavernier with a kalaat and gown, but invited him to entertainments. Particularly in January 1665, being sent for one morning to court, he found father Raphael, superior of the Capuchins, and two Dutchmen, with the nazar ; who brought them to the apartment where the king was, sitting on a low pallet covered with a rich carpet : he leaned his back against a large cushion, having before him eight or ten plates of fruits and sweetmeats. There stood also two bottles, with long round necks, of Venice crystal, stopped with pitch, full of Shirâz wine, and a gold cup. On one side was a vessel with a handle, almost full of the same sort of wine, with a gold ladle which held the quantity of a pint.

After they had made their obeisance, the king called to Raphael, saying, “ Come hither, come hither.” The frier went towards him, and fell on his knees. “ Raphael, (says Abbâs), if thou wilt drink wine, stay here ; if not, be gone.” The frier, though unaccustomed to drink wine, replied, that since his majesty did him so great an honour, he was willing to drink a little. “ It is very well,

^b Tavern. lib. v. cap. 5. p. 209.

^c Chard. tom. iii. p. 71.

(answered

Apology for him.

Barbarous order.

Kind to the Franks.

Treats them with great familiarity.

(answered the king, smiling), go then, and take thy seat." Then he bade one of the Dutchmen fill some wine: he obeyed with a trembling hand; and having laid his hat on the carpet, the shâh ordered him to put it on again, it being very ignominious in Persia to remain bare-headed. The large ladle was circulated with great celerity. At length the king, bethinking himself that the Franks were not used to drink without eating, gave orders for viâtuâls to be brought, consisting of both flesh and fish roasted and boiled.

After this repast, the king turned the discourse upon Tavernier's travels into India; and, opening a fatchel, drew out several portaitures, in miniature, representing the Great Moguls and their sons, with some râjahs and officers of the court, whom Tavernier knew by the resemblance. The shâh having conversed with him jocosely on the subject of female beauty, became more serious, and asked many questions concerning the present state of Europe. At intervals the dancers were called in, *An instance.* and Abbâs diverted himself with asking our author, which he thought the most beautiful, and ordered them to kiss and caress the stranger: thus the time passed till eleven at night, when the king enquired if any of the company could sing? On this interrogation, one M. Daulier began, but Tavernier observing the king did not like his voice, and being in a merry vein, sang a drinking air; which so pleased his majesty, that he exclaimed, "Bârik Alla! Bârik Alla!" *O! the works of God!*

Effects of liquor.

Notwithstanding this condescension, Abbâs would not endure disrepect from strangers any more than from his own subjects; as may appear from the following instances: next night the king had recourse again to the bottle, and in the company was an hâji, or pilgrim, newly returned from Mecca, consequently obliged to abstain from wine. While this hâji stayed, one of the Persian lords became so intoxicated, that he twice struck the hâji's turban from his head; refused to drink when the king commanded him; interrupted the women when dancing; and committed so many other impertinencies, that the king at last, in a great fury, said, "This rascal has lost all respect, and thinks he is no more my slave! drag him out by the heels, and throw him to the dogs!" He was accordingly dragged out of the hall by four or five officers; and every body wondered that he was not thrown to the dogs, but it was thought some of the king's women begged him off.

Jaffer Khân being restored to favour, the king sent for several lords of the court to come and drink with them. He likewise commanded five Franks, who were in his service, to attend: their names were, Sain, a goldsmith; Lagis and Varin, watch-makers; with Marais and Bernard, gun-smiths. After they had been warmed a little with wine, the king drew off his finger a ruby and a diamond, which he gave to Jaffer Khân, with whom he whispered at the same time; the nâzar, who sat at a distance, fancying the shâh was talking about the incursions of the Uzbeks towards Mashhâd, or Tûs, and being emboldened by the liquor he had drank, told his majesty aloud, that if he would let him have but four thousand horse, he would cut all that rabble to pieces. The king displeased at his freedom, bid him hold his tongue and go to sleep. Nevertheless Marais, being also fuddled, began to prate, and told the shâh, that if he wanted a general, none was fitter than Jaffer Khân; then launched out into a long detail of his praises. The king commanded him to be silent; and he left off speaking; but in a little time began to talk again: on this second provocation, Abbâs ordered the master of his wardrobe, to drag him out of the room by the feet, and rip up his belly." He was dragged out accordingly, but the officer having a great kindness for him, and knowing the king loved him much, delayed the execution by pulling his cloaths off very leisurely; and finding his majesty did not rise to go into the harâm, which is a sign that no pardon will be given, he caused him to be dragged as near the king as he could, to move his compassion, while some of the lords implored mercy for him: which at length Abbâs granted, ordering him to put on his clothes again, and resume his place^d.

Abbâs was a lover of the mechanical arts, and artisans. *Drawings of Abbâs.* It has been already remarked that he was fond of drawing; and Tavernier tells us, that he delivered to him the patterns of several sorts of drinking-cups, and trenchers, with that of a dagger, in order to have them made in France. These patterns were drawn by his own hand, he having learned to design of two Dutchmen, who were in his service^e.

^d Tavern. lib. v. cap. 5. p. 210, & seq.
cap. 16, 17. p. 181. 183.

^e Idem lib. iv.

S E C T. VIII.

The Reign of Shâh Safî II. or Solymân.

Shâh, Solymân.

AS soon as Abbâs was dead, the lords, who were about him, sent notice of this event to his eldest son Safi, or Sefi, by the Topiji Bashî, general of the musketeers, and Mirza Bayad, chief of the astrologers. At the door of the harâm, they desired to speak with the mother and her son; who believed they were come on some dismal design; but they were agreeably surprised, when, on the prince's approach, they fell at his feet and saluted him king, declaring the death of his father. Sefi immediately tore his garment according to custom, and prostrated himself at the door of the harâm; then squatted down on his heels, while one of the grandees buckled on his sabre, pronouncing words to this effect: "May it please your majesty to remember your slave, who has the honour to gird you with this sword." This ceremony being performed, the trumpets were sounded, and drums beat; and in the morning, the people running to the palace gate, exclaimed, "Padishâh falamalek!" that is, *I salute thee emperor.*

No corona-
tion.

This is all the ceremony used when any king of Persia ascends the throne. They do no more than gird on the scymetar, as in Turkey, and put on the taj, or bonnet of the Sofi, which is very richly set with jewels, but has not the least resemblance of a crown.

He falls
sick.

Shâh Sefi II. some time after his coming to the throne, fell dangerously sick. On such an occasion, all the court-lords and governors of provinces bestow a sum of money, according to their inclinations, usually in gold; which they put into a bason very richly set with precious stones, and pass it three times over the king's head, pronouncing these words, "Padishâh bashena olfun:" that is, *This money is offered for the health of the king's head.* If the shâh recovers, all that money, to which both himself and his harâm add very liberally, is given to the poor: but if he dies, it is deposited in the treasury. On the 20th of August, 1667, the disorder being at its height, all the grandees went to the mosque, called Babarun, without the city, to pray for his health; and gave near one thousand tomans to the poor. Next day they commanded the Armenian Christians to pray for the king's recovery.

Thefe

These also sent their kalenter, with fifty tomans in gold, to wave over the king's head.

The danger was over in a few days; but, as he continued in a languishing condition, he began to ascribe his weakness to the ignorance of his physicians; some of whom met with but indifferent treatment on the occasion. They endeavoured to transfer the blame to the astrologers, who had mistaken the propitious hour for his ascending the throne; they therefore proposed that a lucky minute should once more be fixed, in which the ceremony of his inauguration should be renewed, and that he should change his name. The king and his council being pleased with this expedient, a luckier minute was fixed accordingly.

When the day arrived, they set a gawr, or fire-worshipper, descended from the *Rustâms*, ancient kings of Persia, upon the throne, with his back against a wooden figure, which represented him to the life; all the great lords came and did him homage as their king. This ceremony lasted till the favourable hour arrived, when an officer of the court came behind and cut off the head of the wooden image, while the mock monarch fled with precipitation. Then the shâh appeared in the hall, where being invested with the taj and scymetar, he ascended the throne, and assumed the name of Solymân. From that time, the shâh recovering, the physicians grew in high repute, and the astrologers were disgraced ^f.

One of the first incidents of this reign related to Ali *Kûli Khân*, who had been general of the Persian armies. This Khân, who was of a daring spirit, had been banished three or four times from court for speaking his mind too freely: hence he was called the king's lion, who was chained up when the shâh had no business for him, and was let loose when there was any thing for him to do. In his last exile, he was kept five or six years in a fortrefs close confined. At length, he prevailed on the governor to let him go a hunting with him: at his return, with the help of some of his servants, he seized his keeper, and gave him the bastinado so severely on the feet, that he almost killed him; telling him, that it was to teach him his duty, not to let a man go, whom the king had committed to his charge. Shâh Sefi, or Solymân, hearing of this incident, was desirous to see Ali Kûli Khân, and notwithstanding the endeavours of

^f Tavern. lib. v. cap. 1. p. 200, & seq.

the grandees to prevent his return, ordered him to be set at liberty.

Two or three days after he was discharged, the king sitting in council, the whole assembly was amazed to see Ali Kûli Khân enter; who, approaching his majesty with a profound reverence, told him, that the lion being now let loose, was humbly come to kiss his hands: the king fell a laughing, and, casting a favourable glance upon him, said he had done well. Nor was it long before Solymân, finding him no less pleasant in conversation than able in the field, restored him to his place of generalissimo. When the courtiers saw Ali Kûli Khân so well received, every one was forward to testify joy for his return. They sent him horses, mules, camels, rich carpets, and every thing else proper to furnish the house of a nobleman; but all this time he wanted money, and had recourse to the Armenians, of whom he desired to borrow five or six hundred tomans, which they refused.

Soon after this transaction, the king taking a walk to Julfa, Ali Kûli Khân propos'd he should go and see the great cathedral belonging to the Armenians, where several bishops and monks resided. The shâh, entering the church, where the bishop stood ready at the head of the clergy to receive him; asked his favourite what sort of people those were, clad in such an extraordinary manner? Ali Kûli Khân told him they were devils. "Devils! (says the king), what (added he) dost thou bring me into a house of devils?" Solymân thus incensed against the Armenians, resolved to force them to turn Mohammedans. But the Khân, who was a Georgian, repenting that he had raised the king's indignation to so high a pitch, and believing their conversion would be no advantage to him, contented himself with intimidating them: the Armenians fell on their knees to intreat his intercession in their behalf; a favour which cost them ten thousand tomans to the king, and four or five thousand to himself.

We find very little in the authors before us relating to the military transactions of this shâh's reign, who indeed was very averse to war; insomuch that he suffered patiently many insults from the Uzbek Tatars. This tame-ness which may justly be ascribed to his effeminacy, Kempfer imputes as a virtue in him; alledging in his favour, that he chose rather to let one province be harrassed by those robbers, than, by provoking them, expose many others.

humbles the Armenians.

Uzbek ravages.

others to the like depredations. On the same principle he excuses Solymân's pusillanimity, with regard to the Dutch; who having with their fleet taken from him the island of Kismis, near Ormûz, in the Persian gulf, he not only pardoned the offence, but even granted their demands.

However that be, he was not so complaisant to the Kosaks; for in the year 1667, Stenko Radzin, general of those people, having ravaged the shores of Kilân and Mâzanderân on the Caspian sea, a considerable army was sent against them, under the direction of certain astrologers, who were to point out the lucky day and hour for fighting. The Kosaks, who were then in an island on the coast of Lenkoran, being acquainted with the superstition of their enemies, counterfeited a flight in two of their largest ships. By this stratagem they drew their pursuers, who thought themselves sure of the victory, into an ambuscade, and cut them off to a man. About ten thousand Persians fell a sacrifice on this occasion, to the folly or imposture of the astrologers.

Solymân, towards the close of his reign, was greatly afflicted with the gout, which confined him to his bed two whole years. During this period, he was attended solely by eunuchs; and these people had an opportunity of insinuating themselves into his favour to such a degree, that, when he recovered, he raised them to honours and powers, which at last proved fatal to his posterity.

Solymân died on the 29th of July, N. S. 1694, in the forty-eighth year of his age, and twenty-ninth of his reign; when, by the indiscretion of his first physician, his death became public, contrary to custom, before his successor was seated on the throne.

This prince was tall and slender, handsome and majestic; his visage long, lean, and pale; his forehead high and open, eyes large and blue; his looks cheerful and modest; his complexion exceeding fair, and nose a little hooked. His carriage was graceful and easy; his voice low, but masculine; his walk grave and upright; he rode slowly, and continually cast his eyes about him, looking very steadfastly at strangers, but with a mild countenance. His dress was always plain, of yellow or red silk, and much inferior to that of his ministers; from whom he was distinguished only by the taj, fastened behind him on his right side: on the same side he wore a dagger, and from his neck hung the privy-seal down upon his breast. According to Chardin, no man could well have a more robust constitution. At the nazar's feast, in order to shew

shew his strength, after shooting the bow, he took cups of enamelled gold, about the thickness of a crown-piece, and with one hand squeezed them flat, one after the other.

neglects affairs; Solymân never applied himself to the affairs of government, but left it wholly to the care of his prime minister : who might be said to have possessed the royal power, while the shâh, quite negligent and ignorant of every thing which passed, enjoyed only the title and honour ^g.

Besides his neglect of government, he is by most authors charged with avarice, drunkenness, and cruelty. According to Kempfer, he was, at the beginning of his reign, very munificent, and even extravagant, in his gifts to favourites and flatterers : but, finding the revenue did not answer his expences, he fell into a contrary extreme ^h.

given to wine; He was greatly addicted to liquor ; and, for several years drunk almost every day ⁱ. Nor was he ashamed to expose his debauchery to the eyes of his subjects.

At a feast given by the nâzar, in September 1673, he spent the whole night in drinking, shooting with the bow, and other exercises ; with which, and the good cheer, he was so exhausted, that, at day-break, he was forced to be carried to his palace, being able neither to ride, nor stand on his legs. The grandees, who had been at the same banquet, were so weary and drunk, that the greater part of them lay down on the bulks in their way home ; a circumstance which the nâzar being informed of, he sent soldiers to stand round them, that none might come near, or see them, in a condition so unworthy of their quality.

excesses in liquor; Solymân committed great excesses in his drink ; and often gave very cruel orders. He conceived an aversion to Sheykh Ali Khân, his prime minister, and one of the greatest men of his time, for refusing to drink wine. That minister always excused himself, not only on account of his age and office, but as he was more strictly obliged to the observance of religion, by the titles which he bore of Sheykh and haji. The shâh often gave him abusive language, and once struck him several blows. He ordered cups of wine to be thrown in his face ; loading him with a thousand indignities of the same nature, when he was in liquor. Nevertheless he, in his sober hours, esteemed him highly for his attachment, ability, and virtue ^k.

abuses the wazir for not drinking; At one of his debauches, he accosted him thus : “ Grand wazîr, I can no longer suffer you to keep your sences here,

^g Chard. tom i. p. 219. ^h Kempf. p. 47, & seq. ⁱ Chard. tom. i. p. 220. ^k Ibid. idem.

while we are all drunk : a drunken man, and one who does not drink at all, pass their time but ill together. If you will divert yourself with us, and give us pleasure in your company, you must drink as much as we have done. The minister fell at the feet of the shâh ; who, finding that he excused himself on the score of religion, said, “ It is not with wine that I intend you shall be drunk ; drink of kokenar :” which is an infusion of the juice of poppy, much more intoxicating than wine itself. Sheykh Ali Khân, unable longer to resist, drank several cups of that liquor, and soon fell upon the cushions in a state of intoxication. The king shouted for joy, on seeing him in that condition ; and, for two hours together, did nothing but laugh and jest at him, with his favourites, who were as drunk as himself.

Solymân afterwards treated him with still more indig- *his cruelty*,
nity, ordering one of his gentlemen, who shaved him, to take off the minister’s beard ; which, on account of religion, he wore of great length. The wazîr whispered the chamberlain not to cut it so close as to let the skin be seen ; a request which he unfortunately complying with, the shâh ordered his hand to be cut off upon the spot, for not punctually obeying his command. Mean while the prime minister, pierced to the soul with this indelible affront, and almost frantic, went out from the king’s presence without taking leave. Next morning, the wazîr not appearing at the usual hour, Solymân, who easily guessed the cause, sent for him. The minister expatiated on the grievous injuries he had received, and the dishonour they reflected on the shâh himself, in such pathetic terms, to the lord who brought the message, that the king sent for him a second time, gave him his hand, and not only promised to make him amends for the many insults offered to his person, but also swore never for the future to drink to excess¹.

Although the prime wazîr came to court, yet he did *barbarous* *order*,
not care to act in that capacity. In 1673, while Chardin was at Ispâhân, Solymân, being in liquor, fell in a passion with one who played on the lute ; and, because he did not like his music, ordered his favourite Nâfr Ali Beg, the governor of Eriyân’s son, to cut his hands off : in pronouncing this sentence, he threw himself on a heap of cushions to sleep. The favourite, considering this cruel order as the mere effect of intoxication, contented himself

¹ Chard. tom. iii. p. 245.

luckily pre-
vented;

with reprimanding the musician for not studying to please his master better. But the shâh, awaking an hour after, and seeing the lute-player touching his instrument as before, enraged at the young lord no less than the musician, ordered the grand master of his palace to cut off the hands and feet of both. The grand master falling at his feet to intreat grace for the favourite, Solymân, in a fury, called to his eunuchs and guards to execute his sentence on all three. Ali Khân, the late minister, happening to be present, fell at the shâh's feet, kissed them, and implored their pardon. The king, pausing a little, said, " You are very rash, to hope that I will grant your request ; I, who cannot prevail on you to resume the post of prime minister." The prostrate sheykh replied, " Sire, I am your slave, and will always do what your majesty shall command me." This declaration appeased the king ; and, next morning, he sent a kalaat to sheykh Ali Khân ; who resumed his place of etemâd addawlet, which had been vacant four months ^m.

maims his
officers on
flight occa-
sions ;punishes a
favourite ;

His women and domestics often felt his cruelty, by inhuman tortures. When his tents were removed in any of his journeys, the mangled bodies of people were found on the spot where they were pitched ; and, at Ispâhân, scarce a day passed but some of his attendants in the palace lost either life, or limb : which punishments he inflicted for the slightest mistakes ⁿ.

In the year 1675, some persons, who had been greatly oppressed by Sefi Ali Khân, governor of Eriwan and Armenia, having petitioned shâh Solymân against him ; Nasr Ali Beg, the khân's son, who was the king's chief favourite, being highly incensed at this attempt against his father, and seeing them at the palace-gate as he was going out one day, gave them very injurious language ; which they returning, he had the rashness to strike them with his cane, and draw his sword. They set up so loud a cry, that the king heard it ; and, being informed of the cause, exclaimed, in a transport of passion ; " Has this dog the insolence to draw his sword in my palace against those miserable people, whom his father's tyranny has forced to come and demand justice of me ? Go cut off the hand which has been guilty of such an audacious action." This command was immediately executed.

The news of Nasr Ali Beg's misfortune being quickly spread through the palace, his relations and friends seem-

^m Chard. tom. i. p 220.ⁿ Fryer, p. 349.

ed quite distracted with grief. Among the rest, one of *burns his* his sisters, a young and beautiful lady, became delirious. *sister* She tore her own flesh; and, entering the shâh's apartment, loaded him with the most bitter invectives; and she even flew at him, in order to take vengeance with her own hands. The king at first pardoned the follies of the fair creature's passion; but finding his threats could not oblige her to desist, he, with a brutal rage, ordered her to be burnt alive; which horrible sentence was executed on the spot, by binding the tender victim in a chimney, and placing faggots about her, to which they set fire*.

Some time after this melancholy incident, Solymân *seizes his* missing one of his most expert dancers, and being informed *women*, that Nâfr Ali Beg had entertained her in his house, was no less surprised to find that his disgraced favourite could be so merry, when his life was in danger, than at a loss to conceive where he should get money to live so voluptuously, since all his effects had been confiscated. On questioning the dancer, she told him, that the beg was supplied by his mother. Solymân, being incensed at this information, commanded all Nâfr Ali Beg's women to be prostituted in the public stews. They were already set on asses, with their faces bare, and towards the tail, in order to be carried thither; when, being informed, that his wives were women of quality, and his slaves very beautiful, he commanded them to be brought to his palace.

The relations of Nâfr Ali Beg, willing to make use of *eunuch* the favourable disposition, which the shâh seemed to be in, *flayed a-* begged of the grand 'squire, who is one of the principal *live*; eunuchs, to intercede along with them for their kinsman. The humane eunuch, upon this application, brought them into Solymân's presence; where they fell at his feet: but that prince, to their great confusion, flew into a passion at what ought to have moved his pity; and said to the eunuch, "Dog! wilt thou not give my anger time to subside; let him be flayed alive this instant." Which dreadful sentence was immediately executed on the poor unhappy intercessor: but the eunuch being advanced in years, soon expired under that horrible punishment^p.

Solymân continued drinking to such excess, that people *wounds* wondered he did not burst; and his cruelty increased so *Mansûr* with his debauches, that almost every excess proved fatal *Khân*; to some of the great lords of his court. At last it came to Mansûr Khân's turn to feel his severity. The shâh being

* Fryer, p. 187.

p Ibid. p. 211, & seq.

a-hunting three leagues from Kazbîn, began drinking on the fourth day; and, when he could drink no more, bid the general of the musketeers get that instant on horseback; for that he would return to the city. The khân told him, it was then eleven at night; that as he was not expected in Kazbîn, nothing was prepared for his reception; adding, that it would not consist with his dignity to enter the city so abruptly at such an hour. Solymân, incensed at that opposition to his will, drew his sword, and saying, “Dog, as thou art, hast thou the impudence to contradict thy master?” made a stroke at him, which would have cleft his head in two, if he had not warded it off with his hand; which yet received a great cut as well as his turban; half of which fell to the ground.

makes him amends;

The general upon this treatment only told the shâh, that he was so drunk he knew not what he said; but if he had been so unfortunate as to incur his majesty’s displeasure, he might order him to be killed, without staining his sacred hands with the blood of such a dog as he was: he added, that he would stab himself to the heart. The king, instead of making any reply, ordered him to be taken away, and his wound to be dressed. Three days after he sent him a royal habit, and two hundred tomans, to convince him that he was as much in his favour as before ^a.

Many other instances of this monster’s cruelty and caprice are recorded, which the humane reader could not peruse without horror. Nevertheless, he has found an advocate in Kempfer, who expressly says, that, excepting in the articles of avarice and venery, he was one of the best of princes; and extols him, in particular, for his justice and mercy. Nevertheless, this very panegyrist has specified some of his actions, that evince him to have been one of the most brutal tyrants that ever lived.

Observes his treaties;

As a proof of this shâh’s justice and piety, the same author alleges his punctual observance of his foreign engagements. He tells us, that Solymân might easily have recovered Baghhdâd from the Turks, when they were engaged in war with the Christian princes; and possessed himself of Bâsrah, by a surrender from its prince, if he could have been prevailed on to violate the faith of treaties. On the same principle, he refused to accept of the vassalage offered him, in the year 1684, by the Arabs, who dwelt about the river Tigris.

^a Fryer’s Travels, p. 185.

Shâh Solymân left many sons. Chardin heard an eunuch of the harâm say, this prince had threescore children, living.

He was succeeded by his son shâh Huseyn, a mild prince; *and successor.* but exceeding weak, and wholly devoted to pleasure. He neglected affairs of state to such a degree, and suffered himself to be so much governed by his eunuchs, that some of his chief officers, after having reproached him with his failings, in very indecent terms, laid down their posts, and refused to serve him any longer¹. This misconduct at last brought on the troubles raised by the famous Mîr Avis, which ended in the ruin of himself, and most of his family, by the rebellion of Nâdir Kûli, otherwife Tahmâsp Kûli Khân, who, usurping the throne, reigned by the name of Shâh Nadir.

S E C T. IX.

The Reign of Shâb Huseyn.

Affairs of Persia, till the Revolt of the Afghâns.

SHAH Solymân left only two sons, who were in a capacity to succeed him, and both by different venters: *Shâh Huseyn.* the elder named mîrza Abbâs, the younger Huseyn.

Solymân conceived a peculiar love for Huseyn; but *Person and capacity.* would appoint no successor; leaving it to the eunuchs, and other grandees, to chuse which of his two sons they should think the best adapted for government. Mîrza Abbâs was well-shaped and robust, had a noble air and inclinations, delighting in military exercises; in short, he had all the necessary qualifications for a great prince. Huseyn had crooked legs, and besides was splay-footed. He was without ambition, and loved retirement. He was wholly intent on reading the Koran, from which circumstance he derived the nickname of Mûllah Huseyn, or *Parson Huseyn*; and discovered as much humility in his behaviour as probity in his sentiments².

These qualifications determined those who had the disposal of the succession to prefer him to Abbâs, who had too much understanding to be governed by them; and had, indeed, dropped some words against the exorbitant power

¹ Le Bruyn. Trav. in Persia, vol. i. chap. 42. p. 211, & seq.

² Krusinski Revoiut. of Persia, vol. i. p. 60, & seqq.

of the eunuchs, which alarmed their fears. On the other hand, Huseyn's maternal grandmother bound herself by oath, to make him their friend; while the ministers and principal officers, being accustomed, during the latter years of Solymân, to flatter the eunuchs, and comply with pacific measures, espoused the interest of Huseyn.

Although Abbâs was, on his brother's advancement to the throne, more closely confined than before, yet the eunuchs could never prevail on the new king to deprive him of sight: and he extended the same indulgence to his younger brothers ^t.

Wine forbidden, and restored. While the courtiers endeavoured to inspire him with a taste for debauchery, that they might engross the management of affairs, he published an edict prohibiting the use of wine, as forbidden by the Korân. In order to enforce the law by his own example, he caused all the wine-vessels in his cellars to be publicly staved; and forbade the Armenians of Zulfa to bring any more, under the penalty of forfeiting their estates. As wine had been tolerated in Persia, ever since the reign of Shâh Abbas I. the grandees were all alarmed, as well as the eunuchs; who were sensible, that a temperate king would not always be kept in leading-strings. To ward off this blow, they applied themselves to the king's grandmother, who loved wine, and was obliged to them for placing her favourite on the throne. By their advice, she fell sick, and the physicians prescribed her wine. The king himself presented it to her: but she refused to take it, unless he would first taste it; and, to remove his religious scruples, quoted the Persian maxims, that kings are subject to no law; and, that whatever they do, they commit no sin! By this artifice was the weak prince ensnared. He drank a large cup of it; and liked it so well afterwards, that he was scarce ever sober ^u.

Eunuchs gain power. The eunuchs were admitted to scarce any office in the government of affairs, excepting that of keeping and managing the king's treasure, before the reign of Shâh Solymân. This prince towards the end of his reign, was very infirm, when, being attended wholly by his eunuchs, he found many among them of learning, knowledge, and abilities; one of whom, named Khojâh Drak, he placed at the head of affairs. This able minister discharged his trust so much

^t Krusinski Revolut. of Persia, vol. i. p. 63, & seqq. p. 71, & seq.

^u Ibid.

to the general satisfaction and advantage of the kingdom, that the shâh, on his recovery, formed a council of eunuchs, which he made superior to the rest. This institution changed the face of affairs in their favour, and gained them respect from the people, who treated them before with contempt. Under Huseyn their power increased to such a degree, that the officers of state did not dare to decide any thing of importance, without taking orders from the eunuchs, who composed a sovereign senate; from which slavish submission the etimad addawlet himself was not exempt.

While the king was immersed in the delights of his hâram, this sovereign senate held the chief posts in the kingdom, and disposed of the fortunes of the grandees at pleasure. These wretches, though without heirs, were yet so avaricious, that they invented all sorts of methods to extort money from both the grandees and the people. To procure presents, they often sent the kalaat, or *vest of favour*, to the governors of cities and provinces; who did not complain, as this occasion furnished them with a pretence to raise ten times as much on the people. As the governments were held during pleasure, they held the same post often in the compass of a few years. These frequent changes drained the people in the provinces, by the sums raised to defray the expences of the governor's reception, and the presents made to him on his entrance into office.

As the council consisted partly of black and partly of white eunuchs (K), naturally in opposition, from their colour, and jealous of their authority, they could never agree. This pernicious practice of ruling by parties was introduced by Abbâs I. to prevent his subjects from plotting against him, and to secure the throne in his family. The method which he took to compass this design was, to settle, in all the cities of Persia, foreigners of such nations as were most opposite in their customs, manners, and language; and to form, in the towns and villages, two factions, which were distinguished not only by the names of Peleuk and Feleuk, but also by the colour of their neck-bands and shirts. They carried their antipathy so far, that they would neither marry nor eat together; and as, at the feast of Haffan and Huseyn, sons of Ali, they were

(K) The first are for guards king, or guard the hâram of to the harâm of the women. the princes of the blood.
The white either attend the

permitted to fight, although they could make use only of stones or sticks, yet they fought with such fury, that to part them, the king was often obliged to send his guards ^w.

These parties which, while under proper restraints, were serviceable to the shâh, proved very detrimental to his affairs, when that restraint was taken off. Huseyn experienced this inconvenience on several occasions, particularly during the siege of Ispâhân, which was lost by the animosity between the Larians and Baktilarians; for although each nation, able to raise twenty thousand men, could have driven off the Afghâns, yet they would neither unite their forces, to deliver the city, nor one permit the other to acquire that honour ^x.

Insolence of the eunuchs. The factions at court grew as unruly as those in the provinces; and the eunuchs, having thrown off all restraint, made slight of the shâh's authority. This prince was obliged to comply with the requests of each, in his turn; and they were continually supplanting one another: as soon as one party had procured a government for their creature, the other set all engines to work, to turn him out. If a general was appointed by the interest of one faction, to command on any expedition, the other did all they could to render it abortive; either by not furnishing a sufficient number of troops, by not sending them into the field in time, by stinting them of ammunition and provisions, and often by betraying their designs to the enemy. By these pernicious practices, several fine armies were destroyed, and the Afghâns encouraged to advance to Ispâhân. These lawless eunuchs, to increase the disorders, and weaken the state, set the grandees at variance, and turning out the able officers, put those of less merit in their places. In order to embroil families, they inverted the order of succession; they deprived Ali Merdam Khân, the greatest captain at that time in Persia, of his hereditary government, and gave it to his brother. They acted in the same manner by the princes of Ganjea and Georgia, who became vassals to Abbâs I. conditionally, that their principalities should always remain in their families. Thus relations, made irreconcilable foes, frequently had recourse to arms; and, to revenge themselves on one another, gave intelligence to the enemy of their designs, to the ruin of the national affairs.

Instances of oppression. It was a fundamental maxim, established by the last mentioned shâh, to inflict corporal punishments on the

^w Krusinski ibid. p. 84, & seq.

^x Idem ibid. p. 93, & seq.

great,

great, and fine the commonalty ; but the eunuchs subverted this rule, by commuting the pains of death and the bastinado, which kept the great in awe, into forfeitures and mulcts, which they converted to their own use. So that these checks being taken off, all who were in authority every where did nothing but contrive how to rob and plunder the people, because they might do it with impunity ^y.

In this manner justice was openly bought and sold at Ispâhân, in the reign of Huseyn ; and the streets of the capital swarmed with thieves and assassins. Highway robberies were not only tolerated, but in a manner authorized. The peasants made robbery a trade ; and the mothers encouraged their children to it, by promise of rewards. So that the karawâns, not daring to trust themselves in the villages, encamped under tents.

While rapine and venality thus prevailed through the kingdom, Huseyn lay buried in his harâm, which surpassed that of all his predecessors, in the number and expense of the women. In the beginning of his reign, he caused all the beautiful women in Persia to be brought thither. Each had her eunuch and chambermaid ; their maintenance was profuse ; and he gave them considerable portions when they married ; for he bestowed them not only on his courtiers, but his inferior officers, and even his cooks. The daughters of great men he gave to the great lords, even when they were with child by him ; and this child superseded all their former children, and carried away the bulk of their estates. These issue called themselves Shâh Zadeh, or *King's Sons* ; but being very numerous, many were poor, and made a mean figure ^z.

Huseyn had three times more eunuchs than any of his predecessors ; they almost equalled the number of his *rowk* ^{The kowk.} guards ; and indeed he had no other guard at the time of the kûrûk, or kowrowk ; which is a proclamation to give notice of the hour when the shâh goes abroad with his harâm, made three days before he sets out. The ladies rode on horses or mules, with each an eunuch to hold the bridle, and the female attendants on asses ; while Huseyn made it one of his great diversions to scourge them till they threw their riders, in order to make sport for the rest. Besides the body of eunuchs armed with guns and swords, which surrounded the whole female cavalcade, there were two others. One of them advanced far before,

^y Krusinski ibid. p. 105, & seq. ^z Idem ibid. p. 113, & seq.

and the other closed the march. Besides these, others were employed either to search the houses by which they passed, or scour the country, in order to put to the sword all who were found within the forbidden limits ².

Expence in building.

The maintenance of such a number of eunuchs must have been very burdensome to the state. Yet this shâh was more lavish still in other articles, particularly that of building, in which he exhausted all the treasures left by his predecessors: he pulled down the old palace, a magnificent structure, and built another at a prodigious expence. He erected a second still more sumptuous at Farâbâd, a league from Ispâhân; likewise a monastery for Dervishes, whose magnificence may be conceived from the chief gate only, which is of maffy silver. As if he had been intent upon exhausting his treasury, and ruining all the provinces through which he passed, he undertook a pilgrimage to Mashhâd, above two hundred leagues from Ispâhân, accompanied by his women, and escorted by a train of sixty thousand men. This journey proved so expensive, that half the sum would have defrayed the charge of all the expeditions against the rebels of Kandahâr.

Husseyn's character.

From what hath been said it is easy to infer, that shâh Husseyn had none of those virtues necessary for a monarch: he was good-natured and merciful; but in those qualities the wicked found their account more than honest men. The only instance in which he discovered marks of greatness, was his passion for magnificence; but to that passion every thing else was sacrificed, and like some people, who are more forward to give alms than pay their debts, he built monasteries and hospitals, while his troops perished with hunger, or dispersed for want of pay: he seemed to think he was obliged to take care of nothing but of his palaces; and to what a degree he forgot that he was a king, may appear from one remarkable instance; for when, on the approach of the rebel army, his ministers endeavoured to rouse him out of his lethargy, by representing the danger, “It is your busines (said he), to look to that; you have armies provided: for my part, if they but leave me my house at Farâbâd, I am content.”

His clemency hurtful. His notions of clemency may be judged from a well-known instance: he took pleasure, sometimes, in firing his pistol over a pond in his garden where ducks were swimming, not to hurt, but frighten them. However, happening one day to wound some with the shot, he was

² Krusinski ibid. p. 123, & seq.

terrified as much as if he had committed murder ; crying out, as is usual in Persia on the shedding of human blood, “ I am polluted with blood ;” and, as an atonement for the supposed sin, ordered two hundred tomans to be given to the poor ^b.

For more than twenty years, which his reign lasted, he never once passed sentence of death ; and consequently never put on the red habit ; which was the colour worn by the kings of Persia, when they were to pronounce judgment for capital offences.

Affairs of Persia, from the Revolt of the Afghâns, to the Death of Mir Weis.

SUCH were the unhappy circumstances of Persia, under the government of a very weak prince, and a very corrupt administration : but notwithstanding the incapacity of Husseyn, and tyranny of the eunuchs, who governed him ; notwithstanding the bad state of all the provinces, and the general discontent of the whole kingdom, it is very probable that shâh Husseyn would have died in peace upon his throne, if, unhappily for him, Mîr Weis, the chief of an Afghân tribe (L), a man of a bold and enterprising spirit, had not been forced against his will to come up to court, from the remotest corner of his frontiers, to observe the weak condition to which the monarchy was reduced ; and how easy it was for one of resolution like himself, with barely the forces of his own nation, not only to throw off the Persian yoke, but even to subdue the kingdom under his obedience. The occasion of his journey to Ispâhân was this.

The Afghâns, a people who inhabit Kandahâr, finding themselves much oppressed by the exactions of the governors, whom the ministry had sent to command in that province ; at length, unable to be treated any longer as slaves, began loudly to complain, and discover evident signs of a disposition to revolt. The Persian ministry, alarmed at these symptoms, judged that the only way to prevent a rebellion was to send a person of resolution and conduct to govern the province of Kandahâr. There was then at Ispâhân a prince of the family of Bagrathioni, which has often given sovereigns to Georgia. This per-

Revolution in Persia.

The Afghâns revolt, occasioned by oppression.

^b Krusinski, ubi sup. p. 105, & seq.

(L) By some called Mîr A-vis, or Weis, of which Mîr Weis is a compound ; the name, which is Arabic, signifies *Lion-whelp*. *Mir* is an abbreviation of *Amir*, that is, *commander*. *son*,

son, named Gurghin Khân, having been made wali of his province, tried to assert the independency of his ancestors, and made a stand in Teflís, the capital city: but being abandoned by most of the grandees of the country, who suffered themselves to be bribed by the ministry, he went and made his submission to the king. Shâh Huseyn, who stood engaged for him at his circumcision, when he turned Mohammedan, was so pleased with his behaviour, that he not only forgave what was past, but also loaded him with favours ^c.

This prince, being judged a proper person to quell the rebellion of Kandahâr, was vested with the government of that province, joined to those of Kermân and Georgia, which he possessed before: he soon assembled an army of twenty thousand Persians; with whom, reinforced by a body of Georgians, he began his march, the very news of which dispersed the rebels. The khân, naturally severe, left the people to the discretion of his army, who committed all sorts of violence. They robbed them of their tents and horses, forced women from their husbands, and virgins from their parents. The chiefs of tribes were no more secure in their lives and fortunes than the meanest peasants. The Afghâns had private meetings on this occasion, and sent deputies to complain of the tyranny which they groaned under: but although they reached Ispâhân, unknown to Gurghin Khân, yet his friends there prevented all access to the shâh for a considerable time. However, at the vernal equinox, when the kings of Persia always appear in public, and their meanest subjects have free access to them, they presented their petitions, signed by the chiefs of all the Afghân tribes.

Mîr Weis's character. The shâh was inclined to do them justice; but the friends of Gourghin Khân, by false suggestions, so prejudiced that prince against them, that the deputies were dismissed as the agents of turbulent and seditious people. Gourghin Khân, not content with having thus baffled their design, resolved also to let them feel his resentment; to effect which he ordered Mîr Weis to be seized, and sent to Ispâhân. This was one of the most powerful persons of his nation; and besides, being head of a tribe, was kalentar (M), an office which added weight to his credit:

^c Hanway Hist. Account of the British Trade, &c. vol. iii. p. 27.

(M) Kalentar, or Kalântar, as Kempfer says, that is, *of a* signifies the *greatest*, or *mayor*, *city*. Amænit. Exotic. p. 141. This

credit: but his birth, his generosity, as well as a certain graceful and popular air, joined to some indications of an ambitious spirit, occasioned his being suspected as the author of the late disturbances; and as such he was represented to the court by the khân, who added, that he was a turbulent man, and likely to foment new troubles, if not secured. Having thus got rid of the person from whom he apprehended any uneasiness, he disbanded his army; only keeping his Georgians about his person.

Mîr Weis, quickly perceiving the disorders and factions at court, judged that he might draw some advantage from the posture of affairs: he first made it his business to contract an acquaintance with the party which opposed Gourghîn Khân; at the head whereof were the steward of the king's household, and Fatey Ali Khân, master of the hunt, afterwards prime minister. With these he soon ingratiated himself, by means of considerable presents. Having taken these prudent measures, he was not afraid to demand an audience; in which he justified his conduct with so much address and eloquence, that the king, already prejudiced by some of his ministers, both acquitted and granted him his protection.

Mîr Weis having now free access to the shâh, resolved if possible to destroy his accuser. The better to conceal and effect his design, he always spoke of his enemy with respect; but exaggerated his power in such terms, that Huseyn began to imagine, that Gourghîn Khân had sent him to court only to get rid of a person who too minutely inspected his conduct. His view in procuring the khân's recall, was not only to be revenged on him as his enemy, but also to clear the way for rescuing his country from the Persian yoke; perceiving that there was scarce any body else capable of obstructing his design: In order to give a legal sanction to his enterprize, and unite more effectually the Afghâns in his favour, he resolved to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, under pretence of religion, but in reality to obtain a licence for revolting^a.

As this journey removed him still farther from Kandahâr, his petition was granted without any difficulty. Soon after his arrival at Mecca, he sent to Medina, to desire the opinion of the chief doctors of the law, upon the

*Accused, but
acquitted.*

*Meditates
a revolt.*

*Goes to
Mecca.*

^a Krusin. Hist. of the late Revol. of Pers. vol. i. p. 150, & seq.
Hanway ubi sup. p. 29, & seq.

This officer is however charged sometimes acts as a sub-governor with collecting taxes, and nor. Hanway.

two following points: 1. Whether it was lawful for Musulmâns, restrained in the exercise of their religion by heretics, to take up arms, and free themselves from the yoke? 2. Whether their oath taken to a heretic sovereign was binding, when he did not observe the conventions which he had sworn to; but had made them slaves to infidels? Of the two chief sects, named *Sunni* and *Shiay*, into which the Mohammedans are divided, the *Afghâns* adhere to the former; which is followed by the *Arabs*, *Turks*, and most other nations of that faith, excepting the *Persians*, and some *Uzbek* tribes.

Obtains a dispensation.

A.D. 1708.

The *mollahs* did not hesitate to give their sentence in the affirmative; and the pretended *haji* or *pilgrim*, having obtained the *fatfa* or *fatva*, that is, the decision, returned to *Ispâhân*. Although this authority for rebellion could be of no service to him till he should return to *Kandahâr*, yet he did not discover his intention, waiting to see what time might produce; and this soon declared in his favour. An ambassador from *Russia* arrived on the frontiers of *Persia*, with a numerous retinue. He was an *Armenian*, named *Israel Orii*; and pretending to be descended from the ancient kings of that country, though originally a common soldier, dropped some hints that he did not renounce his right to the sovereignty. This report, through frivolous, was sufficient to alarm the *shâh* and his ministers: and another, that he had threatened to get all the *Romish* missionaries expelled the kingdom, excited the *Europeans* against him, so far as to suggest, that the letters which he brought from the *Christian* princes were spurious. On this occasion, certain predictions, said to be preserved by the *Armenians*, were alleged, importing, that the kingdom of *Armenia* should be established one day, under the protection of *Russia*^k.

Gains credit at court.

As idle as these reports were, yet *Mîr Weïs*, finding they obtained credit, resolved to make some use of them. He insinuated, that as *Georgia* bordered on *Armenia*, and the inhabitants of both countries were allied by religion, those of the first would favour the pretensions of the ambassador, and *Gourhîn Khân* be encouraged to renew the attempt which he had lately made to recover the sovereignty of *Georgia*, to which he laid claim. The court was so terrified with apprehensions, on this occasion, that *Hussey* would not have suffered the ambassador to proceed to *Ispâhân*, had he not been afraid of disobliging the

^f *Krusinsk.* ib. p. 160, & seqq. *Hanway* ib. p. 36. & seqq.

czar Peter. Mean time the artful speeches of Mîr Weis made such an impression on the timorous ministers, that they began to grow jealous of Gourghîn Khân's power; which jealousy being easily infused into the head of their weak prince, it was resolved to place near him some trusty person, who might watch over his conduct, and be able to make head against him, in case he offered to create any disturbance. By means of the prime minister, who was Mîr Weis's friend, and the Khân's enemy, the former was chosen for the purpose; and, to increase his credit with the people, he was honoured with the kalaet (E,) as well as restored to his former employment.

Mîr Weis returning to Kandahâr, about the end of 1709, was at a loss in what manner to acquaint his countrymen with his project, and engage them to assist him in the execution, when a favourable opportunity offered for the purpose. Gourghîn Khân was so provoked at the return of Mîr Weis, that he resolved to mortify the Afghan. He demanded his daughter, esteemed the most beautiful lady in the province, for his Harâm. Mîr Weis judged this a proper occasion to impart his long-concerted design to the principal men among them, whom he assembled in his tent. They all applauded his project, and promised to support him; "swearing to suffer their wives to be torn from them, and their slaves to be set at liberty, if they did not perform their engagements." This oath they also confirmed upon bread, salt, their sabres, and the Korân §.

As soon as the assembly broke up, Mîr Weis sent a young girl, magnificently dressed, to the Khân, as his daughter. The deception passed the more easily, as women of rank are never seen by men till they are disposed of: and the Afghân chief, by bribing the governor's domestics, so far prevailed, as to obtain permission to appear in his presence. At this interview, he behaved with so much submission, that the Khân believed he had effectually humbled his most powerful enemy: and Mîr Weis improved this opportunity so well by his affiduities, that he was reckoned among the number of his most intimate

g Hanway ib. p. 38, & seq.

(E) *Kalaet* signifies *perfect* horses, arms, or the like, from or *accomplished*; a robe of honour given by the king's orders. It is used also for any present of a superior. The Turks call this *kaftân*; which word the Russians use for a *coat* in general.

*Sent back
to Kanda-
hâr.*

A.D. 1709.

friends. Things being brought to the point he aimed at, the Afghân chief resolved to put his design into execution. Although the Georgians whom the Khân had retained about him, as before-mentioned, did not amount to one thousand men, yet being the bravest troops in the East, they were considered as an invincible obstacle to his design: but he removed it, by his address. He secretly engaged the chiefs of the tribe named Tirin to refuse to pay the usual taxes; on notice of which rebellion, the greater part of the Georgians were sent to suppress it. Mean while Mîr Weis, who had directed his own tribe to approach within two or three leagues of Kandahâr, invited the Khân to an entertainment in the camp; which the governor accepted the more readily, as that artful chief expressed more resentment than any body against the mutineers. On the day appointed for the feast, he caused many armed men to mix with the Afghâns, who were daily admitted into the town to do laborious offices; and gave them orders to stay after sun-set, when the gates being shut, strangers were obliged to depart.

Kills the
governor.

The camp was designedly pitched near one of the governor's country-houses, the better to prevent suspicion. After the banquet, Gourghîn Khân, oppressed with heat and wine, fell asleep in the tent; as did his retinue in those to which the Afghâns had invited them to partake of the entertainment. When all was quiet, Mîr Weis, at the head of fifty men, armed with spears, rushed into the tent, and slew him, after a brave resistance, in which he killed several of the assassins. The Persians and Georgians were all massacred at the same time. Their arms, cloaths, and horses, were distributed by Mir Weis, among the bravest of his tribe; and having himself taken those of Gourghîn Khân, he marched to Kandahâr. They arrived at the city an hour after sun-set; and the guards, deceived by those false appearances, opened the gates, and were cut to pieces. The Afghâns soon coming up, were joined by those concealed in the city: and proclamation being made for the townsmen to keep within doors, where they should be safe, all the soldiers of the garrison, and every person attached to the Khân, were, in a few hours, destroyed^b.

The inha-
bitants re-
volt.

Next morning the principal inhabitants being summoned, Mîr Weis, told them, "It was not ambition, but a desire to free them from the slavery of their masters, which had moved him to take so bold a step: that Gour-

^b Hanway ib. p. 44, seq. Krusinsk. ib. p. 183.

ghîn Khân was the only soldier among the Persians, who now dared not besiege a fortress, which the Mogol emperors, with more troops than there were stones in its walls, had attempted in vain: that however, if there were any among them who had not courage to enjoy the precious liberty dropped down to them from heaven, they should have free licence to go in quest of some new tyrant, beyond the borders of that now happy state. The inhabitants, answered with loud acclamations of applause, and swore to stand by him with their lives and fortunes. Mîr Weis exhorted his people to do nothing to offend the townsmen; and immediately gave orders for putting the place in the best posture of defence.

The Georgian detachment, ignorant of what had happened, coming back, loaden with the spoils of the rebels, were suffered to approach within musket-shot, and then the cannon of the town was discharged upon them. At the same time Mîr Weis marched out, at the head of five or six thousand horse, intending to cut off their retreat; but found this task more difficult than he had imagined. His Afghâns attacked them five times in one day, and were as often defeated. The Georgians, quitting their booty, fought their way through the country, for eight days; and at last, forcing a passage sword in hand, passed the defile of Zebil.

The Persian court, reflecting on the difficulty of penetrating through the mountains with an army, and the danger there was, that the Afghâns, if hard pressed, might surrender the country a second time to the Mogol, resolved, before they had recourse to force, to try what could be done by negotiation. Mohammed Jani Khân, who was sent on this deputation, used all his rhetoric and art to prevail on Mîr Weis, with whom he had been intimately acquainted, to return to his duty. As he added menaces to the fair promises offered by the court, the chief, afraid lest his discourse should affect the hearers, silenced him abruptly, calling him a deceitful man, and upbraiding him with laying snares to entangle them, sent him to prison. By the confinement of Jani Khân, the court was ignorant of what had passed; and being uneasy, sent a second deputation. For this purpose, they chose the lieutenant of Mohammed Khân, governor of Herât; who, having performed the pilgrimage to Mekka in company with Mir Weis, the ministers judged he would be less suspected, and more acceptable to him, than the other. But when he had explained his commission, the Afghân

Defeats the Georgians.

Refuses to negotiate with the ministers.

chief told him, in an angry tone, that as he had been his fellow-traveller, he was unwilling to violate the laws of hospitality; otherwise he would punish him for offering to make such base proposals to men who were free. He added, slave to a king who is going to lose his sovereignty, listen to what I say : “ The victory comes from God; and “ this victory is near (O).” After this menacing declaration, which seemed in some degree prophetic, Mîr Weis contented himself with detaining the Haji.

The Persians routed.

A.D. 1710.

The court at length perceiving that there were no hopes of recovering Kandahâr by negotiation, ordered the khân of Herât to march against the rebels with fifteen thousand horse. Mîr Weis, with only five thousand horse, raised in a hurry, went to meet the enemy; who fled on firing some field-pieces, and gave themselves up to slaughter. Two or three such actions, in the space of eighteen months, encouraged the rebels, and so intimidated the Persians, that in September 1710, five thousand horse, under Mohammed Khân, governor of Tauris, were defeated by only five hundred Afghâns, who killed and wounded above one thousand of his men, and took him prisoner, with three of his sons. The court, in consequence of this disaster, sent thirty thousand Persians, and one thousand two hundred Georgians, under the command of Khozrof Khân, nephew to Gurghîn Khân, and wâli of Georgia, a proper person to revenge the cause of his countrymen. In November 1711, he encamped near Farra, a city not far from the rebels, where he staid to inform himself of the strength of the enemy, and nature of the country. He likewise agreed to a negotiation; which proving of no effect, he advanced towards the straits of Zebilⁱ.

A.D. 1711.

They besiege Kan-

dahâr. Mîr Weis, whose army was inferior in number to the khan’s, perceiving how difficult it would be for cavalry to act in those defiles, and being unwilling to dismount his men, retired to the river Belese, three leagues distant. The Persians passed the straits, surprised to find them unguarded, and came to the river, which they crossed on horseback. The Afghâns astonished at their resolution, and being attacked with great intrepidity, gave way, and retired in disorder. Mîr Weis kept the field with his shattered troops, while the khân advanced to besiege Kan-

ⁱ Hanway ib. p. 51, & seq. Krusinsk. ib. p. 188, & seq.

(O) A passage out of the Korân.

dahâr. The inhabitants intimidated, offered to deliver up the place, on condition to have their lives, liberty, and fortunes, preserved. But the general, elated with success, and urged by a thirst of revenge, imprudently sent them word, that they must submit at discretion.

The Afghâns rejected such base terms : and while the khân besieged the town, the number of troops under Mîr Weis augmented every day. The Balochis, inhabiting the province of Mukîân, to the south of Kandahâr, a fierce and warlike people, joined him, on this occasion ; and the Tirîns resorted to him in great numbers. However, he chose to cut off their forage and provisions, rather than hazard any more battles. The besiegers quickly wanting necessaries, the khân's troops deserted in large bodies. The general seeing his army reduced to ten thousand, resolved to retire. But it was now too late ; for he had scarce begun to raise the siege, when Mîr Weis, arriving with sixteen thousand men, to relieve the place, fell upon his troops, who fled at the first attack. The khân finding his efforts to rally them ineffectual, and resolving not to survive the disgrace, rushed, with the few remaining Georgians, into the thickest of the enemy's squadrons, and bravely fighting, was slain. This was the most considerable shock which the Persians had yet received from the Afghâns : for seven days they were pursued, and so harassed, that only seven hundred escaped either death or slavery^k.

The astonished court sent another army in 1713, under Mîr Weis, A.D. 1713. who had no better fortune than his predecessor ; and from this defeat, all the towns and strong holds, which had yet held out against the new government, submitted to them : so that the whole kingdom of Kandahâr fell under the dominion of the Afghâns. The court having lost all hopes of reducing Mîr Weis by force, as well as negotiation, ceased to arm against him ; so that this prince died peaceably in his new kingdom in the year 1715.

It may be said of Mîr Weis, that he was no less circumspect in undertaking any enterprise, than resolute in the execution ; and that his success was as much owing to his prudence as his valour. He had, for some time, assumed the title of king, with other ensigns of sovereignty, and ordered the Kotbah to be made in his name. The inscription round his coin, in Persian, was, The celebrated

*Mîr Weis
made king.*

^k Hanway ib. p. 54, & seq. Krusinsk. ib. p. 190, & seq.

Mir Weis, emperor of the world, a most just prince, has caused this coin to be struck at Kandahâr, the place of his residence¹.

Affairs of Persia continued, to the Dethronement of Shâh Husseyn, by Mir Mahmûd, Son of Mir Weis.

MIR WEIS was succeeded on the throne by his brother Mîr Abdollah, whom he had appointed his successor, his sons being too young to hold the reins of government. But he never discovered so much want of judgment in any-thing, as he did in that choice: for Abdollah had neither his genius, his ambition, nor courage. He was scarcely invested with the supreme authority, when he formed the design of restoring Kandahâr to the crown of Persia. The tribes were divided in their opinions: the aged and infirm, the peaceable and timorous, were inclined to this measure, as fearing they were too weak to withstand so formidable a power; and that a reconciliation would be the only means to skreen them from the resentment of their ancient masters. On the other hand, the military men exclaimed against the project, as absolutely infamous and destructive^m.

However, Mîr Abdollah resolved to proceed in his design. His intention was to restore the city and province to Husseyn, on three conditions: 1. That the annual tax which the Afghâns paid before their revolt, should cease. 2. That no foreign troops should be sent into the province. 3. That the shâh should grant the government of the kingdom to him, and his family, successively. Accordingly, instructions were secretly drawn up for deputies to be sent to Ispâhân; and they had some reason to believe that their proposals would be agreeable to the court. But notwithstanding the care they took to conceal this negotiation, which they knew was disagreeable to the majority of the tribes, it came to the knowledge of Mîr Mahmûd, the elder son of Mîr Weis. This prince, then aged about 18, piqued to see him deprived of what he considered as his right, by inheritance, thought this a proper occasion to shew his resentment. With this view, accompanied by

Succeeded
by his bro-
ther.

Resolves to
submit.

Slain by his
nephew.

¹ Hanway, ib. p. 57. Krusinsk. ib. p. 198, & seqq. ^m Krusinsk. Hanway's Account of the British Trade, &c. vol. iii. p. 53, & seqq.

about forty of his father's friends, he went to the palace, which he made himself master of ; and then entering the apartment where his uncle was asleep, killed him without hesitation. The conspirators immediately proclaimed the new sultân, with loud acclamations ; and the people, alarmed with the sound of military instruments, flocked thither to learn the cause.

Mîr Mahmud made no difficulty to declare what he had *Who is done* ; but alledged, that his motive was the public good. *made king.* For their further satisfaction, he read aloud the instrument, and other papers relating to the treaty, which his uncle was going to conclude. This evidence, joined to the signal proofs which this young prince had given of his courage, in all his father's expeditions, determined the people in his favour, especially the military men, whose suffrages being confirmed by the rest of the tribes, he was, with the general consent, proclaimed king of Kandahâr, six months after the death of his father ⁿ.

The family to whom Abbâs the Great had given the *A.D. 1717.* government of Hafaray, being extinct, his successors had subjected this province to the authority of a khân or governor, who commanded in the province of Herât. The *The Abdollî's re-bel:* Abdollî's, who had submitted to Persia, on condition of not being subject to foreign governors, impatient of the yoke, resolved to follow the example of the Afghâns, and make themselves free. Mohammed Zammân Khân, governor of the province, pleased with the agreeable aspect of Ezâd-allah, son to the chief of an Abdollî tribe, demanded him of the father ; who, allured by lucrative views, used all his persuasion to engage his son to live with the khân. Ezâd-allah heard the proposal with indignation ; and in order to avoid compulsion, put himself at the head of some impetuous youths, and killed his own father.

The khân, to punish the parricide and prevent an *and Herât* *revolts.* insurrection, ordered five hundred horse to march against Ezadallah's party, who met and routed them. The governor, shocked at this disgrace, assembled his troops at Herât, and marched towards the rebels. Ezadallah, now at the head of two thousand men, left one half in ambush, and with the other thousand encamped on the river Morgâb. The khân perceiving the number of the insurgents to be very inconsiderable, charged them without any precaution ; when those in ambuscade so terrified the Persians with the shouts they made in sallying forth, that they fled

ⁿ Hanway, ib. p. 60, & seqq. Krusinsk. p. 203, & seqq.

precipitately to Herât. Ezadallah, transported by his youth and courage, followed them so closely, that he entered with them pell-mell. As the inhabitants had formerly been of the Sunni sect, and hated the extortions of the Persian governors, they joined with Ezadallah against the garrison, who were put to the sword. In less than three months he got possession of the other strong places of the province. And thus Herât became an independent republic, in which the deliverer held the most considerable rank ^o.

A.D. 1715.

Other provinces fall off.

The revolt of Herât was followed by several other alarming incidents. In 1719, the Kûrds, a restless roving people, after wasting the country round the city of Hamadân, had the insolence to commit robberies under the walls of Ispâhân, and even to carry off many of the shâh's horses. The Uzbek Tatars also, on the east side of the Caspian lake, taking advantage of this distracted state of Persia, ravaged the north part of the great province of Khorâffân. At the same time the Lesji Tatars inhabiting Dâghestân, on the west side of the same inland sea, renewed their incursions into the province of Shîrwân, where they committed all sorts of outrages.

*Shâh Huseyn a-
famed.*

Shâh Huseyn, astonished to see so many provinces declare against him, at length waked from his lethargy. As the Abdollî's and Uzbeks, who had entered into a confederacy, appeared to be the most formidable enemies, he resolved to make an extraordinary effort against them. Having lost all his best generals, he made choice of Sossî Kûli Khân, who had, for several years been divân beghi, or *lord chief justice* of Ispâhân; but finding the king prejudiced by his enemies, resigned that employment and retired. The khân declined the offered honour; but the court fell upon an artful expedient to engage him. They invested his only son, then but seventeen years of age, with the title of generalissimo, rightly judging that his father would accompany him in the expedition.

*The Per-
sians over-
thrown.*

They accordingly marched with an army of thirty thousand chosen troops, besides a numerous train of artillery, and had scarce entered the province of Herât, when they met with a body of twelve thousand Uzbeks, whom they

^o Krusinsk ibid. p. 293, & seqq. Hanway, ibid. p. 61, & seqq.

(P) It should seem no more odd that Asia should have fighting lord chief justices, than that Europe should have her fighting bishops.

cut to pieces. This first enterprize raised the courage of the victors; yet Ezâdallah, at the head of only fifteen thousand horse, and without any cannon, did not hesitate to offer them battle. During the war there was not a more obstinate engagement; it began at sun-rise, and continued, without intermission, till one in the afternoon. The victory was still doubtful, when the Persians lost it by the inattention of those who commanded the artillery. These officers, not having observed that their own troops occupied a post which the Abdolli's had just quitted, fired upon them, a circumstance which put the whole army in confusion; of which Ezâdallah taking advantage, made a vigorous charge on the Persian troops, who, after a faint resistance, fled. The victor pursued them a whole day. They lost eight thousand men, with their general and his father, who were killed in the retreat, their baggage, the military chest, and twenty pieces of cannon. Of the Abdolli's three thousand were slain.

Husseyn's armies being thus unfortunate, new enemies declared against him. These were the Arabs of Maskât, ^{Bâhrayn} taken by the Maskât Arabs. whose country lies along the Arabian coast, opposite to Ormûz. They are of a particular Mohammedan sect, yet nearer to that of the Sunnî than the Shiay, and subject to an imâm, or ecclesiastical sovereign, who exercises an absolute power. They had already taken Bâhrayn, and threatened to attack Bander Abbâsi, or Gombroon. Fatey Ali Khân, then etemâd addawlet, offered to march against them; but the king, fearing that the addition of the authority of generalissimo might make him too powerful, returned him thanks, and employed Luft Ali Khân, that minister's brother-in-law, to conduct the expedition. In the beginning of the year 1720, that general marched to Bander Abbâsi, from whence, by contract with the viceroy of Goa, the Portuguese fleet was to transport his army to Bâhrayn; but whether the khân did not think this fleet strong enough to engage that of Maskât, or his enemies at court withheld the money, he did not pay the sum which had been stipulated. The commander of the fleet proposed to send for a reinforcement; but finding the payment still refused, he prepared to sail back to Goa. In the mean time the Arabs resolved to attack his fleet before any reinforcement came. The Portuguese advanced to meet them at the mouth of the streights of Ormûz; but

* Krusinsk. ibid. p. 213, & seqq. Hanway, ibid. p. 63, & seqq.
having

having lost a small vessel in the engagement, and not caring to run more hazard, they sailed in the night for Goa.

Mahmûd seizes Kermân. Lust Ali Khân thus deserted, instead of invading the Arabs, was obliged to defend the coast of Persia against their insults. Mean while Mîr Mahmûd, finding that the distractions which then reigned in the Mogul's empire, secured him from any danger on that side, judged this a proper juncture to put in execution the design which his father had conceived of subduing all Persia: but in order to establish his reputation by some signal exploit before he would venture to disclose his intention to the Afghâns, he resolved to make an expedition to Kermân: and having raised about ten thousand choice men, he directed his march towards that province. In that part of Sajestân which separates Kermân from Kandahâr, there is a sandy desert of great extent; and although Mîr Mahmûd took all the precautions necessary for supplying his troops with water, provisions, and forage, yet he lost two thousand men in the march, besides many beasts of carriage⁹.

Driven out again by Lust Ali Khan. As soon as the Afghâns appeared on the frontiers of Kermân, the khân, who had no troops to oppose them, fled, and left Mahmûd a free passage to the capital, which bears the same name. Although the city opened her gates to him, yet he laid heavy contributions on all the inhabitants, and put numbers of them to cruel tortures. They had been four months under this tyranny, when Lust Ali Khân rescued them. He marched to their relief with some select troops, and put to flight the little army of the Afghâns; which news revived, in some degree, the spirits of the court, then newly arrived at Tahiran. The khân fortified the citadel, and left a strong garrison in it; but whether to be revenged on his enemies at court, who had considerable estates there, or in order to maintain his army, he laid heavy contributions on the country, and quartered his soldiers on the inhabitants at discretion, taking from them also their arms, horses, and camels.

In autumn the army marched to Shîrâz, the capital of Pârs, the place of rendezvous. All the troops assembled there in November, and formed the best appointed army which had been seen in Persia for many years. Every thing seemed to presage the ruin of the Afghâns, against whom these preparations were making; when suddenly the general was arrested by an order from court, whither

⁹ Krusinsk. *ibid.* p. 317, & seqq. Hanway, *ibid.* p. 67, & seqq.

he was sent up prisoner, and the whole army at once dispersed. This sudden change was owing to the resentment of the lords whose lands he had lately ravaged. They judged by the credit which he had already acquired with the shâh on account of his late victory, that their interest at court would be reduced very low in case he should succeed in reducing Kandahâr; which success, therefore, they were resolved to prevent; but as this could not be done so long as Fatey Ali Khân continued in his office, they first resolved to effect his ruin¹.

Accordingly, the king's great almoner and chief physician, who were in the plot, entering their sovereign's chamber at midnight, informed him, that they had discovered a conspiracy contrived against his majesty between the etemâd addawlet and Luft Ali Khân, who, supported by the army, and a body of three thousand Kûrds, were that night to seize his person, with all the royal family. In proof of this conspiracy they produced a letter, written, as they said, by the prime minister, with a counterfeit of the royal seal upon it; at sight of which the deluded shah Huseyn swooned away. As soon as he came to himself, in a council of some principal eunuchs, the kurchi bâshi, or general of the household troops, was commanded to break open the prime minister's house, and bring the king his head in case he made any resistance. He was roused from his sleep, and obeyed the order; but as he was brought to the kurchi bâshi his eyes were plucked out, and he was put to the torture, under pretence of obliging him to confess the plot, but in reality to force him to discover his effects (Q), which the eunuchs expected would be confiscated in their favour. At the same time messengers were on every side dispatched to secure that unfortunate minister's relations and friends, especially his son-in-law Luft Ali Khân, who being inveigled by the governor of Shîrâz into that city, was there closely confined.

Prime minister blinded by a court plot.

Mean while preparations were making to defend the city against the Kûrds, and other forces, who were hourly expected; but as soon as day-light came, and Shâh Huseyn saw that no enemy appeared, this deluded prince began to suspect that his ministers had imposed on him.

¹ Krusinsk. p. 220, & seqq. Hanway, ibid. p. 71, & seqq.

(Q) His estate, by his own acknowledgement, amounted to nine hundred thousand tomans, or two millions two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.

He severely reproached the informers ; and as soon as the etimâd-addawlet was recovered of his wounds, he held a divân, in which he presided himself, to examine into that minister's conduct. That unhappy lord made his defence with great force and resolution : but although he pleaded his cause so movingly, that the king was convinced of his innocence, and wept for his own hasty judgment, yet it was thought fit, out of policy, to confine him in the castle of Shirâz, with the allowance, however, of a considerable pension ; in which state he died two years after. All who had been confined on his account, were restored to their estates ; and Luft Ali Khân was discharged out of prison, upon his refunding the plunder taken by him on the frontiers^s.

*The Georgians dis-
gusted.*

The Lesji had, in 1719, surprised the khân of Shamakhîya, in Shirwân. On this occasion, the khân was slain, with a considerable part of his troops ; but understanding that Vashtanga, wâli of Georgia, had assembled sixty thousand men, to punish them for the ravages made in his territories, they sent to implore the clemency of Shâh Huseyn, and intreat him to interpose his authority in their favour. The chief Mullah and physician reflecting, that a son-in-law of the late prime minister was brother to Vashtanga, were afraid lest this prince, after defeating the Lesji, might attempt to oblige the court to punish them for their iniquitous conduct. They therefore alarmed the shâh with dangers from the Georgian prince ; and then suggested, that the only way to prevent them, was to grant a peace to the Lesji, and order the Wâli to forbear hostilities. This order was signified in such an imperious tone, that Vashtanga, already on his march, put up his sabre, and swore he would never fight again in the service of his king, or in defence of Persia.

*Bâhrayn
restored.*

A.D. 1721.

This treaty, with the restitution of the island Bâhrayn, seemed to promise tranquility to Persia, especially as the Afghâns, intimidated by their late defeat, were inclined to an accommodation ; and Douri Effendi, the Turkish ambassador, whose arrival alarmed the timorous Huseyn, had assured him, that his master was determined to observe the peace. In April the court was informed, that the Abdollî's had made such bold incursions, that Herât, and its dependencies, if not secured, would soon be obliged to submit ; and that Tauris, the second city in Persia, and capital of Azerbijân, was destroyed by an earth-

^s Krusinsk. p. 223, & seqq. Hanway, ibid. p. 72, & seqq.
quake.

quake. Shâb Hufseyen returned to Ispâhân on the first of June; towards the end of which, the sun was obscured for ten days. The astrologers being consulted, some of them predicted an earthquake like that at Tauris; others a general conflagration, by fire from heaven. The frightened shâb was weak enough to quit his palace, and lodge in tents; while the inhabitants, following the example of the king, and his court, all the gardens and public squares were filled with people¹.

The Lesji, freed from their fears of Vashitanga, and unmindful of their obligations to Hufseyen, in spring 1721, made an irruption into Shîrwân with fifteen thousand men under Soltân Ibrâhîm and Dawd Beg. Their pretence for this revolt was the disgrace of Fatey Ali Khân, who had been condemned, they said, only because he was descended from their ancient sovereigns. After having ravaged the flat country, they invested Shamakhîya the 15th of August, in hopes to take it by means of the inhabitants, who were mostly Sunni. The governor Hufseyen Khân made a resolute defence; but, after twenty-five days siege, those of that party found means to open one of the gates to the enemy. The governor, who endeavoured to escape, was taken, and put to the torture, that he might discover the place where he had buried his treasure; but as he made no such discovery, the barbarians cut him in pieces, with his nephew and another of his relations, whose bodies they threw to the dogs. They put to the sword four thousand Shiay, and plundered the foreign merchants. They soon subdued the rest of Shîrwân; and then passing the Kûr, defeated forty thousand Persians under the Khân of Iriwân, who shut himself up in Ganja, where he was besieged.

So many misfortunes on the back of each other completed the consternation of the court; and Shâb Hufseyen, like all weak princes who impute the fatal effects, naturally resulting from their own misconduct, to the wrath of heaven, bent his whole attention to appease it, by acts of humiliation and prayer; while his wicked ministers, who had brought upon him all those evils, instead of being put to death for their crimes, were still continued in the management of public affairs.

The defeat of the Afghâns before Khermân, and the preparations which Lust Ali Khân was making for the ^{The Af-} ^{ghânstate} ^{heart.}

¹ Krusinski's Revol. Pers. vol. i. p. 266, & seqq. Hanway, ibid. p. 24, & seqq.

siege of Kandahâr, had so disheartened them, that they waited only for his approach to sue for peace; but when they heard that he was imprisoned, and his army disbanded, their courage revived, and Mîr Mahmûd recovered his credit, which had been sunk with the people. The first step he took was to raise troops, and put the province in a good condition of defence. Then the thoughts of invading Persia revived in him again; and the feeble state which that country was in at that juncture, flattered his hopes. The province of Kandahâr, Herât, Sablestân, Makrân, and Daghestân, had thrown off the yoke; Sâjestân, Kermân, and the greater part of Khorâsân, had been laid waste, while the disposition of Luft Ali Khân's army, and the oath of the Wali of Georgia, rendered Persia entirely defenceless^u.

Mahmûd sets out.

A.D. 1722.

These considerations, accompanied with proper acts of liberality, soon brought the Afghâns to enter into his views. Fifteen thousand presently enlisted themselves under his banners; and no sooner did the news of the intended expedition reach the neighbouring states, than the Abdallis, Balochis, with the inhabitants of Kabul, and the adjacent parts, flocked to his standard. With an army of twenty-five thousand men he crossed the Desert of Sâjestân, and reached Kermân towards the beginning of January, 1722. The city being peopled mostly by Parsîs and Indians, who considered them as friends, soon submitted; but all his attempts against the citadel were baffled by the strength of the place and bravery of the garrison. This opposition disconcerted all his measures. He saw, that if he persisted in the siege, he should destroy all his army; and that to raise it would prove his utter disgrace. He was thus reduced to the brink of despair, when the governor, either dispirited by such vigorous attacks, or for want of provisions, offered him two thousand five hundred tomans to withdraw. The proposal was accepted with joy; and Mahmûd, having recruited the loss he had sustained, in the march and in the siege, with Parsîs, took the road to Yazd, about seventy leagues distant, through a sandy country. As soon as he arrived, he assaulted the city on every side; but, being repulsed with loss, would hazard no more. He therefore proceeded forward, resolving nothing should stop him till he arrived at Ispâhân.

^u Krusinsk. ibid. vol. ii. p. 1, & seqq. Hanway, ibid. p. 93, & seqq.

Having passed through the plains, which lie between the cities of Pahunavens and Biben, he entered the cultivated country, which the people had abandoned. Here he defeated some troops of observation, and continued his march: within four days of the capital, he was met by two officers deputed by Mohammed Kûli Khân, then prime minister, who offered him fifteen thousand tomans, on condition, that he should neither proceed any farther, nor ravage the territory of Ispâhân. Mahmûd, judging from hence of the weakness of the court, dismissed the deputies without giving them an answer, and advanced hastily to Gulnabâd; a village within three leagues of that city, where he pitched his camp ^{w.}

This unexpected visit of the Afghâns, at a time when *The court* the court was wholly unprepared to receive them, *threw astonished.* threw the ministers into the greatest consternation. However, they collected the few troops which were at hand; and to these they joined the militia, raised in a hurry in the city and the neighbourhood. A divân was called; but as in times of distress, when unanimity in sentiments is most necessary, the pusillanimity of some, and wickedness of others, generally create perplexity, so the council was divided in opinion. The prime minister was for intrenching the army to cover the town, and not hazarding a battle. On the contrary, Abdallâh Khân, wâli of Arabia, affecting to treat the Afghâns as slaves, with the greatest contempt, was for attacking them without delay.

This last advice prevailed; and on the 7th of March the Persian army appeared within sight of the enemy's intrenchments, but did not engage them; the 8th being fixed for the attack by the court astrologers. The centre consisted of eight thousand of the king's troops, one half infantry covered by twenty-four pieces of cannon, under Sheykh Ali Khân; the right wing formed of two thousand kûlams, or the *king's slaves*, was commanded by Rostam Khân, brother of Vashtanga, wâli of Georgia. It was strengthened with three thousand Arab horse by the wâli of Arabia, who shared the general command with the prime minister. This minister headed the left-wing, composed of the king's household, and was joined by Ali Merdan Khân, wâli of Loristân, with five hundred horse. They had besides eighteen thousand infantry of militia armed with muskets; in all near fifty thousand fighting men.

Persian army defeated by the treachery of a general;

^w Krusinsk. *ibid.* p. 7, & seqq. Hanway *ibid.* p. 98, & seqq.
Mahmûd's

Mahmûd's army, consisting chiefly of horse, amounted to about half that number, armed with sabre, lance, and pistols; and wearing bucklers and leathern cuirasses for defence. They were divided into four bodies; the right-wing, which was most numerous, under the command of Aman Olla, a native of Kâbul; who, from a darwîsh, choosing a military life, joined Mahmûd as an ally with a large body of troops, on condition of sharing equally the fruits of their conquests. Mahmûd was in the second division or centre; he gave the third to Nazr Ollah, a Parshî, one of his lieutenant generals; the fourth and least numerous of these bodies were select Pehlavâns, or Nessâkchi (R). He, in some measure, supplied the defect of cannon with a kind of harquebusses; which carry a handful of musket-balls. Each with its stock was carried on the back of a camel trained for the purpose ^x.

The two armies faced each other most part of the day; and the prime minister would fain have acted on the defensive; but the opinion of the two other generals prevailing, they began the battle, by attacking with their forces the left-wing of the Afghâns, with such impetuosity, as threw them into disorder. At the same time, the wâli of Arabia, taking a great circuit to the right, overthrew all he encountered, and seized the enemy's camp. Mahmûd, who observed what passed from a throne raised on the back of an elephant, began to think all was lost; and in all probability that would have been the case, if the wâli had returned directly, and charged the enemy in the rear. Mahmûd terrified at the danger, was preparing for flight, and had ordered the lightest of his dromedaries to be made ready for him, when a new turn of fortune in his favour gave him fresh courage. The prime minister, seeing both armies engaged, charged the enemy's right-wing with great bravery. Aman Olla, who commanded it, made a feint of giving way, and retired about fifty paces; then, commanding his men to open their ranks of a sudden, one hundred camels appeared kneeling with harquebusses on their backs; from whence a general discharge being made, most of the foremost rank of the Persians were

^x Krusinsk. *ibid.* p. 17, & seqq. Hanway, *ibid.* p. 101, 104, & seqq.

(R) The Afghâns give this name to their forlorn hope. Hanway. *Peblevân*, or *Paha-*

lavân, signifies in Persian, a brave and valiant man, or, as we say, a hero.

killed;

killed; and the rest, being vigorously attacked by the Afghâns, turned their backs.

Aman Ola, without giving the Persians time to recover *and Perse* themselves, pursued them to their battery; and having *distress'd* cut in pieces two thousand cannoneers, who guarded it, caused the artillery to be pointed against the centre of the Persian army, who were thus put to flight before they had done the least service. The wâli of Lorelân, and some khâns, finding things grow desperate, withdrew with their troops to their respective provinces, leaving none to oppose the Afghâns but the Kûlar Agâsi. This general had already cut part of the opposite wing in pieces, and driven the remainder as far as their intrenchments, when Mahmûd, advancing to take him in the rear, the Persians dispersed; so that the brave officer, after a desperate defence, was slain with four hundred Georgians who would not abandon him in his distress. The wâli of Arabia, who all the while remained in the Afghân camp, and would neither attack the enemy's rear, nor send succours to the generals, who demanded them, had, by this time, taken the road to the town, loaded with Mahmûd's treasure, and the plunder of his camp; but the treasure, artillery, and baggage of the Persian army fell into the hands of the victor. Thus were the Persian generals and their best troops sacrificed by a traitor, whom yet the misguided king still confided in. His army lost fifteen thousand men; that of the Afghâns but an inconsiderable number^y.

On this occasion, the king called a council, in which, *Huseyn* for once, he spoke with proper dignity. After representing the danger his person would be exposed to, if he suffered himself to be besieged in a city destitute either of fortifications or provisions, he added, "It is not for my own security that I propose to remove: a prince, who is afraid to die with his subjects, is unworthy to rule over them: but the greater part of the provinces obey me. Their fate is connected with mine; for the rebel will be master of the empire, as soon as he has my person in his power." The prime minister confirmed the king's opinion, and advised his majesty's retiring that night to Kasbîn; where, being at full liberty to act, he might easily assemble an army to raise the siege. He added, that the loss of Ispâhân would be only the loss of one city; whereas, if the king should continue there, the reduction of it would be

^y Krusinski, *ibid.* p. 30, & seqq. Hanway *ibid.* p. 105, & seqq

attended with the loss of the monarchy. This speech seemed to convince the greater part of the assembly; when the wâli of Arabia, who had so basely betrayed his trust that very day, and yet, by a strange fatality, was continued in his office, stood up; and speaking of the Afghâns as a contemptible gang of robbers, said, that to quit his capital would not only stain the honour of the shâh, but dishearten his subjects; and open the gates to the conqueror sooner than the force of arms.

Is dissuaded from it. The boldest opinion prevailed over the most prudent. Shâh Husseyn, now ashamed to abandon Ispâhân, resolved to stay and defend it. New levies were made, the walls repaired, and intrenchments thrown up in places most exposed. The wâli of Arabia was made governor of the city; and he of Lorestân, generalissimo of the armies. The provincial troops were ordered to come up; and Husseyn, now sensible of his imprudence in affronting the wâli of Georgia, sent pressing letters, accompanied with magnificent presents, to persuade him to march to his assistance.

The king's affairs might still have been retrievable, had the same care been taken to regulate things within as without the city: but the people from the country were permitted to come into the city, and every person was forbid, under pain of death, to stir from thence, although there were no magazines of provisions in the place².

Farabâd palace deserted.

Mean while Mahmûd, rather astonished at, than encouraged by, his victory, was so irresolute what course to pursue, that he neglected to carry off the cannon which had been taken in the battle. The vast extent of Ispâhân, and the number of troops within it, made him judge the siege would hold out till the governors should arrive with their forces to crush him. On the other hand, he thought, that he could neither with honour nor safety abandon the enterprize. His mind was thus wavering, when his spies brought him an account how matters stood in the city, and the consternation it was in. In consequence of this intelligence, he resolved to push on his fortune before the enemy had time to recover themselves; and actually began his march. The Persians, who imagined that they had no intention to besiege Ispâhân, were surprised to find their whole army encamped on the 12th of the same month near Shîrestân, a town not far to the eastward. This motion so terrified them, that they abandoned the strong but

² Hanway *ibid.* p. 111, & seqq.

magnificent palace of Farabâd, three miles from the city ; a place which might have served as a fortress to incom-
mote the enemy. It was deserted (on the 17th) in such a
hurry, that they left all the cannon behind, which the Af-
ghâns took possession of on the 19th.

Mahmûd, being now advantageously posted, resolved to retrieve the time which he had lost by his late irresolution ; and, accordingly, that same day appeared before Jul-
fâ. This is a colony of the Armenians, only a mile and a half south of Ispâhân, on the south bank of the Zend-
rûdh, or *Fresh River*, along which it extends almost three
miles. These people, though merchants, yet brave and
warlike, were willing to assist their oppressors against the
rebels ; but the ministers, who had oppressed them so
much, that they were afraid to trust them, deprived them
of their arms. Nevertheless, they bravely withstood Mahmûd's first assault, in expectation of succours from the
wâli of Arabia, who yet broke his word with them, and
even hindered Sefi Mîrza, the Shâh's eldest son, from
marching to their relief.

While the Armenians were preparing against a second assault, a breach was made in the earthen wall by means of an elephant, after it had been pierced by a Parsî in the night ; and the Afghâns took possession, waiting only for day-light to enter. The besieged ransomed their lives and effects by a contribution of seventy thousand tomans, or one hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds. Mahmûd afterwards demanded a certain number of young virgins of the most considerable Armenian families. All the young women above nineteen years of age, who were remarkable for their beauty being produced, fifty were selected, and conducted to Farabâd, adorned with their richest cloaths and jewels. There they were presented to the conqueror, who kept part for his own harâm, and distributed the rest among his principal officers. The dis-
consolate mothers filled Julfa with lamentation ; and some of those young maids were so shocked at their misfortune, that they died of excessive grief. It must be owned how-
ever, that even those Barbarians were susceptible of com-
passion ; for they sent home those who discovered most affliction, and suffered others to be ransomed by their parents.

But they were inexorable in regard to the contribution. *and pillag-*
The Armenians pretended they had not the money ready, *ed.*
but offered their bond. Mahmûd insisted upon their paying
what money they had in part of payment, and therupon

ordered their houses to be searched. Their silver, jewels, and furniture, were carried off, and sold ; and the plunder amounted to more than the sum demanded. Some individuals were tortured, in order to discover their effects. To avoid this tyranny, many retired to Ispâhân ; among whom were the Armenian bishop, and the Romish missionaries. But Mahmûd put a stop to this desertion, and prepared to besiege that city^a.

State of Ispâhân. Ispâhân, including its gardens and suburbs, is computed to be twenty-four miles in circuit. It was then esteemed the largest as well as the most magnificent city in all Asia. It contained six hundred thousand inhabitants, besides about a hundred thousand, who resorted thither on this occasion.

The city attacked. Mahmûd ordered some troops to present themselves before the ramparts, the same day he entered Julfâ. On the 21st of March, he proposed to make a general assault : but the Zenderûdh being swelled, nothing passed but some shot on both sides, at the bridges. The besieged, who observed the faint motions of the Afghâns from the tops of their terrasses, began to take heart ; but, on the 23d, Mahmûd caused the bridge of Shirâz to be attacked. The Persians gave way at once ; and the Afghâns would have entered the city, if they had not been stopped by Ahmed Aga, a brave white eunuch, now governor of Ispâhân, who came up with some veteran troops, and drove them back to the middle of the bridge, which was cleared of them by some cannon from a neighbouring battery. Mahmûd would have been undone, if the wali of Arabia had attacked him at the same time with his troops : but this treacherous general sacrificed every thing to his sinister views^b.

Mahmûd proposes peace. Mahmûd, despairing of success from the vigorous defence of the Persians, and fearing another repulse would dishearten his soldiers, resolved to make proposals of peace. The king, some time before, had offered him a large sum of money, with the sovereignty of Kandahâr ; and also to cede to him the province of Hassaray, but refused to grant him one of his daughters in marriage. It was this refusal which determined him to lay siege to Ispâhân, at a time when he was thinking how to secure an honourable retreat. He now offered proposals of peace on his part, importing,

^a Krusinski, *ibid.* p. 37, 47, & seqq. Hanway *ibid.* p. 118. & seqq. ^b Krusinski, *ibid.* p. 48, 56, & seqq. Hanway *ibid.* p. 121, & seqq.

that the shâh should grant him one of the princesses, with a portion of fifty thousand tomans, or a hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds, acknowledge him sovereign of Kandahâr and Kermân, which he already possessed, and yield him likewise the province of Khorassân.

These terms being rejected as dishonourable by Husseyn, *Rejected by* who flattered himself, from the slow progres of the Af- *the shâh.* ghâns, that the provincial troops would have time to come to his assistance, Mahmûd proposed to obtain by famine what he no longer hoped to acquire by force: and having secretly renewed his alliance with the wâli of Arabia, sent out several parties to ravage the district of Ispâhân. This fruitful plain contained about a thousand villages built by Abbâs the Great, and peopled from several provinces: most of which they subdued, killing the men, and carrying away the women and children. Thus he cut off provision, from the city, and filled his own magazines.

Meantime he amused the Persians with negotiations, *Besieges* and recruited his army out of those who followed his *Ispâhân.* camp, obliging the prisoners to supply their places. His next view was to open a passage over the river. On the last day of April, hearing that the Georgians who guarded the bridge of Abbâs Abâd, had received a quantity of spirituous liquors, he sent fifteen hundred men to attack them, and as the Afghâns found them so intoxicated that they could not stand, they were cut to pieces, almost without resistance. Being thus masters of this important post, part of the army filed over the bridge, and spread themselves all round the city. Guards were placed at the principal passages, and scouts ordered to march continually from one post to another; so that Ispâhân was the same day entirely invested. The besieged insisted on marching out to attack the enemy. This indeed was the only expedient left; the etemâd addâwlet, or prime minister, most of the grandees, and even the king inclined to this measure: but the Arabian wâli, who had still an ascendant over his weak mind, persuaded him to wait for the succours which he expected.

The governors of the provinces believing themselves *Persians* able, each separately, to defeat the rebels, had refused to *defeated.* serve under Ali Merdân Khân, wâli of Lorestân, who, at the head of ten thousand men, waited for them to join him at Housfâr. Kassum, khân of the Bakhtiarans, was

^c Krusinsk, ibid. p. 27. 61, & seqq. Hanway, ibid. p. 124, & seqq.

the first who appeared with twelve thousand horse, and without joining the wâli advanced towards Ispâhân; but Aman Olla, who kept the field with a flying camp, falling upon him unexpectedly, put his forces to flight, after having killed two thousand on the spot. The wâli of Lorestân had amassed a great quantity of provisions, and designed to convoy it into Ispâhân by forcing one of the posts of the rebels; but while he was abroad making new levies, one of his brothers, who had before supplanted him in his command of wâli, corrupting part of the troops, joined the khân of Hamadân, and marched with his convoy towards the city. These two chiefs had six thousand men, and hoped to join the troops of Kolt-kilân on their march; but they fell in with the Afghâns under Amân Olla, who defeated them, and stained his victory with cruelty and breach of faith; for though part of the Persians laid down their arms on promise of quarter, yet he saved only those from whom he expected ransom, suffering the rest to be massacred in cold blood. Above three thousand fled, among whom was the brother of the wâli: but he did not long escape punishment; for Ali Merdân Khân, provoked at an action which defeated the chief hopes of the empire, sacrificed this unnatural brother to his own resentment, and to the public vengeance.

*Disgraces
of the Af-
ghâns.*

Aman Olla, however, did not enjoy the fruits of his success. The inhabitants of Ebn Ispâhân, a town situated on the side of a hill three miles from the city, having received intelligence that the Afghâns were on their return much fatigued, and marching without order, attacked them with such fury, that they put them to flight, seized their baggage, and recovered the convoy. Mahmûd was so incensed at this disgrace, that he immediately advanced with a body of horse; but these peasants gave him such a resolute reception, as obliged him to turn his back, and leave them a considerable number of prisoners, among whom were his uncle, his younger brother, and two of his cousins^a.

*Mahmûd
in despair.*

Mahmûd distracted at this fresh disgrace, and chiefly on account of his captive relations, sent to intreat shâh Huseyn to interpose in their behalf. This prince, who expected an accommodation, sent an officer of his court to Ebn Ispâhân; but he arrived too late, for he saw their bodies fixed on stakes. This execution they told the officer was to revenge the late perfidious slaughter committed by

^a Krusinsk. *ibid.* p. 67, & seqq. Hanway, *ibid.* p. 127, & seqq.

the Afghâns in cold blood. Mahmûd, however, who would not allow of the law of reprisals in a case which so sensibly touched him, in his fury ordered all the Persians in his power to be massacred, and forbade his soldiers from thenceforth to grant any quarter to the enemy. After this adventure he fell into a kind of despondency ; he reinforced the guards of the bridge Abbâs Abâd, with the other posts, and leaving only a small garrison in Julfâ, ordered the remainder to return to Farâbâd, as if he intended to secure his retreat.

The fate of the empire was then in the king's hands. A.D. 1722.
He might easily have recovered the bridge of Abbâs Abâd, and forced those posts which were too far asunder to support each other ; or if he had but made a motion that way, it is likely the enemy would have abandoned their several stations. The Armenians of Julfâ, though accused of favouring the rebels, gave notice of their panic, and offered to put the garrison to the sword as soon as they should see the king's troops in action. The troops, indeed, had his orders to act ; but the wâli of Arabia, by his delays, gave the Afghâns leisure to provide for their security. In short, after having wasted much precious time without doing any thing, he led the troops back into the city ; pretending the forces he expected to join him did not come up, and that he could not depend on the promise of the Armenians. This step saved Mahmûd ; and the defeat of the khân of Kohkilân, who, out of ten thousand men, lost two thousand, revived his hopes, while the refusal of Vashtanga, wâli of Georgia, to assist the shâh, completed the despair of the court ; for, being deprived of this hope, they had no other left, since they found that the provincial governors would not submit to the authority of the wâli of Lorestân.

Shâh Husseyen had fourteen sons and four daughters. He had declared Abbâs Mîrza the eldest, his successor to the throne, and resigned the government into his hands. This young prince, being of a warm temper, and disdaining to dissemble, began his administration with ordering the wâli of Arabia, the first physician, and some other persons of influence, to be put to death ; and happy would it have been for Persia if his orders had been executed ; but his infatuated father was prevailed upon to shut him up again in the saray, where the princes are always confined. Sefi Mîrza, the next, was substituted in his place, but returned to the same prison about a month after his elevation, being judged too weak to govern. The Tahmâsp
Mirza
escapes to
Kashîn.

third brother, who was thought to have had too much devotion for a king, being overlooked, Tahmâsp Mîrza, the fourth, was, towards the end of May, acknowledged presumptive heir of the crown [•].

The king resolved to send this young prince out of Ispâhân, as well as to take from his generals all pretence for not assembling under his command, as to secure the succession. He set out on the 21st of June in the night, escorted by three hundred chosen horse from the gate Tokchi. The Afghâns posted to block up this avenue were commanded by Mohammed Amîr, farnamed Ashrâf Soltân, son of Mîr Abdallah, whom Mahmûd had deprived of his throne and life in Kandahâr. This young prince, dissembling the aversion which he had conceived against his father's murderer, behaved with so much valour and prudence, that at length he gained his confidence, as well as the esteem of the whole army. This post was the best guarded, as by this passage the city could most conveniently receive succours; but weakened by the detachment made from the army under Aman Olla, at this time consisted of no more than a hundred men. This small body being vigorously attacked by the prince's convoy, was defeated, and lost thirty men.

This escape of the heir to the crown threw the Afghâns into consternation, as they expected his return quickly at the head of an army: and Mahmûd said, it would be to little purpose to reduce the capital since there would be still a prince able to dispute the throne with him. As for Ashrâf, he accused him of corresponding with the enemy, and condemned him to death; but this young prince justified his conduct so effectually before an assembly of the principal officers, that they acquitted him; and Mahmûd, disguising his jealousy, restored Ashrâf to his employments.

Receives little assistance. Mean while Tahmâsp Mîrza having reached Kasbîn, spared no pains to effect his father's delivery; but as authority is an empty name where there is no force to support it, so neither his orders nor entreaties could prevail. Thus the king scarcely received any assistance from near fifty thousand regular troops, which were quartered on those frontiers. The feudatory princes being less interested than the natural subjects in preserving the monarchy, shewed but little zeal on the occasion; and many considered the distresses of the sovereign as a proper opportunity

• Krusinsk. ibid. p. 71, & seqq. Hanway, ibid. p. 130, & seqq.

to recover their independency. In short, the wâli of Lorestân, seeing the impossibility of assembling an army, marched back from Honsâr to his own country. Tahmâsp still hoped to find more submission in the shâh Seven; but having summoned this militia, most of the lords pretended they were not obliged to march unless the king commanded in person; and the small number furnished by the rest, consisted only of peasants, ill paid, who took the first opportunity to disband^f.

At Ispâhân provisions daily grew scarcer; and as every body saw that there was no way to procure any but by opening a passage for the purpose, the people insisted on having the posts of the enemy attacked; but when any persons applied to the king, he referred them to the wâli of Arabia; and this general flattered them with hopes of the prince's return. It is true he sometimes marched out, to avoid their importunities; but he immediately returned without attempting any thing, under the idle pretext that his astrologers declared that the hour was not favourable. The people, tired with these evasions, in the beginning of July, assembled in a tumultuous manner, demanding that shâh Huseyn should lead them against the enemy. He promised, by some officers, to give his answer next day; but the populace insisting that he should appear himself, the eunuchs dispersed them by firing some muskets from the palace. Such provocation at this time might have occasioned a general insurrection, if Ahmed Aga, governor of Ispâhân, had not put himself at the head of a body of veteran troops, which, with the people who joined him, amounted to near thirty thousand men. With these he marched out of the city, followed by the wâli of Arabia and his Arabs.

This gallant eunuch immediately fell with great impetuosity on one of the enemy's principal posts, which he forced, and would have maintained his ground, although part of the rebel army came to its assistance, if he had not been deserted by the wâli of Arabia. Ahmed, provoked at such infamous behaviour, ordered his men to fire on the Arabs; and Tahmâsp Khân to attack them. The Afghâns, taking advantage of this dissension, vigorously charged the Persians, who, being almost surrounded, were obliged to abandon the post and retire. Thus the opportunity was lost of bringing in the convoy of provisions from Ebn Ispâhân by the treachery of the wâli: yet Huseyn

*The Af-
ghâns at-
tacked.*

*The gene-
ral's trea-
chery.*

^f Krusinsk. p. 79, & seqq. Hanway, ibid. p. 134, & seqq.

was so deluded by his artful discourse, as to impute the misfortune intirely to Ahmed Aga ; and not only refused to hear his defence, but deprived him of the government of the city. The faithful eunuch died in a few days, whether by grief or poison is uncertain ^g.

*Terms of
peace pro-
posed.*

All hope of succours had now vanished ; and the besieged, already pressed by famine, deserted in crouds, although the Afghâns slew all the Persians who fell into their hands. Whether the shâh at length began to suspect the fidelity of the wâli of Arabia ; or hoped to change his fortune by changing his general, he offered the command of his troops to Luft Ali Khân : but this lord finding the forces so weak, that he could not rely on them, and warned by what he had already suffered from the intrigues of the ministers, constantly refused the office. Husseyn, therefore, in despair either of receiving any succours from abroad, or any relief from his people, resolved to renew the negotiations which the enemy had set on foot at the beginning of the siege. He sent the kurchi Bâhi to Fahrabâd to offer Mahmûd the terms which he had demanded, namely one of his daughters in marriage, with fifty thousand tomans, and the sovereignty of the provinces of Khorâsân, Kermân, and Kandahâr : but that prince, too well acquainted with the state of affairs, now rejected them with disdain.

*A gover-
nor's dis-
loyalty.*

Such was the situation of affairs, when news came that Meluk Mahmûd, governor of Sajestân, had arrived at Gulnabâd with ten thousand regular troops. This event raised the hopes of Shâh Husseyn, and threw the Afghân prince into despair. The siege had already cost him two thousand men ; and he concluded, that the forces within the city, when joined by the Sajestân troops, would be an overmatch for him. He therefore thought it the best expedient to tempt the fidelity of his new enemy. Nazr-Ullâh was dispatched to Gulnabâd with such magnificent presents, as rather betrayed the fear than expressed the liberality of the donor ; but they dazzled the eyes of Meluk too much for him to perceive it ; and the offer of assistance to invest him with the sovereignty of any province he should choose, determined him at once to agree to the proposal of Nazr-Ullâh, who, at the same time, gave him to understand, that the empire being attacked on every side, and the capital at the last extremity, could not avoid its approaching ruin. Meluk Mahmûd chose Koraşân, as lying near Kandahâr and

^g Hanway *ibid.* p. 137, & seqq.

Herât, from whence he might be readily assailed ; and, having concluded the treaty, set out to take possession of his new dominions^b.

The desertion of this general put an end to all Huseyn's hopes of relief ; and, his treasure being now exhausted, all the gold and silver plate in the palace was carried to the mint. His last shift was to borrow considerable sums on his jewels of different merchants. At length, in the latter end of September, when there were neither money nor provisions left, this unfortunate prince ordered his ministers to treat about a capitulation.

As Mahmûd had it in his power to command what terms he pleased, he might have finished the negotiation at once: but this dispatch would not answer his views. He saw that he could not be safe in Ispâhân, as long as the inhabitants were greatly superior in number to his army. He might indeed have destroyed them at once by a general assault ; but he was either afraid of losing part of his best troops, or the great riches of the place by the plunder of the soldiers. He resolved therefore to destroy them by famine, before he signed the treaty ; and, with this view, lay still within his lines during the last two months of the siége. What heart can, without horror, reflect on the dreadful effects of this inhuman artifice ! In August, horses, mules, and other beasts were so excessive dear, that none but the king and principal lords, could afford to eat of their flesh. Dogs and other animals were consumed in a few days. And when the bark of trees, leaves, and leather failed, the wretched people were obliged to have recourse to human flesh. When dead bodies were not to be found, they sometimes murdered their fellow-citizens, or children, to appease their raging hunger. Many, rather than prolong life by such shocking means, chose to poison themselves and their families. The streets, the squares, and gardens of the palace, were strewed with dead, which the living had not strength to bury. The water of the river was so corrupted with carcasses thrown into it, that it could not be drank ; and, in a less wholesome climate, the few remaining people must have been destroyed by the infected airⁱ.

Mîr Mahmûd, having at length agreed to terms, on the 21st of October, Shâh Huseyn, clad in mourning, went out of his palace on foot, and walked through the principal streets of Ispâhân, bewailing aloud the misfortunes of his

*Sets out of
Ispâhân
for the
Afghân
camp.*

^b Hanway, p. 139, & seq. . . . i Idem, p. 141, & seqq.

reign,

reign, which he imputed to the bad counsels of his ministers. He endeavoured to comfort the multitude, who surrounded him, with the hopes of their meeting a better fate under a new government; while the people, pierced with grief, lamented the disgrace to which they beheld their good-natured prince reduced, after a reign of twenty-eight years. Huseyn, having thus taken his leave of his subjects, next day sent plenipotentiaries to sign the capitulation, by which he obliged himself to resign the empire, together with his person, and principal officers of the court, into the conqueror's hands. On the other side, Mahmûd engaged that no ill treatment should be offered, either to the king, the nobility, or any of the inhabitants. On the 23d, Mahmûd sent horses for the king and his court; who mounted on horseback accompanied with about three hundred persons, among whom were the wâli of Arabia, the etimâd addawlet, a brother of the wâli of Lorestân, and the principal lords of the court. They moved on slowly with their eyes fixed on the ground; and the few inhabitants, who had strength to attend this mournful cavalcade, shewed their grief by a gloomy silence.

It was now past noon, when two couriers arrived to give notice to the grand-master of the ceremonies of Mahmûd's court, that the king was approaching. The same couriers were sent back with orders to the shâh, to halt at the foot of a hill near the camp, under pretence that Mahmûd was asleep: thus the unhappy Huseyn was treated with marks of servitude, even before he had quitted the ensigns of royalty. He remained about half an hour at the place prescribed, and then, obtaining leave to continue his march, arrived at Farabâd, where the Afghân chief had his head quarters. The grand-master of the ceremonies introduced him into a hall, at the corner of which Mahmûd was seated, leaning on a cushion of cloth of gold. The king, advancing towards the middle of the chamber, saluted him, saying, "Salâm aleyokom," that is, *all hail*. The Afghân then rose and returned the salute with the same compliment. After which, the etimâd addawlet conducted the shâh to another corner on the left of Mahmûd, where a like place was prepared for him.

Resigns the empire and is confined. The king, being seated, opened the conversation by saying, "Son, since the great Sovereign of the world is no longer pleased that I should reign, and the morning is come which he hath pointed out for thee to ascend the throne of Persia, I resign the empire to thee with all my heart: I wish that thou mayest rule it in all prosperity." At

At the same time he took the royal plume of feathers from his turbân, and gave it to Mahmûd's grand wazîr. But that prince refusing to receive it from his minister, the king stood up, and, taking it again, fastened it himself to the usurper's turbân, who still continued sitting, saying, "Reign in peace :" then he retired, and sat down in his place. Coffee and tea were afterwards served up, when the Afghân prince, taking these liquors, addressed himself to the shâh after this manner : "Such is the instability of human grandeur : God disposes of empires as he pleases, and takes them from one nation to give them to another : but I promise to consider you always as my own father ; and I will undertake nothing for the future without your advice." After these words, Husseyn was invited into another apartment which had been appointed for him ; and four thousand Afghâns were ordered to take possession of the royal palace, and the gates of the city. Thus the dynasty of the Safîs, or Safîs, ended in the person of this prince, the tenth successor of Ismael, its founder, after having lasted two hundred and twenty-three years ^k.

It was some consolation to the Persians, in their affliction, to see those traitors punished who had corresponded with the enemy, or otherwise contributed to the ruin of the state, through neglect, ignorance, or faction. They were all put to death, excepting some few whose estates were confiscated, while they themselves were sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. The circumstance most to be regretted is, that, among those few were the wâli of Arabia, the chief physician, and the chief eunuch, who deserved to die by the most exquisite tortures. At the same time that the traitors were punished, the etimâd addawlat, Luft Ali Khân, and other faithful ministers, were not only spared, but raised to posts of honour and trust by the conqueror.

Conclusion.

^k Hanway *ibid.* p. 143—149.

S E C T. X.

An Account of the Afghân Princes, and Descendents of Shâh Huseyn, who usurped the Persian Crown during his Imprisonment, till the Death of Kûli Khân.

*Mahmûd
ascends the
throne.*

ON the 27th of October, the day appointed for the Afghân prince to ascend the throne, Mahmûd marched out of the camp towards the city, preceded by a numerous train both of horse and foot, the deposed king riding on his left side; they were followed by the principal officers of his conqueror's court; and after them came those of Huseyn's, mixed with the crowd of Afghân officers. The whole closed with one hundred camels, each carrying an arquebus, six hundred musicians, and six thousand horse. As soon as they had passed over the bridge of Shirâz, the shâh was conducted across the gardens of the palace to the place of his confinement; Mahmûd thinking it impolitic to lead him in triumph through the city. The inhabitants received the Afghân with the honours of a king, spreading the street with carpets, and filling the air with perfumes. The guns on the camels were often fired; and in the intervals, ten Afghâns, at the head of the procession, pronounced loud imprecations against the followers of Ali.

The new monarch, being arrived at the palace, mounted the throne, and was a second time saluted king of Persia by the captive Huseyn, brought thither for that purpose. Then he received the oath of allegiance for the princes, ministers, and grandees, as well as chief officers and citizens. The artillery of the town and citadel proclaimed this event to the people; and the ceremony concluded with an entertainment given by the new sultân to the deputies, who, in the name of the whole city, came to acknowledge his authority¹.

*His prudent
conduct.* Sultân Mahmûd began his reign with great lustre, and displayed the abilities of a consummate statesman. He confirmed the Persian officers in their employments, only associating with each a colleague of his own nation. He left no other post, except that of a divân beghi, entirely to an Afghân; and administered justice with so much rectitude, as soon reconciled the Persians to his govern-

¹ Krusinski's Revol. Pers. vol. ii. p. 98, & seqq. Hanway's Trav. vol. iii. p. 148, & seqq.

ment, which they found far preferable to that of their own ministers under Shâh Huseyn. He reduced the late shâh's train of women and eunuchs to five of each; yet shewed a great regard for this prince, whom he consulted on every occasion; and omitted nothing to make him easy under his misfortunes. He gave one of that prince's daughters in marriage to his own mianghi, or mufti, in imitation of Huseyn, who had bestowed another on the *shâh al sherîbah*, or chief justice, and married the youngest himself. These marks of respect induced the dethroned monarch to ratify his abdication by a circular letter, and enjoined all his late subjects to acknowledge the victor's authority.

In the mean time Tahmâsp Mîrza having assumed the title of Shâh at Kazbîn, Mahmûd took that pretext to levy money for carrying on the war. He demanded of the citizens one hundred and twenty thousand temans, and taxed the chief physician, who had been one of the prime instruments of Huseyn's ruin, at twenty thousand. With these sums he raised new forces at Kandahâr; but the officer employed for that purpose was defeated, and the money seized by the governor of Banda, a fortress in Sajestân. Aman Olla, who was dispatched with ten thousand troops against Kazbîn, took that city, from whence Tahmâsp fled to Taceris in December. But the avarice of the general, and the licentiousness of his soldiers, provoked the inhabitants to rise and expel them by force of arms^m.

The Afghâns lost one thousand six hundred men in the action, and Aman Olla was wounded with a musket ball in the shoulder. Mahmûd alarmed at this disaster, and dreading some insurrection at Ispâhân, caused the ministers, lords, and other Persian chiefs, to be massacred at an entertainment which he made for that purpose. Two hundred youths of the first nobility of Persia and Georgia were brought from the academy, and cruelly butchered. Three thousand men of Huseyn's troops, whom he had taken into pay, underwent the same fate. He likewise ordered his soldiers to put every man to the sword who had at any time received either salary or pension from the shâh's exchequer; which execution lasted fifteen days. He afterwards secretly put to death a great number of the inhabitants of Ispâhân able to bear arms, and extorted large sums of money, not only from the

Kazbîn
taken and
recovered.

A.D. 1723.

Mahmûd's
cruelty.

^m Krusinsk. ibid. p. 10, & seqq. Hanway, ibid. p. 150, & seqq.

Perians and Armenians, but from the English, Dutch, Indians, and other foreign merchants.

*Tahmâsp's
indolence.*

While Mahmûd was employed in these butcheries, shâh Tahmâsp remained at Tauris, giving himself up to pleasures, and neglecting his affairs, for which, coming unexperienced from the haram, he had no capacity. He removed Vashitangâ, wâli of Georgia; and hearing that Mahmûd was marching against him with ten thousand men, sent Feridûn, khân of the Kûrds, against him with eight thousand choice troops, which were defeated. The loss of this battle was attended with the loss of Makon, Gulpaygan, and another town situated to the west of Kashân. The sultân returning to Ispâhân, left the command of his army to Zeberdest Khân.

*Dif'ress'd
by Russia
and the
Turks.*

In the mean time his dominions were attacked by two other powers much more formidable than the Afghâns; the Russians on the north, and the Turks on the west. The czar subdued Dâghestân, Dârbend, and Khilân, or Ghilân; and Georgia submitted to Ahmed III. emperor of the Turks. Shâh Tahmâsp being thus oppressed on all sides, sent one ambassador to the Porte, and another to Petersburg. The Turks pretending to be offended with his applying to a Christian power for assistance against the Afghân rebels, rejected his proposal. The true reason was, that it was deemed a sin to assist heretics against true believers: the Persians being Shiay, and the Afghâns, Sunni, of which sect the Othmâns are composed. The shâh's ambassador succeeded better in Russia, where a treaty was signed the 23d of September; by which it was agreed, that the czar should drive the Afghâns out of Persia, and re-establish the government. On the other hand, Tahmâsp engaged to cede to the czar the towns of Dârbend and Bâkû, with the provinces of Ghilân, Mazanderân, and Astrarbâd ⁿ.

*Luft Ali
Khân slain.*

About the same time Luft Ali Khân, on whom favours had been heaped by the new king, fled from Ispâhân, with design to join the shâh in Tauris; but being discovered by the people of Ebn Ispâhân, who had lately submitted to the Afghâns, they delivered him up to Mahmûd, who, in a rage, hewed him in pieces. Aman Olla demanded the performance of his contract at setting out from Kandahâr, which was to divide with him the conquests made in Persia, on account of the assistance given in the expedition. As that general was exasperat-

ⁿ Krusinsk. ibid. p. 106, & seqq. Hanway, p. 160, & seqq.

ed Mahmûd's delays, he harkened to the instigation of his *Aman Olla* lady, a daughter of the late shâh, who advised him to join ^{discontent-} his forces with those of shâh Tahmâsp, and expel the ^{ed.} usurper. Aman Olla set out in December, pretending to march for Kandahâr: but when Mahmûd understood that he had changed his route, he followed him with all the forces which he could collect; and overtaking him, gained him once more with fair promises.

After this accommodation, he joined Zeberdest Khân, A.D. 1724. to whom Kashân had just then submitted: but the joy of this success was allayed by the death of Nasr Ollâh, his *A Georgi-ablest general, slain at the siege of Shirâz. Mahmûd, an Ama-* ^{an Ama-} ^{zon.} having sent Zeberdest Khân to succeed him, returned with his army to Ispâhân, in March 1724. As he entered the city, a woman, disguised in man's apparel, rode up to his troops at full gallop, and attacking them sword in hand, slew twenty of them, before she was taken, covered with wounds. She was brought before the sultân, who being informed of her story, admired her resolution, and ordered her to be treated with extraordinary care. This woman, hearing of the death of her husband, killed at the battle of Abbâs Abâd, had left Georgia, her native country, with a resolution to revenge his death on the first Afghâns she could meet^o.

In April, the khân of Shirâz, after having sustained *Afghâns* a siege of eight months, pressed by famine, sent to treat ^{take Shi-} ^{râz.} with Zeberdest Khân; but the Afghâns observing, that the besieged had deserted their posts, detained the deputy, took the city by assault, and put all whom they found in arms, to the sword.

The acquisition of this city giving the Afghâns new *Miscarry* spirits, Mahmûd led them to new conquests. He ^{against Ko-} ^{khilân.} departed from Ispâhân in June, at the head of near thirty thousand men, with intent to subdue the country of Kokhilân. But his troops were so harassed in the way by Arabs, that they agreed to return, on condition only of being left unmolested, and supplied with provisions. Mahmûd was so shocked at this disgrace, that he entered Ispâhân without the usual marks of honour; and to encourage his soldiers, distributed among them fifty thousand tomans to indemnify them for the loss of their baggage^p.

^o Krusinsk. p. 126, & seqq. Hanway, p. 173, 182, & seqq.
^p Krusinsk. p. 128, & seqq. Hanw. p. 188, & seqq.

Turkish progress.

The Turks having secured Georgia by the defeat of Mohammed Kûli Khân, who had surrendered Teflîs to them, entered Azerbejân, and in two months took Khoy by storm. In June, with thirty thousand men, they besieged Erivan, the capital of Armenia. A breach was soon made, but they were repulsed in three general assaults. In September, more forces arriving, a fourth assault was given with no better success. The Turks had now lost twenty thousand men, and were resolved to retire, when a considerable reinforcement arrived in their camp. This gave them new courage, and intimidated the garrison of the town, which being much reduced by losses, and in want of ammunition as well as provisions, without hopes also of relief from Tahmâsp, the khân surrendered it, on condition of saving the lives and effects of the inhabitants, and retiring to Ahr, where the shâh then resided ⁴.

Repulsed at Tauris.

The Armenians of Nak Sivân, despairing of success from the Persians, and fearing the cruelty of the Turks, invited them to conquer the country; and on their appearance rose up in arms. They joined the enemy, who driving the Persians out of that city and Ordubâd, subdued most part of Greater Armenia. Mean while the bâshâ of Vâr, with twenty-five thousand men, marched towards Tauris. This city, though lately damaged by an earthquake, was still one of the most flourishing in all the East; but like Sparta, its only bulwark consisted in the number and valour of its inhabitants; for it had neither walls nor artillery. The Turks crowding in were already masters of one quarter of the town, when the people blocking up the streets to hinder their retreat, cut off four thousand of the enemy. The bâshâ being repulsed in several attacks, retired in the night to avoid being attacked in his entrenchments, and retired to Tâsfâ, a town twenty leagues from Tauris, on the north side of the lake Shâhi. Here, to be revenged of the Persians for their gallant defence, he put to the sword the men of the neighbouring villages, and made slaves of the women and children. The inhabitants of Tauris provoked at this cruelty, resolved to pursue the bâshâ, who marched out to meet them with eight thousand men; but most of them being slain, he fled with the rest to Khoy.

Take Hamadâu.

In the interim the bâshâs of Baghîdâd and Bâsrah, entering Persia with their forces, besieged Hamadân, to the

⁴ Krusinski, p. 130, & seqq. Hanw. p. 191, & seqq.

relief of which Tahmâsp sent Flagella Khân, but he was defeated. The city had held out bravely for two months, when a mine, sprung by a German renegado, made a large breach, at which the enemy entering, carried all before them, and made a great slaughter, till one of the generals opened a gate for the inhabitants to escape.

Although the Turks had made such considerable conquests in Persia, yet sultân Ahmed was greatly dissatisfied with the cession made by shâh Tahmâsp to Peter the Great. His commissaries at the court of Russia declared, that Tahmâsp, in his then precarious circumstances, could not alienate any of his dominions; that therefore such engagements were void; and that as the sultân would not suffer any foreign power to extend his dominion in Persia, the only way to preserve peace was for the Czar to relinquish all pretensions derived from that treaty, and likewise abandon his conquests along the coast of the Caspian Sea^r.

As these commissaries broke off the conferences abruptly, it was thought the Porte would have declared war against the Czar. The French ambassador at Constantinople advised the Russian resident to enter into a negotiation; but this minister declining it for want of instructions, the ambassador undertook it himself. The grand wazîr, who secretly pressed this affair, found it difficult to bring the diwân into it, especially as the point was to join with a Christian power in sharing the dominions of a Mohammedan prince. However, at length, the treaty was signed the 8th of July, 1725.

The shâh Tahmâsp, understanding that the contracting powers had agreed to dismember his dominions, ordered the Russian resident to withdraw from his court.

While these affairs were transacting Mahmûd recruited his army; and, in order to retrieve his late disgrace, marched to besiege Yazd, or Yezd, with eighteen thousand men. As he had gained the Parfîs, who dwelt there, to betray the city, he depended on success: but the plot being discovered, and the traitors put to the sword, he failed in his enterprize, after several fruitless assaults. At length the Afghâns being weakened by large detachments sent out to forage, the garrison fellied, and cut off three thousand of the besiegers, so that Mahmûd was obliged to save himself by flight, leaving his baggage and artillery a prey to the Persians^s.

Treaty
with Rus-
sia.

Mahmûd
defeated at
Yezd.

^r Krusinsk. p. 141, & seqq. Hanw. p. 105, & seqq. ^s Kru-
sinsk. p. 144.

*The Af-
ghâns mu-
tiny in fa-
vour of
Ashrâf.*

On this new disgrace the soldiers grew mutinous, ascribing their late defeats to the introduction of that very effeminacy and luxury which had destroyed their enemies. They railed at Mahmûd, and loudly declared, that they could never hope for success while they were governed by a chief who had adopted both the dress and religion of the conquered. This had reference to some words dropped by Mahmûd, either to mortify the Turks or flatter the Persians. Their murmurs grew the louder from the presence of Ashrâf, who had returned from Kandahâr in the last karawân. This prince, who was the son of Abdalla, had fled twice to avoid the jealousy of Mahmûd. The army had always been extremely fond of him, and the great desire which they expressed for his return, was the chief motive of his coming back. In fact, the principal officers considering Mahmûd had no issue fit to govern, and that his health daily declined, in some measure obliged him to recall Ashrâf, in order to declare him his successor. He at first treated him with all the appearances of friendship; but was no sooner informed of the murmurings of the troops, than he ordered him to be lodged in the palace, where he was strictly guarded ^t.

*Mahmûd
turns peni-
tent.*

This prudent step checked the mutinous designs of the soldiers, but did not make the sultân easy in his mind. His two late disgraces had weakened his power and authority. He therefore resolved to gain the favour of heaven by performing the Riadhiat, a kind of spiritual exercise introduced by the Indian Mohammedans into Kandahâr. The penitent, actuated by this superstition, shuts himself up in a dark room for fourteen or fifteen days, during which he repeats incessantly, with a strong guttural voice, the word *hu*, denoting one of the attributes of God; and lives upon a little bread and water. These continual cries, and the agitations of body with which they are accompanied, naturally unhinge the whole frame, when, by fasting and darkness, the brain is distempered, he fancies he sees spectres and hears voices; for they believe that, during this penance, the devil is compelled by a superior power to let them into the knowledge of futurity.

*Destroys
the royal
family.*

When Mahmûd issued from his dark recess, he was so pale and emaciated, that they scarcely knew him. What was worse, this extravagant devotion had impaired his reason. He became restless and suspicious, often starting, as if he feared his best friends intended to destroy

^t Hanw. p. 204, & seqq. also p. 147-159.

him. He was in one of those fits when a report arose that Sessi Mîrza, eldest son of shâh Huseyn, had made his escape, and fled into Turkey. This, whether true or false, he made a pretext for cutting off all the princes of that family, excepting Huseyn himself. On the 7th of February, those victims being assembled in the palace yard, with their hands tied behind their backs, the tyrant, with a few of his attendants, killed them all with their swords, excepting two sons of Huseyn, the eldest but five years old. The unhappy father hearing their cries, flew to the place of slaughter, and received on his arm the stroke which Mahmûd aimed at his child. The sight of blood issuing from a king whom he used to reverence, stopped his murdering hand. The number of princes butchered in this manner amounted one hundred^u.

After the physicians had in vain tried to restore Mahmûd to his senses, they had recourse to a superstitious remedy practised by the Armenian priests. It consists in reading over the head of the patient, what they call the Red Gospel; and is a ceremony used also by the Mohammedans of the country. In the beginning of April the clergy of Julfâ, dressed in their sacerdotal robes, passed in procession to the apartment of Mahmûd; who, in one of his lucid intervals, being told what they had done for his relief, sent them five thousand pounds in money, and as much in goods; promising to restore all he had taken from them in case he recovered his health; but after a short interval of ease, he relapsed into a more terrible condition; his body was covered with leprosy, and his flesh corrupting, seemed to fall from his bones.

A.D. 1725.

Mahmûd
grows de-
lirious.

Ashraf, who was no longer strictly watched, found means to correspond with Tahmâsp; and when he found matters ripe for his purpose, sent word, that now was his time to recover the throne, for things were in such confusion at Ispâhân, that, on the first news of his approach, his friends would join him in a body. Ashraf had imparted this design to the Persian lords who had been spared at the massacre; and by their means he corresponded with the shâh. They wrote him word, that the Afghân prince insisted on nothing for himself and his party but their lives, liberty, and effects. Tahmâsp sent him a deed, engaging, under the most solemn oaths, to perform the conditions; and it was this which drew him so near Ispâhân.

Ashraf
courts
Tahmâsp.

^u Krusinski, p. 147. Hanw. p. 206, & seq.

*Mahmûd
slain.*

This new disgrace greatly alarming the Afghâns, determined them to chuse a new master in place of Mahmûd, who was no longer able to manage their affairs. The right of succession belonged to Husseyn Khân, the sultân's brother, who governed in his name at Kandahâr; but as they could not wait his arrival, and Ashrâf was most beloved by the army, he was chosen with their unanimous consent. In this revolution, no person was so active as Aman Ollâh, the chief minister and generalissimo. Observing himself to be watched, he resolved to be revenged; and took the affront so heinously, that, when Mahmûd returned from his last expedition, he refused to go out to meet him. As soon as his election was proclaimed, the Afghâns ran to take the new king out of confinement. The Abdollis, who guarded him, for a while disputed the entrance; but, at length yielding, Ashrâf was proclaimed king of Persia, on the 22d of April: but this prince, under pretence of revenging his father's death, would not accept the ensigns of royalty till they brought him the head of Mahmûd; who, being in a high phrensy, had not many hours to live ^w.

A.D. 1725.

*Person and
character.*

This destroyer of the dynasty of the shâhs was but twenty-seven years old when he died. He was middle-sized, squat, and clumsy; his neck so short, that his head seemed to grow to his shoulders; his face was broad, his nose flat, and his beard thin and reddish. His looks were wild, his countenance austere and disagreeable. His eyes blue, and a little squinting, were generally downcast. Few individuals excelled him either in horsemanship, or the use of the lance. He possessed likewise several talents worthy of a sovereign. He never had but one wife, and was ever constant to her. He slept little, and endured great hardships; was extremely vigilant both in the camp and city, often visiting the centinels in the night. In labour indefatigable; in danger, intrepid; and with all his faults, a very strict observer of his word, as appears from his regard to Aman Ollâh, even when he knew that general was contriving his ruin. His virtues, however, were no atonement for his cruelty, which seems to have been as savage as that of any Barbarian whatsoever; and he displayed very little fortitude in adversity. His expedition against Ispâhân seems to have been extremely rash and extravagant; nor can it be justified, but by the success. That inconsiderate temerity, which constituted the

^w Krusinsk. p. 153, & seqq. Hanway, p. 211, & seqq.

chief part of his character, fitted him indeed for making conquests; but he wanted the qualifications necessary to secure his acquisitions ^x.

S E C T. XI.

The Reign of Ashraf.

THE resistance which the partisans of Ashraf met with *Soltân Ashraf* at the palace, furnished a pretext for removing some *râf* of his enemies. The same day he caused the late sultân's guards to be put to the sword. His ministers and confidants underwent the same fate. He arrested all who had been concerned in the conspiracy, which placed him on the throne, confiscated their estates, put some of them to death, among whom was the proud Aman Ollah, whose intrepidity and riches hastened his ruin, and the rest were imprisoned. His aunt, the widow of Mîrweis, and mother of Mahmûd, who had been prevailed on by her to spare his life, he confined a whole night in the palace-yard among the dead bodies massacred by her son; however, he afterwards treated her with becoming respect ^y.

His younger brother, flying to avoid being confined in the *saraglio*, was, when taken, deprived of his sight. A son ^{His cruelty and dissimulation.} of Mahmûd's, yet in the cradle, was treated in the same manner; and the mother, by report, poisoned. In order to efface the impression made by these barbarities, he waited on Shâh Huseyn, and pressed him to re-ascend the throne; but the deposed monarch had sense enough to decline the offer. In return, Ashraf, who took the title of sultân, ordered his monthly pension of one hundred and twenty-five pounds to be paid him weekly; gave him the direction of the buildings then erecting in the inclosure of the palace, which greatly pleased him; and, repudiating his own wife, married one of the king's daughters. He likewise, to ingratiate himself with the people, distributed money among his soldiers, established an exact order in the city; and imposed no new tax, contenting himself with recalling the sums which Mahmûd had restored during his illness.

His first attempt was to establish his authority in Kan- *Trials to en- dahâr*, by destroying Huseyn Khân, brother of Mahmûd; ^{enjâre are} *Tâimâp*.

^x Krusinsk. vol. ii. p. 149, & seqq. Hanway, vol. iii. p. 212, & seqq. ^y Hanway, Revolut. Pers. vol. iii. p. 216, & seqq.

but he failed in his design, as he did in another to seize the person of Shâh Tahmâsp at an interview, wherein he proposed to offer him the diadem, and settle their respective interests. This prince had just defeated Seydal a second time at Kashan, when he received a splendid embassy to this effect. At the same time a letter was sent, advising him to be on his guard; but the letter being intercepted, Tahmâsp marched with only three thousand men to Varami, whither his enemy had advanced at the head of twelve thousand. He forthwith fled to Mazanderân; and Ashrâf attempted Tahirân, but in vain, as he did Sava; but Kûm capitulated for want of provisions. Here he found the wife of Tahmâsp, with part of his court and treasure, twenty pieces of cannon, and three elephants.

State of Persia.

Ashrâf, on his return to Ispâhân, put to death all the lords, concerned in writing the above mentioned letter. At this juncture the authority of Tahmâsp was acknowledged only in the provinces of Mazanderân, Astrabâd, and a few places of Persian Irâk. The Afghâns were masters of Khorassân, Kermân, and Pârs; the rest were in the hands of the Russians and Turks. These last went on making conquests, and reduced Tauris with the loss of twenty thousand men. Another army of them advanced within twenty leagues of Ispâhân, and then retired on meeting the Afghân guards, with whom they were not at war. Ashrâf dreading their power, sent an embassy to court their alliance; but, refusing to admit the Othmân sultân to be the sole imâm, or head of religion, the Turks made it a pretence for declaring war against him in March 1726².

Ashrâf's successes against the Turks.

In the mean time, Kasbîn and Marâgha having submitted to them, their army marched towards Ghilân, at the solicitation, as was supposed, of the English and French ambassadors, displeased to find the Armenian karawân, which brought silk from thence, discontinued. Shâh Tahmâsp, seeing his affairs were desperate, offered to cede to the Porte the conquered countries, in lieu of a truce for three years; which however was not granted. Ashrâf, no less alarmed on his side, perceiving Ispâhân was too large for his forces to defend, ordered a second city to be built and fortified within the first, four miles in compass, including the old citadel, the great square, and king's palace. To render the access more difficult, he sent troops to ravage the country as far as Kazsbîn, which,

with other cities, were, by his emissaries, induced to declare for him. To prevent a visit in November, he marched to Hamadân, and cut off six thousand Turks; on which occasion the seraskier intrenched himself. Afshârâf, to supply the want of force by art, sent spies into the enemy's camp, with four sheykhs, to protest against Mussulmâns slaughtering one another, and to exhort them to peace. By joining with the Turks at noon prayer, they gained over five thousand Kyurds, and many others. To prevent a more general desertion, the bâshâ with seventy or eighty thousand men attacked the Afghâns, who had but seventeen thousand foot, and sixteen thousand horse, with forty harquebusses mounted on camels. Afshârâf appeared on his elephant, surrounded by his ministers, and repulsed the Turks in three fierce attacks. At night, being joined by twenty thousand Kyurds, the bâshâ retired in the dark, leaving all his baggage and artillery behind him.

In order to retrieve this disgrace, new forces were sent *Peace concluded.* in spring 1727; but these refusing to engage in a war which they looked on as unjust and impious, orders were sent to the bâshâ to conclude a peace on the best terms he could obtain. They arrived just as he was going to attack the Afghâns; and soon produced the pacification which both parties desired. By the treaty signed in October, the cities of Zengân, Soltania, Abher, and Tâhirân, were added to the Turkish conquests, and Khûzestân, newly taken, restored. The Othmân emperor was acknowledged the true successor of the khalîf; and the khotbâh, or public prayers, were said in his name throughout Persia. On the part of Afshârâf, he was acknowledged lawful sovereign of Persia, and named Soltân Ahmed in the khotbâh; empowered to coin money in his own name; and at liberty to send the Persian karawân to Mecca, by the way of Baghdâd ^a.

Mean while Shâh Tahmâsp remained at Farabâd in Mazanderân, pent up as a dependant on Fatey Ali Khân, *Affairs of Tahmâsp.* who, during the troubles, had seized that province: he was in these distressed circumstances, when Nadir Kuli, a soldier of fortune, sent a messenger from the borders of Mazanderân to offer him his service with five thousand horse. This is that extraordinary person who afterwards recovered Persia out of the hands of the Afghâns and Turks, and then usurped the throne: he was born near Kallât, a strong fortress ten days journey to the south-east

^a Nanway, p. 240—254.

of Mashhâd, the capital of Khoraffân. Being a Tatar, or Turkman, of the tribe of Afshar, who supply the Persians with cattle, he was bred a shepherd. His father, who lived by making caps and sheepskin coats, died when Nadir was but thirteen. An afs and camel were his whole estate, on which he carried to market sticks gathered in the woods, and sold them to support himself and his mother. In 1704, he was enslaved by the Uzbeks, but escaped in 1708. In 1712 he became a courier to a begh. Being sent with dispatches to court, he killed his companion; and at his return flew his master, and fled with his daughter to the mountains, and lived by rapine. In 1714, offering his service to Babulu Khân, governor of Khoraffân, he was made his gentleman-usher.

A.D. 1719. In 1717, for his behaviour against the Tatars of Khyeva and Bokharâ, he was raised to the rank of a colonel; and two years after, with six thousand soldiers, defeating ten thousand Uzbek invaders, the khân promised to get his command as general confirmed; but finding a younger man preferred, he reproached his patron with breach of honour, which liberty was punished with the bastinado. He then retired to the fortress of Kâllat, commanded by his uncle, the chief of an Afshar tribe; but his assuming temper giving disgust, he resumed his former occupation of robbing. At the head of seven or eight hundred banditti, he in 1722 pillaged several karawâns, and laid Khoraffân, with the adjacent provinces, under contribution: he continued this course till 1727, when Seyfo'ddîn Begh, one of the shâh's generals, flying for some offence, joined him with one thousand five hundred men, which increased his troops to about three thousand. His uncle then wrote him a kind letter; and promised to obtain his pardon, provided he would engage in the service of Tahmâsp. Nadir accepted the proposal; and, having obtained a pardon, repaired to Kâllat, where he murdered his uncle, and seized the castle ^b.

Joins the shâh; He staid there five months, raising contributions and more troops; then marched to drive the Afghâns and Baluchis out of Nishabûr. The governor with his whole garrison, consisting of three thousand men, issued out against the enemy, and pursued them to a pass in the mountains, where Nadir lay concealed with one thousand five hundred men. There Kuli Khân, facing about, fell on them in the rear, and cut them all to pieces excepting

^b Hanw, vol. iv. p. 14, 173, & seq.

a few.

a few. On this success he took possession of Nishâbur in the name of Shâh Tahmâsp ; and having been reinforced with a thousand men, went to offer that prince his service, as hath been mentioned. Fatey Ali Khân received him with open arms, and introduced him to the king, who signed his pardon. He soon, by his address, insinuated himself into the shâh's favour ; and, to gain the whole sway, resolved to remove the Khân, by pretending to discover a plot of his to deliver Tahmâsp into the hands of Malek Mahmûd, the rebel governor of Mashhâd. The fiction was improbable ; but Tahmâsp was not much wiser than his father Husseyn : he was willing to get rid of Fatey Ali, who had usurped too much authority, but had taken an oath never to hurt him. Nadir replied, " If your majesty has taken an oath, I have not ;" and that same day took him off by assassination.

Nadir, who succeeded him in the title of khân, and post of general, now began to display extraordinary talents. At his persuasion the shâh marched with his little army of eight thousand into Khorâsfân : he was received with joy into Nishâbûr ; and his forces soon augmenting to eighteen thousand, he advanced to Mashhâd, which being a place of no strength, the Balluchis abandoned it. To reward his new general, he ordered him to be called Tahmâsp Kûli Khân, the addition of his own name being the highest mark of dignity. Nadir marched to reduce the other revolted cities of Khorâsfân, a service which he performed within the year ; then, with twelve thousand men, he proceeded to Herât, which the inhabitants delivered up with the garrison, and the governor, whose head he cut off ^c.

A.D. 1728.

and reduces
Khorâsfân.

Ashrâf, alarmed at these successes, assembled all his forces, which did not exceed thirty thousand, and marched towards Khorâsfân to attack the shâh before he could gather more strength : but Tahmâsp, by the advice of his general, met him near Damaghân in Kumes with twenty-five thousand Persians. Ashrâf, whose fate depended on the issue of a battle, saw by their disposition that he ought to proceed with great caution ; but urged by his officers, on the 2d of October he vigorously attacked the enemy, who to his great surprise stood the shock ; and attacking him in their turn, obtained an easy victory. The Afghâns lost about ten thousand men, with all their harquebusses, camels, and baggage. They plundered Tâhiran

A.D. 1729.

Defeats
Ashrâf.

in their flight to Ispâhân, which they plundered also, and then retired to Murchakor, twenty-five miles east of that capital. Kûli Khân coming up with them on the 13th of November, received the enemy's first fire; then advancing close to them, gave a general discharge, which did such execution that the astonished Afghâns fled back to Ispâhân.

*Restores
Tahmâsp.*

Ashraf, in the midst of his panic, found time to imbrue his hands in the blood of Shâh Hûseyn, and other males of the royal family. Then having loaded several camels, and three hundred mules, with the treasures and rich effects of the palace, the Afghâns left the city at night, to the number of twelve thousand, after having reigned as conquerors of Persia seven years and twenty-one days.

The Persian troops arrived soon after their departure, and put an end to the pillage which the populace had begun. Mean while Shâh Tahmâsp advanced from Tâhiran, and was met by his general six miles from Ispâhân. As soon as he saw him, he alighted from his horse, as did Kûli Khân, who ran to him in a respectful manner; but the shâh insisted upon walking a few steps with him, declaring, that he could not shew too great distinction to the person who had delivered his country from a foreign yoke. His joy on entering the capital was allayed by the news of his father's death, and the sight of the ruined palace. As he entered the harâm, an old woman threw her arms about his neck in transports. This was his own mother, who, disguised in a slave's habit, had, ever since the Afghân invasion, submitted to all the offices of drudgery ^c.

*Routs the
Afghâns.*

Tahmâsp by his conduct so won the hearts of his subjects, that notwithstanding their poverty, they contributed liberally to support the army, which was increased to forty thousand men. Expressing his concern that the Afghâns should be still at Shirâz, and his female relations continue in slavery, Kûli Khân said, he was ready to march against them, provided a power was given him to levy money for paying the army; adding, that military operations were often defeated by the intrigues of a court, as in the case of Luft Ali Khân. The king was startled at this demand, which in some measure implied the sovereignty: but being advised to temporize, Tahmâsp complied. Kûli Khân began his march in the end of December, and in

^c Hanw. p. 25—35.

twenty days reached Astakhar (S). Although his army was much diminished by the severe season, and want of provisions in a ravaged country, yet on the 15th of January A.D. 1730, he attacked them with such vigour, that he put them instantly to flight.

Ashraf's affairs now grew desperate; he offered to deliver up the princesses and all his plunder, for liberty to depart with his troops. This proposal Kuli Khan rejected, and threatened to put all the Afghans to the sword, unless they delivered up their chief. Ashraf, who expected nothing but a cruel death, if he fell into the hands of the Persians, marched off in the night. His troops, to facilitate their retreat, separated into parties; after whom the khân sent several detachments. Ashraf, distressed for want of provisions in the depth of winter, and attacked on all sides by the peasants, was obliged at length to abandon all his baggage and the captives. Some of his followers killed their women, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. The Afghans being now quite dispersed, their chief had with him no more than two hundred men, when he was attacked by a body of Ballowchis: he made a gallant defence; but in the end was with his people cut to pieces. Thus ended the usurpation of the Afghans ^f.

S E C T. XII.

The Reign of Shâh Tahmâsp.

AMONG the captive ladies thus discovered, were the aunt and sister of the shâh, who gave the former in marriage to Kûli Khân. This general, after two months stay at Shirâz, marched towards Hamadân, with intent to wrest from the Turks what they had conquered during the late troubles. After a complete victory over them near that city, he took it; and then outmarched Kyoprili Bâshâ to Tauris, which he also subdued with Ardebil. The enemy terrified at his success, demanded a peace; which he granted, that he might punish the Abdollîs of Herât. After a victory obtained over these people, he took that city, and put the governor with the principal rebels to death. Distrusting the Turks, Tahmâsp marched

*The Turks
defeated.*

A.D. 1731.

^f Hanway, p. 35—40.

(S) Supposed to be the ancient Persepolis.

from

from Kazbîn with fifty thousand men, by the way of Tauris to Erivân, which he invested, after having escaped an ambuscade, and defeated Ali Bâshâ ; but for want of provisions was obliged to raise the siege. In his retreat to Tauris the bâshâ followed ; and being joined by Kyoprili, defeated him at Astabâd on the Zenghi. His army being now reduced to thirty thousand, he abandoned Tauris to secure Hamadân. There a bloody battle was fought with Ahmed Bâshâ, of Bâgdâd, and lost, together with that city ⁵.

Tahmâsp
makes a
peace.

A.D. 1732.

The Bâshâ, induced by the troubled state of affairs at Constantinople, where Ahmed III. was deposed, proposed a peace. The Shâhs late defeat, and the exposed condition of Ispâhân, without an army to defend it, induced him to accept of the proposal. By this peace, concluded in January 1732, the Arrâs was to be the Persian boundary : so that he gave up his right to all Armenia and Georgia, comprising a country near two hundred miles in extent. The Othmâns on their side were to assist him, to compel the Russians to quit their acquisitions along the Caspian sea, where, since the death of Peter I. they had made no conquest but that of Lahijân. This peace was ratified against the earnest solicitations of Kûli Khân, who entreated him to persist in the demand of all the conquered provinces, promising to join him soon with a powerful army.

Kûli Khân
resents it.

The Shâh wrote to his general to disband his army, and return to Ispâhân. This order increased Kûli Khân's jealousy of the court. He told his officers, "That this peace was inglorious, and tended to involve Persia in new troubles ; that there was the less reason for sacrificing so many provinces to the Turks, when there was an army on foot sufficient to humble them ; that therefore those measures seemed to be levelled at him by the ministers, who were always jealous of his success." Having by these speeches, which had the air of patriotism, attached to him the army, now augmented to seventy thousand, most of them Tatars, in whom he could confide, he marched for Ispâhân ; near which he encamped in August. He then waited on the king ; and having told him, that those who advised the peace were his enemies, he produced letters to shew how much he was abused by evil counsellors ; and that they were playing off the same diabolical engines used in the time of Husseyn, to cut off Lust Ali

⁵ Hanw. Revolut. Pers. vol. iv. p 40. & seq.

Khân, when the army under his command might have saved Persia^b.

The Shâh was astonished ; but Kûli Khân finding that the letters had no effect with regard to the persons whom he wanted to destroy, he looked upon himself as one marked out for destruction. His officers were of the same opinion ; and, considering his interest as their own, readily agreed to prevent their common danger, by deposing Tahmâsp, and setting his son, prince Abbâs Mirzâ, in his place. With this intent, he invited Tahmâsp to a review, and after it, to a repast ; where being intoxicated with wine, he was conveyed under a strong guard to an apartment in the royal gardens. His attendants were confined, and next day, an assembly being called, Kûli Khân harangued upon the king's incapacity to reign, and the bad consequences which would attend the peace, unless he was deposed. The general having bribed the great officers of state, as well as of the army, they approved of his advice ; and swore allegiance to the young prince, then lying in his cradle, by the name of Abbas III.

S E C T. XIII.

Reign of Abbas III.

KULI KHAN, now in effect sovereign of Persia, conferred the principal governments on his own relations ; and disposed of every thing at pleasure. He sent to acquaint the bâshâ of Bagdâd, that he intended soon to pay him a visit : on which advice war was proclaimed at Constantinople, and Topal Osmân Bâshâ took the field with an army of eighty thousand men. Bâgdâd had been besieged for three months ; and, though defended with a garrison of twenty thousand men, could not have held out above four days, when the seraskier approached. Kûli Khân met him with seventy thousand ; and a furious battle ensuing, victory seemed to declare for the Persians, when the bâshâ of Mosul came up, and turned the scale. About thirty thousand were killed on each side, and Kûli Khân lost all his baggage. The bâshâ of Bagdâd, sallying forth, raised the siege : and the Persian general retired, sending him word, that he would be with him early next year, that it might not be thought he intended to fall on him in the winter. But, having with speed repaired his losses, he, in

A.D. 1733.

*Gives the
Turks two
great de-
feats.*

October, forced his way into Turkey. Topal Osmân, at the head of one hundred thousand men, met the Persians at Leylam, five leagues from Kerkowd. Kûli Khân attacked the Turks on the 25th, and was repulsed; but next day, the battle becoming general, he obtained a complete victory. The Turks lost forty thousand men, including the brave seraskier, all their baggage and military chest. He was diverted from visiting Baghdâd, to march against Mohammed Khân Balluchi, who at Shirâz had proclaimed Shâh Tahmâsp, at the head of thirty thousand men. Kûli Khân, with the like number, attacked and routed him; and Mohammed being taken, hanged himself, to avoid a more cruel fate¹.

A.D. 1734.

The con-
quered
countries
recovered.

A.D. 1735.

In spring 1734, Mohammed entering Georgia with one hundred thousand men, that country and Armenia submitted; and the Turks, unable to oppose him, retired. Then penetrating into Shirwân, he destroyed Shamakîa, for favouring the Lefghi Tatars. Next year he sent an embassy to Russia in the name of Abbâs, to desire an alliance with the empress, and demand restitution of the conquered provinces; which, being too expensive to be kept, were surrendered, and a treaty was concluded. He now marched from Teflis to Eriwân, where the Turks had eighty thousand troops, commanded by the seraskier Kyoprili. Kûli Khân, who had then but fifty thousand, feigned a hasty flight, till he came to a defile, where, posting some troops in ambush, he made a stand. The van coming up were attacked in both flank and rear: the action was bloody, and lasted five hours. Kyoprili was slain, with several other general officers, besides twenty thousand men. The baggage and military chest were taken, with thirty-two pieces of cannon. The rear, which could not come up to assist the van, fled, and suffered much in the pursuit. Eriwân surrendered, and, by the end of the year, all the conquered provinces were recovered. The Turks wanted to make peace: but Kûli Khân would not agree to an accommodation, except upon condition that Baghdâd should be restored, and the Persians indemnified for the expence of the war^m.

¹ Hanway, ubi supr. p. 74—112. ^k Hanway, p. 112—121.]

S E C T. XIV.

The Reign of Nadir Shâb.

IN the beginning of the year 1736, the young king ^{A.D. 1736.} Abâs died, whether naturally or by sinister means, uncertain. On the 10th of March, all the governors, great officers, and generals, were convoked in the plains of Mogân, near the river Arrâs, to chuse a new king: Kûli Khân recommended Shâh Tahmâsp, if they thought him fit to govern: but, at the end of three days, he was desired, by the deputies, to accept of the diadem. The general accepted of it on three conditions; 1. That the crown should be hereditary: 2. That they should not entertain in their houses any of the family of their old kings: 3. That they should not curse Omar, Osmân, and Abubekr, nor meet to commemorate Husseyn's (T) death. The high-priest, attempting to dissuade him from changing the established religion, was dispatched with a bowstring; and next day Kûli Khân was proclaimed king by the name of Shâh Nadîr. On his arrival at Kazbîn, he assembled the ecclesiastics of the neighbouring provinces, and confiscated the revenues of the church, telling them, that their prayers, not having prevented the present calamities, shewed that God was not pleased with them; but that the deity having made his soldiers the instruments of redressing them, they were the priests most worthy to be supported by the revenues of the church. He then published a decree to unite the sects of Shiay and Sunni.

Towards the end of the year, a peace was concluded ^{A.D. 1737.} with the Turks; whereby all the conquered provinces were yielded back, and liberty given the Persians to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca duty-free. After this pacification he marched to Ispâhân, which he repaired; and, having made some regulations to encourage husbandry and commerce, set out in December to reduce Kandahâr, possessed

(T) Eldest son of Ali, who was butchered by them, with his whole family. In memory of which transfection the Persian priests were obliged to bid the people curse them as often as they called them to their prayers. They moreover ordered an annual cavalcade through the city of Ispâhân, attended with magnificent pageants, representing that horrid scene to the life; both which customs Kûli Khân now abolished, in compliment to the Turks.

*Kûli Khân
elected king.*

*Subdues the
Uzbeks.*

by Husseyn Khân, brother of Soltân Mâhmûd. He defeated Husseyn's troops; but, for want of heavy cannon, could not take the place: so that after a long siege, he was obliged to confirm him in his government, on condition that he should surrender the town and recruit his army. Meanwhile his son Rizi Kûli Mîrza, governor of Mashâd, subdued the Uzbeks of Bâlkh and Bokhârâ. He likewise received an invitation from several lords of the mogol's court to march into India; which he invaded accordingly, about the middle of the year 1738. Of this famous expedition we shall give a more full account in its proper place. On his return to Kandâhâr, with one hundred and twenty millions sterling, he put himself at the head of fifty thousand men, to chastise the Uzbeks, who, during his absence, had invaded Persia. The Khân of Bokhârâ submitted, and was restored. But the prince of Khyeva, after an obstinate resistance, was obliged to surrender; and had his throat cut, with thirty of his attendants, for having murdered Nadir's ambassadors¹.

A.D. 1741. In his return to Mashâd, he was shot at, and wounded in the left hand, by an Afghân, employed to kill him, by his son Rizi Kûli. This prince, on a report that the Persian army was defeated in Hindustân, revolted, and murdered Shâh Tahmasp in the fortres of Sebzwar. Nadir Shâh, who loved him, would have pardoned his crime; but provoked with his offensive language, he ordered his eyes to be put out. After two expeditions against the Arabs and Uzbeks, who had revolted, he entered Daghestân to A.D. 1742. chastise the Lefghi; but, advancing too far, was greatly harassed, and narrowly escaped a total defeat. The Turks A.D. 1743. alarmed at his progress, declared war; and, while the Shâh besieged Bâghdâd and Bâfrah, a pretender was sent into Persia, but defeated. At the same time Astarabad and A.D. 1744. Shirâz revolted. The Turks having assembled an army of one hundred and thirty thousand men near Erivân, Nadir A.D. 1745. met them in August 1745, with eighty thousand troops, and overthrew them, killing twenty-eight thousand, with several bâshâs, and among them, Abdâllah Kyoprili. The Persians lost eight thousand men, and Nadir had two horses killed under him. Revolts in Georgia and Khorassân prompted him to propose a peace; by which the Persians were allowed free access to Mecca, and a priest at Mashâd, A.D. 1746. Ali, another place of pilgrimage^m.

¹ Hanway, ubi supr. p. 134—150.

^m Hanway, p. 205—224, 238

All this while Persia was reduced to the deepest distresses, by the avarice and cruelty of the shâh, who, on his return to Ispâhân, committed great barbarities, and enforced cruel exactions. He afterwards oppressed in the same manner the people of Khermân, and Mathhad, where he arrived next with his army. From thence he marched to the plains of Soltân Meydân, a day's journey to the north-west; but there ended his career. Some time after he had gone to rest, Saleh Beg, colonel of the Afghân body-guard, with four chosen men, under pretence of business, rushed by the guards into the outer partition of the harâm, where they killed an eunuch. Then entering the inner harâm, slew an old woman also whom they met. They were still at a loss to know Nadir's tent, till by the light of a lamp, they espied some jewels. There they found him risen from his bed, roused perhaps by the woman's cries. The shâh drawing his sabre, demanded what they wanted? Saleh Beg answered him by a cut on the left side of his collar-bone. Notwithstanding which, he killed two of the soldiers who advanced to strike him; and then attempted to retire; but stumbling over the cords, Saleh gave him a mortal wound. Nadir cried, "Mercy, and I will forgive you all." The beg replied, "You have not shewn any mercy, and therefore deserve none." And then cut off his head^a.

Thus fell the scourge of Persia and India at the age of sixty-one, after a reign of eleven years and three months. He had a comely aspect; a high forehead, large expressive eyes, a swarthy complexion, and black hair; he was of a robust make, and six feet high. His whole person and aspect were awful, especially when he spoke. His voice was exceedingly strong, and his memory tenacious. His presence of mind remarkable, and his resolutions as quick as thought. He was far in years before he learned to read; and owed no part of his knowledge to books. He studied the finances thoroughly, and knew the exact revenue of each province. His diet was simple; his dress plain. His pride lay in precious stones, with which his diadem as well as turban was adorned. When he gave audience, he played with a battle-ax; the use of which he revived. It is said he always wore a chain-work coat of mail under his cloaths. He loved women, and severely punished sodomy. In other respects, he was jealous, insolent, cruel, and rapacious.

A.D. 1747.
Miseries of Persia.

Nadir
Shâh slain
to prevent
a massacre.

His person
and cha-
racter.

Diet and
dress.

^a Hanway, p. 259, & seqq.

C H A P. XIX.

The History of the Arab Kings of Hormûz, or Ormûs, in Persia.

Kingdom of Hormûz, **T**HE kingdom of Hormûz, Harmûz, or Ormus, contained part of the coast on both sides of the Persian gulph, with the islands lying between them; but it is not easy, to determine the exact bounds of it, when in its greatest extent. On the side of Arabia, it seems to have comprised the maritime parts, from Râs al Gât, the most eastern point of that country, to Al Katîf; with the islands of Bahrayn, lying off of that port; and that, on the Persian side, it reached from Cape Jâsk, or Jâskes, to Bander Kongo; and perhaps a good deal farther, so as to include the country of Mogostân, in the province of Kermân, and part of the coast of Pârs, or Proper Persia, with the adjacent islands. The chief of these are Lar or Lara, Andarvia, Keyson or Keyshi, Nabjan or Peytombo; to the south of which are two others, Brokht or Kismis, called also Kishom, and Jerûn, or Hermûz; and, to the south of it, Larek. All these islands are small, excepting Brokht or Kismis, which is about fifty miles long, and thirteen broad; Jerûn and Larek lie off the eastern end of it; those three islands being about two or three leagues distant from each other.

Its origin, according to some. Our materials, so far at relate to the kings of Hormûz, to the time of Turân Shah, who was one of the number, are taken from the history written by that prince (A); who gives two different accounts of the original of the Harmûzian-monarchy. The first imports that, an Arabian prince, named Mohammed Dirhem Kûb, descended from the ancient kings of Sabah, a province in Arabia,

(A) He died in the year of the Hejra 779, or of Christ 1377. The history, written in the Persian tongue, both in prose and verse, is intitled, Shâh Noma: that is, *A Relation of the King, or Kings;* and begins from Adam. It makes a considerable volume, of which an abstract was published in

Portuguese, by Pedro Texeira; who has added the succeeding kings to his time; and interspersed several remarks, relating to places mentioned in the history; which is to be found at the end of his history of the kings of Persia, extracted from Mirkhond, a famous historian of that country.

being

being ambitious to extend his dominions, subdued the neighbouring countries, as far as the shores of the Persian gulph, called by the Portuguese the Gulf of Ormuz. Not content with these conquests, he persuaded his troops to cross over to Persia, intending there to build a bander, or port-town ; which should, in splendor and trade, exceed that of Sohâr, in Arabia, then much frequented by foreign merchants.

He accordingly marched to Kalayât, a port near Cape Ras al Gât : where he embarked with his followers and arrived at Jask, or Jaskes, a well-known place on the coast of Persia ; from whence, sailing northward, he put into Kustek, or Kostek, another port on that side of the gulph. There landing his men, and, finding a situation agreeable to his mind, founded the city of Harmûz ; where he resided in peace and justice. The lands in the neighbourhood he divided among his people, and coined money in his own name ; from whence he had the appellative of Dirhem Kûb. The governors of Shirâz and Kermân maintained a strict amity with him. At his death, he left Hormûz, in a prosperous condition, to his son Solymân ; who had accompanied him in his expedition, and by whose industry the new city greatly increased².

The other account, which Turân Shâh gives, of the origin of the kingdom of Hormûz is to this effect. When the father of Shâh Mohammed was king in Arabia, being at war with another prince, he lost a battle ; and, not thinking himself secure in that country, crossed over the gulph to Mogostân, in Persia, and settled there, with his son Mohammed. About this time, a tyrannical king reigned in those parts ; who, besides other acts of oppression, insisted upon having the first night's lodging with every maid that was married. Mohammed, taking compassion on those oppressed people, offered to deliver them at the hazard of his life. He pretended to marry a maiden of quality, belonging to the town where the tyrant resided ; and, being as yet beardless, he cloathed himself in a woman's habit. Thus disguised, and attended by a body of his friends, he was brought in the evening to the king ; who immediately retired into his bed-chamber with the supposed maid. Mohammed, by pretending bashfulness, gained time, till he had a fair opportunity to dispatch him with his dagger : he then quitted the apartment, and

Another tradition.

² Turan Shâh, apud Texeira Hist. Pers. p. 377, & seq.

having informed those who waited the event, that he had slain the tyrant, they proclaimed liberty through the city.

Moham-
med first
king.

This service was so acceptable to the people, that they made their deliverer king, who took on him the title of shâh Mohammed ; adding the surname of Dirhem Kûb, for the reason before mentioned. The better to improve his dominions, he founded the city of Hormuz, in a plain of the same name ; from whence all the kingdom was denominated. And this Texeira judges to be the most likely account of its origin : but the time (B) when these transactions happened is not mentioned ^b.

Ayâz
Seyfin re-
moves to
Brokht ;

Hejra 700.
A.D. 1300.

The transactions of the kings who succeeded Mohammed, are neither important nor interesting. They consist of petty expeditions to the small islands lying off the coast ; and family-feuds among the princes of the reigning family. At length about the year 1300, Mîr Bahâ'uddin Ayâz Seyfin, who had been a slave to the wazîr, taking upon him the regal power, began to restore things to their former order ; the Turks (C), who had already possessed themselves of several provinces of Persia, breaking into the kingdom of Kermân, came down to Hormûz ; destroying all the country as they passed. The wealth which they found in those parts invited them to return so often, that the Hormûzians, no longer able to bear their oppressions, resolved to abandon their lands in Persia, and retire into the island of Brokht.

This island, called Quishom by the Portuguese, is the largest of all the islands belonging to the kingdom of Hormûz, on the side of Persia ; and is separated from the continent only by a very narrow channel. Thither the Hormûzians, by order of Ayâz, passed over ; taking with them all they had saved from the rapacious hands of the Turks. Ayâz set out again in quest of some other

^b Texeira, ubi supr. p. 378, & seq.

(B) The first date we meet with, is the year of the Hejra 676, that is, of Christ 1277 ; when Rokno'ddin Mohairmed, the twelfth king of Hormûz, died. If then we subtract from that date wo hundred and sixteen years, for the reigns of the first twelve kings (allowing eighteen years to each,) there

will remain one thousand and sixty-one ; about which time the kingdom seems to have been founded.

(C) These must be the Tatars, who then reigned in Persia ; for the Seljûkian Dynasties both of Irân and Kermân, were extinct before the year 590 of the Hejra.

place,

place, more convenient for a settlement, and at length arrived at a desartt island, two leagues distant from that of Brokht. On the north point of this island ; where afterwards the Portuguese built a fortres, they found an old man, named Jerûn, with his wife, who lived by fishing ; furnishing the ships, which passed to and fro between India and Keys, with what fish he caught : in return for which, they gave him rice, cloth, and other necessaries ⁹.

This Jerûn, understanding that Ayâz was looking out for an island to settle in, advised him to go thither, as being the only one to be found fit for his purpose ; and the king having viewed it, resolved to beg it of Nein, the king of Keys, to whom it belonged, as did all the other islands in the Gulf of Persia.

Keys, or Kays, so called by the Arabs as well as Persians, and by the Portuguese, Quays, is a small island in the gulf, well wooded and watered.

Ayâz having purchased this island of the king of Keys, gave it the name of Hormûz, in remembrance of their ancient country, although the Persians and Arabs generally call it Jerûn. Nor has the ancient Hormûz on the continent lost its name. Jerûn, or Hormûz, stands just within the mouth of the Persian gulf, which is divided by it into two parts ; one called the Gulf of Hormûz, commencing at Port Guâdel in Persia, and cape Râs al Gât in Arabia, and extending to that island about a hundred leagues ; the other is named the Gulf of Bastrah, reaching from Jerûn to the mouth of the river Tigris, near which that city is seated, the space of almost two hundred leagues. This island is betwixt six and seven miles in compafs, five from Dozâr, the nearest part of Persia, and nine leagues from the coast of Arabia. A high mountain crosses it from east to west ; from the foot whereof, to the north point, where the city and fort stand, there is a plain extending a mile, where the city is built ; but beyond the mountain, southward, there is nothing to be seen but dismal hills, clefts, and rocks ^r.

It yields abundance of fine sulphur, and very transparent mineral salt. During the summer the water which descends from the mountain in winter, and overspreads the plain about the city, is converted into salt by the heat. Besides these stores of salt there are three springs, which gushing from the foot of the mountain, form three rivu-

*Its situa-
tion, ex-
tent, and
soil.*

⁹ Teix. p. 384, & seqq.

^r Ibid. 386, & seqq.

lets of very clear water, but as salt as that in the sea. The surface of these streams is, by the heat of the sun, formed into such a hard crust of salt, that persons often cross it on horseback.

No fresh water.

The island has no fresh water but what is gathered from the rain in cisterns. Only at Torunpuka there is a little fresh water, made use of to water the orchards of the king and his wazîr. Ferragut Shâh, who reigned in 1596, found out another stream of fresh water, in consequence of a task enjoined him by a rich widow, whom he wanted to espouse. These gardens produce every thing in the highest perfection; but in the other parts of the island there is neither tree nor plant, unless in the plain some prickly shrubs, bearing a fruit like haws, called konar, green all the year, some few mallows, and purging senna, called senna Moki, or *scenna of Moki*.

Heat excessive.

The summer heats are here almost intolerable. Nevertheless, the air and climate is healthy; and there is seldom any distemper in summer; for the excessive heat expels all peccant humours by sweat; but in autumn the inhabitants are subject to dangerous distempers.

The island has two banders, ports, or bays: one to the east, the other to the west of the sandy point, where old Jerûn lived, and the Portuguese built a fort.

City of Hormûz.

The city of Hormûz, founded in the year 1300, was formerly large; but the best part of it was blown up to make a spacious parade, or place of arms before the fort. The houses were well built, of a softish stone, found in the island. They have three sorts of mortar; one made of fine lime, called ghecha, brought from the continent; another red sort, found in the island, but not so good; a third called charu, made of rotten dung, dried and burned, then beaten, and used warm from the battoon; for it cannot be used if it stands till it be cool. No water can penetrate foundations laid with this cement. This city threw so fast, that in two hundred years it extended its dominion over the greater part of Arabia, a considerable district of Persia, and all the gulf as far as Basrah. It continued in this flourishing state till subdued by the Portuguese; from which time it began to decline, in consequence of the insolence and oppression of the governors and officers of that nation.

The inhabitants.

The Hormûzians are fair and well-shaped; the men polite and genteel, the women beautiful. They all speak the Persian tongue, but not pure, and profess the Mohammedan religion. Besides the original inhabitants and the

Portuguese

Portuguese who conquered them, people of several nations were settled there; as Armenians, Georgians, Syrians, Banyans from India, and about a hundred and fifty families of Jews.

The island affords plenty of game, such as gazellas; a kind of wild goats; adibes, a sort of foxes; partridges, turtle-doves, and other fowl. The wonder is where these animals drink, since there is no fresh water but what has been mentioned. Although the soil produces no vegetables, yet the city is so well supplied with necessaries from abroad, that all things were sold at moderate rates; in short, Hormûz was, when the Portuguese had it, a mart and fair for all the world; in which all sorts of commodities were to be found, and where the merchants of all nations resorted. Here is a manufactory for drinking-cups, and pots to hold water, made of the salt clay, which, when freshened, keep the water cool, and give it an agreeable taste*.

To return to the history. Ayâz Seyfin having reigned ^{Hejra 711.} ten years, died in the year 711. Others say, that he re-^{A.D. 1311.} signed the crown to Amîr Ayâzo'ddîn Gordûn Shâh, son of Soldar and Bibi Zeyneb, grandson to the former king; and that, after his resignation, he returned to his wazîrship of Kâlagât in Arabia, where he died. ^{Ayâz dies.}

Amîr Ayâzo'ddîn Gordûn Shâh, sixteenth king of the old, and second of the new, Hormûz, as soon as he ascended the throne, thought of ratifying the peace with Neîn, king of Keys, of whom Ayâz bought the island; but his ambassadors insisted on such unreasonable terms, that Neîn, perceiving he intended to break with him, resolved to anticipate his hostilities. He raised forces; and, with the assistance of Mâlek Ayâzo'ddîn, governor of Shirâz, sailed for Hormûz with a hundred and twenty terradas, which are small vessels, full of men. The chief reason which he alleged for this invasion, was, that Gordûn Shâh had detained the Indian ships at Hormûz, which were bound for Keys, and by that detention wronged him of his customs. Mean while Gordûn Shâh passed over with his army to Sirmion, a village in the island of Brokht, or Queyshoma, with a design to cut off the enemy's water. While he was there he received intelligence that ten sail of India ships, bound for Keys, richly laden, were passing between Hormûz and Lârek, an island four leagues to the north. On

* Tex. p. 388, & seqq;

this advice he set sail with his fleet to meet them, and, after an engagement, took, and carried them to Hormûz.

*Invaded
from Keys.*

About this time the forces of Keys and Shîrâz being arrived near Sirmion, were surprised by a violent storm, and the whole fleet shattered. Ten ships, however, escaped, and put into the little island of Aujem, which lying very close to that of Brokht, helps to form a safe and spacious harbour between the two. Here the king of Keys landed his men, designing next night to pass over to Hormûz. Gordûn Shâh having intelligence of this design, disposed his forces in a proper manner to receive the enemy; posting one third of them on the shore, about a thousand paces distant from the city, at a place called Karu, very proper for making a descent. Accordingly the confederates attempted it, but were repulsed with the loss of many men and ships. After this unsuccessful effort, putting off to sea, they sent to make propositions of peace; but Gordûn Shâh rejected them, and, following the advice of Sanger Rokno'ddin, his general, resolved to fall on his enemies by surprize, who hearing of his intention, fled; yet not so timely but the Hormûzians made a great slaughter of their troops.

*Hejra 714.
A.D. 1314.* Thus roughly handled they returned to Keys, where, having recruited their forces, they, in the year 714, returned to invade Hormûz, with a greater number of men and ships than before. With these they beset the island so closely for four months, that had not Gordûn Shâh supplied it in time with plenty of provisions, he must have been obliged to surrender. The king of Keys, perceiving how little progress he made, proposed a peace, with a view to ensnare him. As it was agreed the two kings should have a conference on the shore, he of Keys came in a small boat, and leaping on land, when the king of Hormûz advanced to embrace him, seized him, and forced him into the boat, which hastening to the fleet, they immediately set sail for Keys.

He escapes. When Bibi Soltâna, Gordûn Shâh's consort, was informed of what had happened to her husband, she ordered Mâlek Ghayâzo'ddin Dinâr, son to her brother Shahîn Shâh, to take upon him the government. Four months after the king of Keys set sail again for Hormûz, carrying with him Gordûn Shâh; but when he was about half way, there arose so violent a tempest, that most of the ships were wrecked, and the rest dispersed into different ports. That wherein Gordûn Shâh was prisoner happened

pened to be saved on the shore of Hormûz; whither a multitude of people resorting, they conducted him, with great joy, to the city; but Ghayâzo'ddîn Dînâr refused to resign the government to him. Gordûn Shâh retired to the house of Konia Mehemed Kâleb; but not thinking himself safe there, went over the same night to the fort of Minab, which signifies *enamel*, on the coast of Persia. Dînâr, finding that all the people forsook him, and resorted to Gordûn Shâh, left the island, and went to Makrân, a kingdom lying between Persia and India. As soon as he was gone Gordûn Shâh returned to Hormûz, where he was peaceably received, and died in the year 717, leaving the throne to his son,

Hejra 717.
A.D. 1317.

Amîr Mobârezo'ddîn Bahrâm Shâh. At the same time, the garrisons in the forts on the continent proclaimed his brother, Shâh Kothbo'ddîn; and conducted him, as king, from the fort of Barkamîn, where he was, to that of Mi-nâb. Bahrâm Shâh, hearing of these commotions, took the field, and having defeated Kothbo'ddîn, the king of Keys invaded Hormûz a third time; but met with so warm a reception, that he returned with no better success than that which attended him before.

The king, being desirous to put an end to the troubles raised by his brother, who still molested him, embarked with some troops to pass over to the continent; but, being hindered by contrary winds, went back to lie in his palace that night. When all were gone to rest, Iſſuff, one of his generals, repaired, with some horse and foot, to the gate; calling out for the king to come forth; pretending, that Bibi Soltân Sangor was landed on the island, with an armed force. Bahrâm Shâh, upon this alarm, went out, followed by his mother, and brother Nazâmo'ddîn: but they were all secured by Mîr Shahâbo'ddîn Iſſuf; who took upon him the title of king, in the year 718.

Bahrâm
Shâh,
treache-
roulously slain.

This revolution divided the Hormûzians: one part following the usurper Iſſuff; the other adhered to Mîr Kothbo'ddîn, brother to the prisoner king. Mâlek Dînâr, who had fled to Makrân, hearing of these troubles, returned towards Hormûz, with a large body of forces; giving out, that he came to assist Mîr Shâh Kothbo'ddîn: but finding, on his arrival, that Iſſuff's party prevailed, he made friends with this latter. Bibi Soltâna, sister to Dînar, and Bibi Nazmâlek, wife to Iſſuf, undertook to reconcile the contending parties: but Iſſuf, as the best way to secure himself, cut off the heads of the prisoner king, Gordûn Shâh, his mother, and brother. Shâh Kothbo'ddîn

A.D. 1318.

Shahâbo'd-
dîn Iſſuff.

dîn went over to Kalagât, in Arabia; with Bibi Marian, wife to Ayâz Seyfin. Shahâbo'ddîn Issuf, being informed that the forces of Keys were sailing towards him, put off to meet them; but, when he came in sight of them, returned home in a fright. The invaders, however, reaped no advantage by their expedition, returning, the fourth time, from Hormûz without success. It fared quite otherwise with Shâh Kothbo'ddîn; who, next year, accompanied with Mâlek Jalalo'ddîn Queyzi, and Khoajâ Jamâlo'd-dîn Neîn, departed from Kalagât; and, landing by surprise, made himself master of the island ^u.

Shâh Kothbo'ddîn,
subdues
Keys;

Mîr Shâh Kothboddîn, the son of Gordûn Shâh, having thus recovered the kingdom of Hormûz, immediately put to death Mîr Shahâbo'ddîn Issuf, his wife, Bibi Nazmâlek; and his two sons, Mîr Omâdo'ddîn Hosseyn, and Amîr Hassân; who had been prisoners in the fortress of Gât. Not long after this revolution, Queyzi and Neîn, who had restored Shâh Kothbo'ddîn to the throne, conspired to kill him, and secure the kingdom to themselves. Kothbo'ddîn, being informed of their villainy, intended to have seized them; but they, discovering his design, fled out of the island. Neîn was drowned in crossing the sea; but the other, with a few followers, got safe to Keys. Kothbo'ddîn, and his kingdom, enjoyed peace for ten years: at the end of which, a new attempt was made against it from Keys.

Mâlek Ghayâzo'ddîn, who had succeeded in that island, taking the opportunity, while Shâh Kothbo'ddîn was in Mogostân, in Persia, during the summer-heats, invaded Hormûz with a considerable fleet; and must have conquered that island, had it not been for the gallant defence made by Mohammed Sorkâb, and Ibrâhim Salgor, two of the king's porters, to whom he had committed the guard of it. Shâh Kothbo'ddîn, on this advice, returned to Hormûz; and, fitting out a fleet with great expedition, failed for the island of Keys; which he attacked, and made himself master of, with great slaughter of the inhabitants. He likewise took king Mâlek Ghayâzo'ddîn, and some of his relations; whom he afterwards put to death. He left a strong garrison at Keys, and then departed; resolving, before he returned to Hormûz, to attack the island of Bahrayn; which accordingly he subdued.

and Bahrayn de-
scribed.

Bahrayn, or Bahreyn, lies in the Persian gulph, midway between the island of Hormûz, and the city of Baf-

^u Tex. p. 397, & seq.

rah ; a hundred leagues distant from each, and near the coast of Arabia. It is inhabited by Arabs : only, ever since the year 1602, when it became subject to Persia, the garrison and governor are Persians. The country is pleasant, and abounds with fruit, especially dates ; but produces little wheat, or barley : and rice, which, next to dates, is the common food, was carried thither from Hormuz, in the time of the Portuguese.

This island is famous for its excellent pearls, and fresh water-springs ; both found in the sea, which surrounds it. *Strange springs.* Before Manamâ, the chief town in the isle, at about three fathoms, or three and a half, deep, certain springs of pure fresh water gush out ; and this being brought up in skins by divers, is sold very cheap. The pearls of Bahrayn surpass all others in goodness and weight.

Shâh Kothbo'ddîn, having possessed himself of Bahrayn, took Katîf, Karga, and Darab. Encouraged by this great success, he pursued his good fortune, and conquered all the coast of Persia, and Arabia, within the gulf ; from whence he received a considerable yearly income. Some time after his return to Hormuz, he crossed over to Persia, in order to take the diversion of hunting, accompanied by his brother, Nâzomo'ddîn ; who contrived a scheme to take away his life. Being then at Rûdshahr, he pretended to follow a hare towards Meridân ; by which means he rode, with his confederates, to the mouth of the Dozar ; a rivulet opposite to Jerun, or Hormuz, five miles distant : and, embarking in tarrankas, passed over to that island ; which, being destitute of the principal men, was easily subdued by him ; who thereupon assumed the title of king, Heira 745.
A.D. 1344.

Shâh Kothbo'ddîn pursued him full speed ; but, by the time he reached the banks of the Dozâr, the usurper was landed at Hormuz. So that, not being able to proceed any farther for the present, he withdrew to Kolongon, on the continent ; from whence he sent expresses into all parts of his dominions, demanding men, and other assistance, to reduce his rebel brother. At the same time, Mâlek Nâzomo'ddîn sent advice of his usurpation to all the wazîrs, or governors, throughout the kingdom of Hormuz, requiring them to acknowlege and submit to, him ; with promises of great rewards to such as complied. However, the success did not answer his expectation ; for no towns obeyed his summons, excepting some few belonging to Kiriakestân ; and these gave him to understand, that, unless he sent them forces to defend their date-trees, which

which are the chief support of the inhabitants, against the troops of Kothbo'ddîn, who infested them, they should be obliged to submit to that prince ^w.

usurps the crown;

Nâzomo'ddîn, taking into consideration the distress of those people, resolved to go over to the continent: but first thought proper to sound the inclinations of the wazîrs and chief men about his brother; on whom, however, his practices had no effect; excepting one Omar Soyo'ddîn, who was Kothbo'ddîn's porter, and a colonel in his army. Having gained this man, he passed over into Persia; and marched towards Kolongon. Kothbo'ddîn advanced to meet him; and engaged his troops: but, in the heat of action, the traitor, Soyo'ddîn, deserting to the usurper, with the greater part of his army, Kothbo'ddîn immediately retired towards Jâskes, a maritime town, forty leagues distant; and crossed the gulf to Kalagât, in Arabia. He continued a twelvemonth at this port, which, by his presence, threw exceedingly; the ships, bound from India to Hormûz, stopping there. At the year's end, he received advice, that Nâzomo'ddin was dead; and had ordained in his will, that the eldest of his two sons, Shâmba and Shâdi, should immediately repair to Kalagât; and, killing Shâh Kothbo'ddîn's foot, resign the kingdom to him, as his due. However the young prince did not think fit to obey the dying commands of his father.

His sons succeed;

On the other hand, Kothbo'ddîn seemed to be much concerned at his brother's death; and performed his obsequies with extraordinary pomp; putting himself, and all his attendants, in mourning. At the same time, he wrote consolatory letters to his nephews; offering to look upon them as his own sons. But they, little regarding their uncle, or his kind professions, behaved after such a manner, in the government of affairs, that the whole kingdom was offended at their follies and cruelties. Kothbo'ddîn, hearing of the disorderly proceedings of his nephews, prepared to invade them; but, in his passage over to Jakîn, one of the Arab towns in Persia, he was encountered by a great number of armed tarradas, sent by the young princes; which he engaged, and defeated. After this victory, he continued his voyage to Kostak; from which place Amîr Ayeb Shamfo'ddîn came to meet him, with a good number of men from Old Hormûz, to join his forces. From thence sailing to Jerûn, or New Hormûz, he landed at Karu, and possessed himself of that post.

^w Texeir. p. 405, & seqq.

His nephews, perceiving they were ruined, and could neither defend themselves, nor fly, delivered themselves ^{submit to} *Kothbo'ddin* up to their uncle ; who gave them the island of Bahrayn ^{dis;} to dwell in, with their followers. Shâh Kothbo'ddin's return considerably advanced the affairs of Jerûn, or Hormûz ; which had suffered considerably under the government of the two brothers. Peace ensued ; justice was administered ; the price of provisions fell ; and all, who had fled, or been banished by the usurpers, were restored to their houses and estates ^x.

In the mean time, Shamba and Shâdi, who were of a restless nature, had not been long at Bahrayn before they began to raise men, and equip vessels, in order to invade Hormûz. King Kothbo'ddin, being informed of their design, embarked to oppose them, with the greatest force he could levy. As soon as he arrived at Keys, where Shadi then was, he landed his men ; but, meeting with much opposition, proceeded but slowly. As those in the island were greatly strengthened, and the king's men were incensed that they held out so long, some of them, willing to put a speedy end to the enterprize, without orders, provoked Shâdi to an engagement. As that prince had the advantage on his side, he accepted the challenge ; and obtained the victory, with a great slaughter of the Hormûzians. Shâh Kothbo'ddin, on this defeat, retired to his vessels, and returned to Hormûz ; where, having recruited his forces, he revisited Key. Shâdi, not thinking himself safe in that place, went away to Bahrayn, where his brother was ; while the king, who found no resistance after that prince's departure, gave the plunder of the island to his soldiers ; and, leaving a good garrison there, returned to Hormûz, with an intent to prepare for an expedition against Bahrayn.

As soon as he had departed, the two brothers assembled all the forces they could levy in that island ; and went over to Keys, in hopes to recover it : but, when they were half-way, most of their officers deserted them, in order to join the king. Shâmba and Shâdi were not moved, by the desertion of their troops, to desist from their enterprise ; but, being refused admittance at Keys, proceeded on their way to Brokht. Kothbo'ddin had already sent a supply of men and ships to Dargân, a town near Lâst, in order to secure that island ; who, on the enemies arrival,

^x Texeir. p. 406, & seqq.

engaged them at break of day, and bravely repulsed them both by sea and land, with considerable loss.

*and quar-
rel.*

The two brothers, returning to Bahrayn, were at variance; each charging the other with the late disappointment. The difference ran so high, that, at length, Shâdi imprisoned Shâmba, and would have put him to death, had it not been for his mother, who reconciled them, and obtained his liberty. But Shâmba, after this transaction, not caring to remain in Bahrayn, went over to Persia, and settled near Shirâz, in a village called Fal; whence several great men of the kingdom of Hormûz draw their origin^y.

*Hejra 447.
A.D. 1346.*

Summer coming on, Shâh Kothbo'ddîn, king of Hormûz, resolved to pass that season at Nâlestân, a pleasant place in the country of Mogostân, in Persia, abounding with water and fruits: but, soon after his arrival, fell sick, and died in the year 447.

*Turân
Shâh.*

Turân Shân succeeded his father Kothbo'ddîn; and, proving a good prince, was loved and honoured by his subjects. As soon as he ascended the throne, he sent one Mahmûd Omar, a man of valour and experience, to govern the isle of Keys: nevertheless, Shâdi did not desist from his design of invading that island from Bahrayn. He accordingly landed there, and had several engagements with the governor; but finding he made no great progress in his enterprize, he tampered with a kinsman of his, who promised to deliver him up on the first opportunity. To bring this plot to bear, Shâdi pretended to come to an accommodation; and, to that end, demanded a conference with Mahmûd Omar; who too readily consenting, they had an interview. Shâdi, while they walked together, amused him with discourse, that he might not suspect his designs; and, when he had insensibly drawn him at a distance from his men, suddenly seized him and deprived him of his eye-sight. After which act of treachery, he took possession of the island.

Shâdi dies.

Turân Shân, informed of this transaction, embarked for Keys; and arrived so suddenly, that Shâdi was obliged, in a very dark night, to get off in a tarrankin; and fled to Laf, in the island of Brokht, or Queyshom. The king immediately pursued him; and, casting anchor at Dar-gân, near Lâft, those who were with Shâdi abandoned him, and repaired to Turân Shân. Shâdi, finding himself forsaken, re-embarked, and set sail, with such expe-

^y Texeir. p. 408, & seqq.

dition, that he got clear away. However, he did not long survive this disgrace : for, soon after his arrival at Bahrayn, he died of mere vexation, leaving a son very young ; on whom king Turân Shâh bestowed his father's possessions.

Shâmba, who had fled to Shirâz, hearing of his brother's death, hastened to Bahrayn ; where, finding the opportunity favourable, he seized on the island, and took a bloody revenge on all those, who, in the late troubles, had sided with Shâdi against him. He put many of them to death, without sparing his infant nephew ; whilst others fled the island for fear of the like treatment. However, Mîr Ajeb, a leading man of Bahrayn, resenting so much tyranny and insolence, with the assistance of his relations, and others who joined him, assaulted Shâmba's house, and killed him.¹ He then set at liberty one Ali Mohammed Palavân, whom Shâmba had imprisoned ; thinking, by his assistance, to usurp the sovereignty of the island. Ali not only consented, but, taking with him Sheykh Hâmed Râshîd, another Arab commander, went over to Katîf, in Arabia, and demanded some forces of the governor Sheykh Majed, under pretence of opposing Mîr Ajeb. The governor, supposing that these two intended to usurp the island of Bahrayn, not only refused to grant what they asked, but secured, and sent them in custody of an officer to Hormûz².

As soon as Turân Shâh was informed of what had happened at Bahrayn, he set sail for that island, and carried his prisoners along with him. On his arrival, Mîr Ajeb required of him the sovereignty of the island, in return for the service, which he pretended he had done him, in killing Shâmba. But the king refused his request, and resolved to punish him. Ajeb, suspicious of his design, left Manânia, the principal port-town of Bahrayn, and retired to Thiâr, another on the back of it ; where being found by the king's party, he was brought before him, and had his head struck off. As to the two prisoners, Turân Shâh, finding that they had not served against him, not only gave them their lives, but preferred them. Having settled the affairs of this island, he spent the rest of his life in peace ; and died in 779, after a reign of thirty years.

Mâffûd, his eldest son, mounted the throne on his father's decease, and enjoyed it peaceably during his life.

Shahabo'ddin, the second son, succeeded his brother Mâffûd ; and although in his time there were some com-

Hejra 779.
A.D. 1377.

¹ Texeir. p. 410, & seqq.

motions, yet they were neither considerable, nor difficult to suppress.

*Salgor
Shâh;
invaded by
Khalil.*

Salgor Shâh, the third son of Turân Shâh, next ascended the throne. In his reign, Sufi Khâlil possessed himself of all Persia, to the very shore opposite Jerûn; to which he would fain have passed over, but could not far want of shipping. At length he went away; and the king of Hormûz continued to possess seventy leagues along the coast, and twenty-eight within land, comprehending the Amadizes and Gaules (W), fierce and warlike nations.

Shâh Weïs. Shâh Weïs ascended the throne on the death of Sâlgör; and, as no disturbance happened during his reign, Hormûz throve considerably by the advantage of peace. Shâh Weïs dying,

A.D. 1508. *Seyfo'ddîn.* Seyfo'ddîn inherited the crown of Ormûz*. In his time, the Portuguese subdued this island, under the conduct of the renowned Alfonso de Albuquerque. This general sailed from Lisbon in March 1508, in company with Nunno da Cunna; from whom he parted in August, with seven ships, and four hundred and sixty soldiers; directing his course for the coast of Arabia and Persia, pursuant to orders received from the king of Portugal. He first touched at Kâlayât, or Kâlagât; and, concluding a peace with the governor, proceeded ten leagues farther to Kûriât; where being ill received, he stormed and took the town. He sailed eight leagues farther to Maskât, a place stronger than the former, and well provided with men, who flocked thither to defend it. But the governor, unwilling to hazard an assault, made peace with him, and sent provisions to his fleet; when, on a sudden, the cannon of the town began to play on his ships, and obliged him to draw off: for, having in the interim received a supply of two thousand men from Hormûz, the officers refused to stand to the treaty. But Albuquerque, landing his men next morning by day-break, attacked the town so boldly, that as the Portuguese entered at one gate, the Arabs fled out of another.

After having plundered Maskât, he passed on to Sohár, whose governor submitted to pay king Manuel the same tribute which he paid to the king of Hormûz. Orfukam, a town fifteen leagues farther, being deserted by its inha-

* Texeir. p. 413, & seqq.

(W) Texeira knows not whether the fiction (or romance) of Amadis de Gaul may not be derived from hence.

bitants,

bitants, was plundered : then he hoisted sail for Hormûz ; the conquest of which was the principal object of his voyage.

He arrived about the end of September ; at which time, *Albuquerque arrives at, and attacks Hormûz.* the king being but twelve years old, Hormûz was under the government of Khojâ Attâr, a man of parts and courage : who, hearing of Albuquerque's exploits, had laid an embargo on the ships in the harbour, and hired troops from the Persians and Arabs. So that, when the Portuguese fleet entered the port, there were in the city thirty thousand fighting men ; and in the harbour four hundred vessels, sixty of considerable bulk, with two thousand five hundred men on board. Albuquerque anchored among five of the largest ships ; firing his cannon, to strike a terror along the shore, which was soon covered with eight thousand men. Finding that no message came from Seyfo'ddîn, he sent for the captain of the largest ship, and told him he had orders to take the king of Hormûz into his protection, and grant him leave to trade in those seas, provided he paid a reasonable tribute : but in case of refusal, he was to make war ^b.

The message was delivered to the king, and Khojâ Attâr : who, after some delay, being pressed for an answer, sent word, that Hormûz used not to pay, but receive, tribute. Next morning discovered the walls, shore, and vessels, crowded with armed men ; while the windows and tops of houses were filled with both sexes, as spectators of what should ensue. Presently, the cannon beginning to play furiously on both sides, the enemy, by favour of the smoke, twice attacked the Portuguese ships, with one hundred and thirty boats well manned : but many were sunk, and the rest forced by the artillery to retire. By this time, several ships were sunk as well as taken, and thirty set on fire ; which cutting their cables, were driven flaming on the Persian coast, where they burned others which lay aground. This spectacle struck so great a terror into all the gazing multitude, that they fled the city ; and sending to offer Albuquerque whatever had been demanded, he put a stop to hostilities.

Khojâ Attâr would have eluded the agreement ; but, *The king on the general's threats, the articles were ratified upon submis-* oath. They imported, that the king of Hormûz did submit himself to king Manuel, with a tribute of fifteen

^b De Faria Port. Asia, vol. i. p. 126, & seqq. Maffey, Hist. Ind. lib. 2, & 3.

thousand sharafins (X) yearly; and should assign the Portuguese ground to build a fort upon. The fort was immediately begun at the point of Jerûn before mentioned, and much advanced in a few days: but the wazîr, who could not bear this incroachment, resolved to assassinate Albuquerque; and, for that purpose, urged him to give audience to ambassadors, which he pretended came from Persia. Finding his artifice did not succeed, he endeavoured to corrupt the Portuguese with money; and met with such success, that some of his captains opposed his designs, and gave intelligence of his small force to the enemy. A circumstance which animated Khojâ Attâr to break the peace.

Albuquerque retires. Albuquerque attempted to fire some ships in the arsenal, but failing, resolved to besiege the city, which he battered for eight days with his cannon.

The treaty sluded; Three of his captains drew up a paper of reasons against the enterprize, and left him at a time when the city must have surrendered for want of water. However, after failing to the island of Queyshom, and burning the town, he thought fit to return to the island of Sokâtra, finding he had but a few men left, and winter drawing on^c. But as soon as that season was passed, he sailed again for Hormûz; to sound the designs of the king, and his wazîr Khojâ Attâr. Having in the way taken and plundered Kalayât, he cast anchor before Hormûz, on the 13th of September, and sent notice to the king and his minister of his arrival. They answered that they were ready to pay the tribute agreed on, but would not consent to his building a fort. As to that which Albuquerque had begun, Khoja Attâr had finished it, the better to oppose him. He resolved again to besiege the island, and stationed his ships accordingly; but the success did not answer his expectation. One of his captains, with eight private men, were killed, and he himself in great danger. He at length returned to India, and next year succeeded Don Francisco de Almeyda in the dignity of viceroy.

ratified at last; Albuquerque was diverted from the reduction of Hormûz, by other conquests, for the three first years of his government: but in 1514, resolving to complete his design, he set sail from Goa, on the 20th of February, with a

^c De Faria, p. 130, & seqq. Maff. lib. 3, 4.

(X) Sharafin, or Xerefin, is about half a crown.

fleet of twenty-seven ships, having on board one thousand five hundred Portuguese, besides six hundred Malabars and Kanârins. On the 26th of March, he anchored at Hormûz, and sent to demand of the new king (Y), and his wazîr, Reïs Nûro'ddîn, the delivery of the fort he had begun there, with the instrument of submission, made of that kingdom by his predecessor Sayfo'ddîn; who was since dead. Every thing was consented to, because there was no power to resist, and the treaty ratified by the wazîr. After this pacification, Albuquerque went on with building the fort; and on a scaffold near it, received an ambassador, who came from shâh Ismâîl, king of Persia, to conclude a treaty of peace. Before the arrival of the viceroy, Reïs Ahmed had been sent to Hormûz, with a design to seize it for Ismâîl; and, having gotten the ascendant over the king, had brought people secretly into the city to kill him, when a favourable opportunity should offer. To deliver him from this danger, Albuquerque procured an interview with him, though not without much reluctance on the part of the wazîr; who entering foremost in a rude manner, and being known to be armed, as well as some of his followers, was presently slain by the viceroy's command. When the fort was finished, Albuquerque persuaded the king, that it was for the safety of the city to remove all its cannon thither. And thus was this rich kingdom brought into subjection to the Portuguese.

*and a fort
built;*

The native kings were still allowed to reign from father to son, with this difference: that what formerly they held independently of any other power, they afterwards enjoyed by grant of the king of Portugal; and had only the government of their Mohammedan subjects; nor even that without some restriction. They maintained the state of kings, and had considerable customs: but the Portuguese governors converted the greater part of the revenue to their own use. As his Hormûzian majesty could not go out of the island without leave of the governors, they

*Condition
of the
kings.*

(Y) His name was Tor, according to Mafsey. Soon after Albuquerque's departure the first time from Hormûz, Attâr died of old age; and Nuro'ddîn, governor of the city, flew Seyfo'ddîn, setting up his bro-

ther Tor, and placing his own friends in the chief offices of state; among whom were the three brothers, Modhafer, Ali, and Ahmed. Maf. Hist. Ind. lib. 5.

for some time used to grant it, but afterwards wholly debarred him of that liberty. In this condition Hormûz continued; the natural kings succeeding one another, under the dominion of the Portuguese, for the space of one hundred and fourteen years; till 1622, when it was taken from them by the Persians, assisted by the English ^u.



C H A P. XX.

The History of the Turkmáns and Uzbeks.

S E C T. I.

The Origin, Name, Branches, and Settlements of the Turkmáns.

Oriental
Turkmáns.
Their ori-
gin and
name.

JEMALO'DDIN, in his history dedicated to Mirza Iskânder, a prince descended from Timûr, or Tamerlan, says, that the Turkmáns formerly dwelt in the country beyond Tûrkestân: from whence removing in great numbers into Persia, the inhabitants of those parts, who observed they had a great resemblance of the Turks, their neighbours, and came from the same quarter, called them Turkmáns. According to Abu'lghâzî Khân, the Turkmáns are sprung from the ancient inhabitants of Turkestân; and dwelt in the sandy grounds with the tribe of Kânkli, till, separating themselves, at length they went to inhabit towns and villages ^x.

First mi-
gration.

Whether the Turkmáns quitted their native country by constraint, or choice, does not distinctly appear: but this is certain, that in the reign of sultân Sanjar, sixth sultân of the Seljûk Turks of Irân, a colony of Turkmáns, under the name of Gâz, and Cheshm Gáz, settled in the countries of Baklân, Kandar, Kotlân, and Khafanian, in the province of Badakshân, spreading themselves within a little way of the city Bâkh, to the number of forty thousand families. In return for this liberty, they agreed to pay the sultân, yearly, twenty-four thousand

^u De Faria, p. 140, & seqq. Maff. lib. 4 & 5. Tex. Hist. Pers. p. 415. ^x Abu'lghazi Khân. Genealog. Hist. of the Turks, &c. p. 32.

sheep,

sheep, by way of tribute: but the officer who levied this tribute, happening to dispute with their chiefs about the quality of the sheep which they delivered, they came from words to blows; and in the fray the officer was killed. After this transaction, the Turkmans ceased paying the tribute for some years; during which, the sultân's kitchen was supplied with the usual number of sheep at the expence of his steward; who at length complained to the governor of Bâlkh, that he could furnish no more provision of that kind till the Turkmans paid the tribute as formerly.

This affair being reported to the king's divân, or council, the Turkmans were adjudged to pay thirty thousand sheep, instead of twenty-four thousand, which they paid before; and to receive an officer from the court, that there might be no failure for the future. But the Turkmans, refusing to admit any officers, excepting those of their own nation, made away with him whom the sultân had appointed. The governor of Bâlkh marched out to chastise their insolence; but the Turkmans, routing his forces, killed both him and his son. On the news of this defeat, sultân Sanjar marched in person against these strangers: who, terrified at his approach, sent deputies to implore his clemency; and offer, besides the usual tribute, to pay two rubles of silver (about two marks) for every family. The sultân was inclined to pardon them, and accept of the satisfaction; but he was dissuaded by the chief officers of his army, who engaged him in a very unfortunate war; for his troops were entirely defeated, and himself, with all his women, taken^y by the Turkmans; among whom he remained a prisoner for some years.

The Turkmans afterwards migrated into Persia, and settled in several provinces of it, by favour of the princes both of the Seljûk and Karazmian dynasties, who employed them in their service: at length, they moved westward into the countries of Azerbejân and Armenia; where their power increasing, by the accession of numbers, who retired into those parts, either through choice, or to avoid the arms, first, of the Karazmians, and then of the Mogols, under Jenghîz Khân, they at length founded two monarchies, of which we shall treat hereafter. Both the Seljûk and Othmân sultâns have been considered as of the race of Turkmans, by the sultâns of other Turkish

Settle in Armenia,

^y D'Herbel, Bibl. Orient. art. Turkman.

dynasties: but whether this be fact or not, it seems a very difficult matter to determine.

and Karazm.

At the same time that several tribes, or bodies, of Turkmans migrated in the manner just mentioned, another part of them staid behind, and settled about the banks of the river Amû, and the shore of the Caspian sea; where they still possess a great number of towns and villages in the country of Altarabâd and Karazm, which they inhabited long before the irruption of the Tatars. From these two different establishments of the Turkmans, they may be divided into eastern and western. The former of these have been hitherto little known to the European historians and geographers; although they are much more numerous at present than the western Turkmans: for those authors, who, before D'Herbelot, had given extracts from the oriental writers, take little notice of them; and others relate no more than what occurs in the Byzantine, and such western historians who lived at too great a distance to be acquainted with their affairs.

Oriental Turkmans.

Abu'lghazi, khân of Karazm, who was a great enemy to the Turkmans, settled in that country of which he was sovereign, mentions them in his history on several occasions; sometimes, according to the parts which they inhabited, as when he speaks of the Turkmans of Mankishlâk, Abu'lkhân, and Dehistân; which last territory belongs to Persia; but oftener on account of their different tribes or branches, of which the chief are, 1. Adâkli Khîsfer-ili; dwelling on both sides of the Amû, from the province of Pîsinga, to that of Karakizet. 2. Ali-ili; inhabiting from the province of Karakizet to the mountain of Abu'lkhân. 3. Ti-u-âzi; possessing the rest of the banks of the Amû, from Abu'lkhân to the sea: these three tribes are furred Utzil². All the country from the Caspian sea to Urgenj, the capital of Karazm, is called the land of Turkman.

Way of living;

The oriental Turkmans are tall and robust, with square flat faces like the occidental; only they are more swarthy, and have a greater resemblance of the Tatars. In summer, they wear long robes of calico, or thick cloth; and in winter, gowns of sheep-skin. Cattle and husbandry afford them subsistence according to the different parts they possess. In winter, they dwell in towns and villages about the river Amû, and towards the shores of the Caspian sea: in summer, they encamp where they can find

² Genealog Hist. p. 235. Ibid. p. 256.

the best pasturage, and good water. They are all Mohammedans: such as are settled in the country of Astarabâd generally follow the Persian sect; but the tribes who dwell in Karazm, conform with the Usbek Tatars in sentiments of religion.

These Turkmans are extremely turbulent, and submit *their charracter* with great reluctance to the Tatar yoke in Karazm. They are very brave, and at least as good horsemen as their lords the Usbeks; by whom being treated as conquered subjects, they are obliged to pay tribute, and suffer several other impositions from those rigid masters. But the Turkmans, who dwell under the dominion of the Persians, are much better treated. Both together may amount to about one hundred thousand families.

When the Usbeks entered Karazm, under Ilbars Khân, *subject to the Usbeks of Karazm.* that prince, after having expelled the Persians, was joyfully received by the Sârts, or old inhabitants, and proclaimed khân in 1505; but they met with great opposition from the Turkmans. However, under Sofian Soltân, third Usbek khân, they submitted to pay a considerable tribute; part in sheep, and part in merchandize^a. Yet, not brooking this subjection, they often refused to discharge that obligation, till they were compelled by force. They likewise took part in the disputes, which, from time to time, arose among the Usbek princes; who sometimes carried their point by means of their assistance. This importance naturally increased the stubborn humour of the Turkmans, and made the Usbeks jealous; insomuch that, although they had been very instrumental in setting Abu'lghâzi Soltân on the throne of Karazm, and were the first who proclaimed him khân, in the year 1644; yet, in remembrance of the troubles they had occasioned in the reigns of his predecessors, he cut off two thousand of them at one time by treachery. And, being resolved to reduce them so low, that they should not be able to raise disturbances for the future, he made several expeditions against them, in which they suffered severely^b. We find by the latest accounts of travellers, that the Turkmans still maintain a footing in the abovementioned countries, and produce men eminent for their valour, and experience in war; of which the late Nadîr Shâh, or Tamasp Kulî Khân, the conqueror of Persia and India, may be produced as an instance. This is all that we

^a Jenkinson. Voy. to Boghar. in Purch. vol. iii. p. 237. Bentink, in Genealog. Hist. p. 397. 426, & seqq. ^b Ibid. p. 349 & seqq.

think necessary to say of the oriental Turkmans; who, having always been subject to the dominion of other princes, never erected any sovereignty of their own.

Occidental Turkmans, their various fortune.

The occidental Turkmans, who for a long time possessed the western provinces of Persia, with the provinces westward as far as the Euphrates, are supposed by some authors to have separated from their brethren of the East, when they first departed out of Turkestan; and marching westward through the countries situated to the north of the Caspian sea, thence passed southward into Armenia, and the other provinces, which they afterwards subdued: but it seems more probable that they migrated thither in the manner we have before suggested (Z). These Turkmans became very potent under two dynasties, or successions, of their princes; and were, for some time, masters of a great part of Iran, or Persia at large (at least of those provinces which the Seljuk Sultans of Irak had under their dominion); after they had driven out the descendants of Timur, with all the Tatars, by the valour and conduct of Usun Hassan, founder of the second dynasty: but since the race of Haydr, or the shahs, have possessed themselves of the Persian empire, and the Othman Turks become masters of all the provinces west of the Tigris, the occidental Turkmans have been reduced to a very low state. Nevertheless they still enjoy the finest plains along the banks of the Euphrates; but from being lords, they are now become subjects of the Turks; who, notwithstanding all their endeavours, have not been able absolutely to subdue their restless disposition.

Their dwellings. They dwell under tents of thick felt, without any fixed habitations. In make and features they resemble the oriental Turkmans; but their women are very fair. They wear in winter long gowns of sheep-skins, with peaked bonnets of the same; and in summer vests of calico, shaped like the kaftans of the Turks. They are good horsemen, and very brave: they profess Mohammedism; but perform the duties of it no better than their brethren in the East. They have their own chiefs, or heads of tribes, who govern them according to their laws. However, they

(Z) Al Jannabi says, that these western Turkmans left Turkestan, their native country, in the time of Argun Khan. Pocock. Suppl. ad Hist. Compend. Dynast. p. 58. Argun

was fourth Khan of the Mo-guls, successors of Hulakû, in Persia; he began his reign in 682 or 683 of the Hejra, and died in 690, or A. D. 1291.

are

are obliged to pay tribute to the Othmân Soltân, and to furnish a certain number of horsemen whenever the Porte requires it. In winter they stroll in quest of pasture along the banks of the Euphrates ; and in summer encamp in the valleys, inclosed within the mountains of Armenia, towards the springs of that river and the Tigris.

These Turkmâns are naturally great robbers ; but the *Character* Turkish pashâs, who command in those parts, take great *and* care to restrain their rapine ; because they are interested *strength.* in securing the roads, as the frequent passage of the kara-wâns makes a considerable article in their revenue.

The occidental Turkmâns are able to arm about forty thousand men. They are continually fighting with the Kurds, or Kyurds, their neighbours to the east ; and with the Arabs, who border on them to the south ; because these two nations often come, and carry away their wives and daughters ^c. They sometimes march to the number of two or three hundred families together, to secure themselves against the Arabs ; attended with such numerous droves of camels, goats, and sheep, that the land appears covered with them for the space of two leagues : so that they pass for the richest shepherds in the Othmân empire. They have some fire-arms among them ; although they in general make use only of the bow.

Both men and women are industrious. Even on the road they employ themselves either in spinning, or grinding their grain with little hand-mills, placed on the back of their camels ; which carry a bag also on each side ; one full of what is to be ground, and the other to receive it when ground. Their language is the Turkish, a little corrupted, and different from the vulgar tongue. They likewise approach nearer the Turks, in dress and religion, than any other nation inhabiting the Othmân empire.

The two dynasties founded by them in the west of Asia were distinguished by the names of Kara Koyunlû, or the *Black Sheep*, and Ak Koyunlû, or the *White Sheep* ; so named from the figures of those animals painted, or woven in their ensigns or colours. But it cannot be expected that in a general history we should enter into a detail of their transactions, which are in a great measure included in the reigns of Timûr Bek, and his successors.

^c Bentink ubi supra. p. 424.

S E C T. II.

The Origin and Affairs of the Usbeks, till their Settlements in Great Bukharia and Karazm.

Usbeks
whence
named.

THE Usbeks derive their name from Usbek, the seventh khân of that country, descended from Jenghîz Khân, which his subjects assumed in honour of him, for having introduced the Mohammedan religion into his dominions. This prince tried his fortune twice against Abbûsaid Khan, the last sovereign of the Mungls in Irân, or Persia at large; and died in the year 1342: but to give our readers the history of the Usbeks and their khâns more distinctly, it will be necessary to ascend as high as Juji, or Tushi Khan, eldest son of Jenghîz Khan, and first khân of Kipjâk.

Bâtu's
conquests.

This prince intended to make war on the Cherkas (A), Bashkîrs (B), Urûs (C), and other bordering nations; but death preventing him, his father Jenghîz Khan resolved that Bâtu, son of the deceased Juji, should prosecute the design. Yet it was obstructed a second time by the death of that conqueror, till it was revived by Ugaday (or Oktay), successor of Jenghîz Khan, in the eastern parts of Tartary; who, after his return from his expedition into Kitay, sent Bâtu with a numerous army into the countries above mentioned; where, after he had taken many cities from the Urûs, he at length besieged Moskow; near which the Urûs, with their allies the Nemetz, had entrenched themselves.

Sheybâni
Khân;

Bâtu, having tried in vain for three months to force them, his brother Sheybâni, who accompanied him in the expedition, procured of him a reinforcement of six thousand men; then causing all his troops to alight, at day-break attacked the enemy behind, while Bâtu charged them in front, with such bravery, that they fled, after having lost seventy thousand of their best soldiers. This great victory facilitated the conquest of several other cities and provinces. Orda, surnamed Itzen, eldest son of Juji, to reward Sheybâni's good services, made him a present of

(A) Or Cherkassians; the Italians write Circassi; whence we corruptly Circassians, instead of Chirkassians.

(B) A tribe of Turks or

Tatars, called Paskatir by Rubruquis; dwelling in the north part of the kingdom of Astrakhan.

(C) Rus, or the Russians.

fifteen thousand families. Bâtû supplied him with an equal number, giving him, at the same time, all the places conquered from the Russians and their allies; with as many people out of the tribes of the Kuris Naymâns, Karliks, and Vigûrs, as were necessary for the guard of those towns, *his settlement.* and support of his court: but on condition, that, settling in the country between Bâtû's dominions and the lands of Orda Itzen, he should pass the summer about the mountains of Arâl and river Jaïk; and the winter more to the south, about Karakum, Arakum, and the rivers Sîr and Sara Su. Accordingly, he sent one of his sons to take possession of the Russian and Nemetzian cities, where he and his descendants dwelt.

Sheybani Khân, who left twelve sons, was succeeded by Bâhadr, his second; and Bâhadr Khân by Badakul, the eldest of his own children. After Badakul Khân, his only son Mengu Timûr ascended the throne. He had six sons; from the last of whom, Bekkondi, was descended Kujuni Khân; who after forty years reign in the country of Turân, becoming blind with age, was driven out by the Russians, in 1594, and retired to the Mankats. Mengu Timûr dying, Fulâd, his third son, succeeded: after whose death, his sons, Dawlat Sheykh Oglân, and Arabshâh, divided the dominions; dwelling in summer towards the river Jaïk, and in winter about the Sîr.

Dawlet Sheykh had a son, named Abû'lgayir; who, *Abûlgayir Khân.* made himself formidable to all his neighbours. He begat eleven sons; of whom Shabadakh Soltân, the eldest, had two: the first Mahamed, farnamed Shâhbakt; the other Mahamed Soltân; whose son, Obeyd Khân, reigned in Great Bûkhâria. The second son of Abû'lgayir was Khoja Mahamed; who being a prince of weak intellects, the Usbecks called him Khoja Amtintak. His son, Janibek, was as foolish as his father; and Iskander Khân, the son of Janibek, had as little understanding as his father and grandfather: however, he was very devout; and loved hunting and hawking. The son of Iskander was Abdo'l-lah Khân; whose son, Abdo'l-mumin, was the last of that branch of Sheybâni Khân; of which two princes, who were men of understanding, something farther will be said hereafter ^a.

Arâb Shâh, the other son of Fulâd, was succeeded, in his share of his father's dominions, by his son Haji Tau-lay; who had his son Timûr Sheykh for his successor.

^a Abu'lghazi Khân. Hist. Turks, &c p. 205. part. 8. cap. 1.

Timûr Sheykh was a prince of great hopes: but dying young, and without issue, all his subjects retired to the dominions of other princes, excepting the Vigûrs; who, when they went to take leave of the khân's widow, being informed by her, that she was three months gone with child, they resolved to stay till the time of her delivery; when she brought forth a son, called Yadigar. The Naymans understanding this event, returned to their obedience: and ever since the Vigûrs have complimented them with the left hand; which is the most honourable post.

Yadigar Khan.

Bûrga Soltân.

Yadigar Khân had four sons: the first, named Bûrga Soltân, was a prince of great courage; he lived in the time of Abû'Igayir Khân abovementioned. Abusaïd Mîrza, who then reigned in Mawara'lナahr, after slaying Abdo'latif Mîrza, over-ran the whole country, and forced his son, Mahamed Juki, to fly for refuge to Abû'Igayir; whose wife was Juki's aunt. Some time after, news being brought that Abûsaïd had marched, with all his forces, towards Khoraffân, and from thence to Mâzânderân, Abû'Igayir sent thirty thousand men, under Bûrga Soltân and Mîrza Mahamed Juki, towards Tâshkunt; which surrendered without opposition. Proceeding thence to Shâh Rukhîya, or Fenakant, it was soon taken. They then passed the Sir, and turned towards Samarkand; whose governor, Amîr Mafiet, advancing to meet them, was entirely defeated. After this action, they reduced all the towns in the countries of Kuzîn, Karminâ, and Mawara'lナahr, excepting Samarkand and Bokhâra.

His exploits and friend-ship.

Abusaïd Mîrza, who, on the first news of this invasion, turned back with all his forces, having arrived at Bâlk, Bûrga Soltân was for preventing his crossing the Amû: but Mahamed Juki, and the lords of the country, contrary to his advice, repassed the Sir, and took refuge in Shâh Rukhîya; which, after four months siege, surrendered to Abusaïd, in 860. Some time after this incident, Mûsa Bey, who dwelt in the dominions of Yadigar Khân, having been defeated by Khojash Mîrza, another lord, fled for assistance to Bûrga Soltân. This prince, who had a great respect for him, was willing to have succoured him: but perceived he could not do it effectually, till his father, Yadigar, was proclaimed khan; though he had already been acknowledged as such by his subjects. As soon as this affair was settled, Bûrga Soltân raised troops, and took the field with Mûsa Bey; advancing through the snow, which fell very thick: nor would turn back, and put off the expedition to another time, although his troops suffered

fered more and more every day. At length, when importuned by Mûsa Bey, and his officers, he declared, that he would give over the pursuit, in case they did not, within two days, hear any news of the enemy. After this declaration, in crossing a high mountain, they discovered troops marching in the valley beneath; and finding by his spies, that it was Khojash Mîrza, whom he was in quest of, he advanced with his forces; and attacked the enemy so vigorously, that he entirely defeated them. A great number of men were killed, and among the rest Khojash; whose daughter, Malay Khânzâdek, being found among the captives, Bûrga Soltân married her in the winter-quarters, which he took up thereabouts.

Meanwhile, Abû'lgayir Khân was become so formidable to all the neighbouring princes, that, uniting their forces, they declared war against him; and, having defeated his troops by dint of numbers, put him to death, with such of his children as fell into their hands. On this occasion, Bûrga Soltân, willing to fish in troubled water, appropriated to himself certain lands and subjects belonging to the deceased khân, notwithstanding the great friendship which had always subsisted between them; and that injustice cost him his life: for some years after, Shâh Bakht Soltân returning into the dominions of his grandfather Abû'lgayir Khân, all the ancient subjects of that prince came and submitted to him. But although he had thus re-entered into the possession of his patrimony, he did not immediately demand restitution of Bûrga Soltân: on the contrary, dissembling his resentment, he lived in good understanding with him; not doubting but time would furnish him with an opportunity of revenge.

At length, in 886, Hejra 886.
A.D. 1481. Bûrga Soltân happening to fix his winter-quarters near those of Shâh Bâkht Soltân, who was posted on the banks of the Sîr; this latter ordered a great number of his people to attend him, under pretence of a hunting-match next day: but, setting forward at midnight, he on a sudden turned towards Bûrga Soltân's camp, which he reached at break of day. He pressed forward directly to the Soltân's tent; but Bûrga, on hearing the noise, leaped out of bed; and, wrapping himself in a robe of fable, passed out at one side of the tent, as the soldiers entered the other. In this condition he fled to a pond at some distance, and hid himself among the reeds.

In the mean time, those who had been sent by shâh Bâkht Soltân to pursue the fugitives, having met with a Vigûr of distinction, named Munga, he told them that he

*Injuries
Shâh Bâkht
Soltân,*

*who sur-
prises and
puts him
to death.*

he was the person they looked for : and being asked by shâh Bâkht, who easily perceived the deceit, what were his reasons for acting in this manner ? replied, he had so many gations to Bûrga Soltân, that he thought it his duty to risque any thing to deliver him from danger, and judged that his personating him would create a delay, which might secure his escape. This answer exceedingly pleased shâh Bâkht, and gave him a high idea of Munga's virtue : however, he did not forbear searching after Bûrga Soltân, but sent out men a second time ; and as it had snowed that night, some of them happened to discover the prints of bare feet; which brought them to the place where he lay concealed. In this condition, they led him to shâh Bakht Soltân; who commanded him to be put to death immediately, and seized upon all his subjects ^b.

Khoja Mahamed.

Khoja Mahamed Soltân, the son of Abû'lgayîr Khân, who had accompanied his nephew in this expedition, espoused the widow of Bûrga Soltân, daughter of Khojash Mirza above mentioned, called Malay Khânzâdeh. This Khoja Mahamed is the same who, for his simplicity, was named Khoja Amtintak; and although every body knew that the widow of Bûrga Soltân was with child at the death of her husband, yet he was willing to have it thought that Jâni Bek, of whom she was delivered six months after, was his own son; and for such indeed he must have passed, had his foolishness been a proof in the case.

Uzbek dynasties.

Although, by this misfortune which happened to their father, the children of Bûrga Soltân were deprived of their patrimony, yet in the sequel, they acquired new dominions ; to which the conquests, atchieved by shâh Bakht Soltân, cleared the way for them. And here it may be proper to observe, that the descendants of Sheybâni Khân established two considerable dynasties in the countries to the south of the river Sîr: the first in great Bukhâria, possessed by those of the branch of Abû'lgayir; the second in Karazm, whose khâns were of the posterity of Yadigar Khân, of whom we shall treat in order.

^b Abu'lghazi Khan. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 210, & seqq.

S E C T. III.

The Uſbek Khâns of Great Bukhâria.

THE memoirs, transmitted to us from the Oriental *Introducti-*
tion, speak but very little, and confusedly, of the Uſbek
 historians, who have reigned in this large region,
 which has been already described. They give us neither
 all their names, in order of succession, nor the time when
 their respective reigns began, or ended. What is more
 extraordinary, although the dominion of the Uſbecks still
 subsists, both in that country and Karazm, yet the authors,
 from whose hands we have received those extracts, repre-
 sent it as extinct above two hundred years ago. How-
 ever, we learn from other quarters, that their power is
 still in being; although those authors afford little more
 particulars concerning them: but the Shajarek Turki of
 Abûl'ghâzi, khân of Karazm, who was an Uſbek himself,
 published in English, not many years since, furnisheth us
 with a series of the affairs of his own country in the reigns
 of its khâns, down to the middle of the last century.
 With the history of Karazm he hath occasionally mixed
 that of Great Bukhâria, on account of the wars, which
 happened from time to time between those two states; so
 that it affords the best memoirs concerning these Uſbecks
 to be met with any where.

After Shâh Bâkht Soltân had surprised and put to death Khan Shâh
 Bûrga Soltân, in the manner before related, he, by de-
 grees, subdued all the neighbouring princes in Tartary.
 Having, by a long train of victories, considerably aug-
 mented his forces, he entered Great Bukhâria, with a nu-
 merous army, in 904; and made himself master of it, A.D. 1498.
 after he had driven out Soltân Bâbr, the last of the de-
 scendents of Timûr Bek in that country; and from this
 year is his reign dated. Shâh Bâkht, with an intent to
 extend his conquests, passed the Jihûn, and invaded Kho-
 rassân; where he was opposed by Soltân Husseyin Mirza,
 who obtained some signal victories over the Uſbecks, and
 designed to have expelled them. For this end, he raised
 a numerous army, in order to invade Great Bukhâria; A.D. 1505.
 but dying by the way at Wadekis, in 911, Shâh Bâkht,
 in his turn, invaded Bâdi Azzamân, the son and suc-
 ceſſor of Soltân Husseyin; who, not being able to oppose
 him, abandoned the country to the enemy, and fled to
 Mod. Vol. V. S Khan-

Kandahâr ; where raising forces, he returned to meet the Uzbek ; but, being defeated, fled into Persia, to Shâh Ismaël Sofi ^c.

Mean while, Shâh Bâkht Soltân conquered the greater part of Khoraffân, and put to death all those of the family of Soltân Huffayn Mirza, who fell into his hands ; so that, as numerous as this family was but a little while before, not more than two or three of them escaped the slaughter. He afterwards marched into Karazm, which had been under Soltân Huffayn's dominion, and subdued it also. Five or six years after this revolution, Shâh Ismaël, espousing Bâdi Azzamân's cause, marched against the Uzbeks, and, meeting them near Marû, a bloody battle was fought, wherein Shâh Bâkht was killed, with the greater part of his army, after he had reigned twelve years. In consequence of this action, Karazm, and most of what the Uzbeks had acquired in Khoraffân, fell under the dominion of Shâh Ismaël ; but, on his death, Karazm revolted to the Uzbeks.

A.D. 1512. Shâh Bakht Khân was succeeded by Kushânji Khân ; who is reckoned the most noble and powerful of all the Uzbek princes who reigned in Great Bukhâria. In 918, Soltân Bâbr returned from India ; and, being joined by

Khâjâ Kusb-
anji. Ahmed Ispâhâni, passed the Jihûn, and ravaged the country about Kârshi. In short, they had almost reduced the whole country, when Kushânji Khân, taking the field with an army, met and defeated them. The Persian general was killed on the spot ; and Bâbr fled back to India. In A.D. 1539. 936, Kushânji Khân marched into Persia against Shâh Tahmâsh, son of Ismaël ; but was defeated, and retired to his own dominions. After this defeat, he returned to Marû, and would again have broken into Persia ; but a peace being concluded between the two monarchs, Kushânji went back to Samarkand ; where he died the same year, after a reign of twenty-eight years.

A.D. 1542. This prince was succeeded by his son Abusâid Khân ; who reigned four years, without doing any thing remarkable ; and died in 939 ^d.

Khâjâ Abu-
saïd. Khâjâ
Obeyd. Obeyd Khân succeeded Abusâid, and was the son of Mohammed Soltân, brother of Shâh Bâkht Khân, who reigned in Great Bukhâria. This prince, entering Khoraffân, took some cities ; while the Uzbeks of Karazm

^c Abulgh. ubi supra, p. 222. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 38, 163. art. Abusâid Mirza, and Miran Shâh ; also Tex. Hist. Pers. p. 320. ^d Tex. Hist. Pers. p. 335. D'Herb. Bibl. Orient. p. 771. art. Schaibek.

invaded it on their side, Shâh Tahmâsp thought fit to conclude a peace with those unwelcome guests. This khân, in conjunction with the khâns of Samarkand and Tashkunt, in 949, entered that country; which they over-ran, seizing Avâniš Khân, and all the princes of his family, whom he divided, together with the towns, among his confederates. Dîn Mahammed Soltân, eldest son of Avâniš Khân, invading Karazm, as soon as Obeyd Khân was withdrawn, retook Khaynk and Urghenj. Obeyd Khân returned with a numerous army; but being met the same year by Dîn Mahammed, with much inferior forces, was entirely defeated; and the princes, his relations, restored by an exchange of prisoners^e.

About the year 957, Obeyd Khân, entering Khorâffân, took Marû from the Persians; but growing jealous of the governor, and sending an army to displace him, that officer surrendered it to Dîn Mahammed, then khân of Karazm. Nûr Mahamed Soltân, grandson of Dîn Mahammed Khân, being envied the possession of his grandfather's estate in Khorâffân, by the princes of his family, they combined to take it from him. Hereupon he delivered up his four cities of Marû, Nasay, Yaurfurdi, and Duruhn, to Obeyd Khân; imagining that this prince would leave him in possession, and be content with receiving tribute from him; but he found himself deceived. The time of Obeyd Khân's death is not mentioned. According to Abû'lghâzi Khân, he must have reigned above fifty years, and died about 1584.

Obeyd Khân seems to have been succeeded by Iskânder Khân, son of Jâni Bek, son of Khoja Mahammed, son of Abû'lgayir Khân, who reigned in Kipjâk. There is nothing remarkable mentioned relating to this prince, who was not right in his senses. On the death of his predecessor, Nûr Mahammed recovered his four cities out of the hands of the Bukhârian Uzbeks. Shâh Abbâs I. of Persia, being also desirous to profit by that event, took Marû from him^f. We find nothing which can give light, either as to the beginning, end, or length, of his reign.

Abdo'llah Khân, son of Iskânder Khân, some years after the death of Ali Soltân, which happened in 1571, invaded Karazm; but retired, on the approach of Hajim, or Azîm, Khân. Some time after, the sons of the latter having stripped a Turkish ambassador at Urghenj, who was on his return from Great Bukhâria, Abdo'llah Khân

^e Abulgh. ubi supra, p. 253, 256.

^f Abul. p. 278.

entered Karazm a second time, with a great army; and, having conquered it chiefly by fraud, carried ten princes of the khân's family into Bukhâria; where he put them all to death.

In the mean time Hajîm Khân retired into Persia to Shâh Abbâs. Two years after this retreat, Abdo'llah Khân invading Khorâsfân, Hajîm Khân took the opportunity, while the shâh marched against the invader, to surprise Urghenj and Khayuk; but those places were soon recovered again by the troops of Abdo'llah Khân; who in person besieged Hazarâsh, and reduced it. He afterwards returned into Great Bukhâria; where he died in the year 1540, having reigned but six months ^g.

Hejra 947.

Khân Ab-

do'l'momîn.

Abdo'l'momîn Khân, son of Abdo'llah Khân, by a daughter of Dîn Mahamed, khân of Karazm, succeeded his father. Being at the time of his father's death in Khorâsfân, he set forward to return home; but, on his way, at Zamîn on the river Amû, was slain by his own people ^h.

Hej. 1030.

Imâm Kuli Khân, son of Yar Mahamed Soltân, succeeded Abdo'l'momîn Khân. In the year 1620, Arap (or Arab) Mahamed, khân of Karazm, having been defeated by his two rebellious sons; Abû'lghâzi Soltân, who had joined his father, fled, after the battle, into Great Bukhâria, and was received kindly by the khân. In 1622, Isfândiar Soltân, having recovered Karazm, and put his two rebellious brothers to death, Abû'lghâzi returned to Urghenj; but his subjects leaving the country on the appearance of a comet, he retired to Turkestan; where he staid two years at the court of Tûrsum Khân, and then went into Great Bukhâria to Imâm Kûli Khân; who received him but coldly, because he had first taken refuge with his enemy: he returned again to Karazm on the invitation of the Turkmâns. Imâm Kûli Khân died about the time that Abû'lghâzi Khân was proclaimed khân of Karazm.

Khân Na-

dir Ma-

hamed.

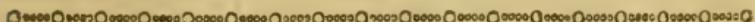
He was succeeded by his brother, Nadîr Mahamed Khân. In 1644, the Turkmâns, who resided about Kayuk and Hazarâsh, in Karazm, refusing to submit to Abû'lghâzi upon his being proclaimed khân, put themselves under the protection of Nadîr Mahamed Khân; who conferred the government of those two places on his grandson, Khisse-ran Soltân; but soon after, recalling him, he sent one of his lords to command in his room. In the mean time he

^g Abul. p. 290, 300 & seq. ^h Ibid. p. 309 & seq.

was

was himself dethroned, in 1646, by his vassal lords, for his tyranny¹.

He had for his successor his son Abdo'lazîz Khân. This *Khân Ab-* prince having formed a design to conquer the country of *dulaziz*. Bâlkh, its sovereign, Subhân Kûli Khân, sent to intreat assistance of Abû'lghâzi Khân; who, laying hold of so fair an opportunity to revenge the injuries done to his family by Abdo'llâh Khân, entered Great Bukhâria for several years successively, destroyed several towns, and committed great ravages. At length, in 1658, a peace was concluded between them, as will be related more at large hereafter. Since that time we have no regular account of the khâns of this country.



C H A P. XXI.

Kingdom of Karazm.

S E C T. I.

A Description of Karazm, its Name, Extent, Soil and Produce, Rivers and Lakes.

KARAZM, or Karezm, as this country is called by *Abû'lghâzi Khân*, and the Persian writers, is pronounced by the Arabs Khowarazm; it was known to the ancient Greeks by the name of *Khorâsmia*, as appears from Herodotus, Ptolemy, and other authors of that nation. It was in this country that Kay Khoşrû, third king of Persia, of the Kayamian race, defeated and slew Sheïdah, son of Afrâsiab, king of Turkestân; and the facility with which this victory was gained, gave name to this province; for *Kowarezm*, in the Persian language, signifies *an easy victory*. *Name and bounds.*

This kingdom is at present bounded on the north by the country of Turkestân, and the dominions of the great khân of the Eluths, or Kalmûks; on the east by Great Bukhâria, from which it is separated partly by the mountains of Irdâr^k, and partly by the deserts of Karak and Gâznah; on the south by the provinces of Astarabâd and Kho-

¹ Texeir, Hist. Pers. p. 336.
364.

^k See Abu'lq. Hist. Turks, p.

raſſān, belonging to Irān, or Persia at large; from which it is divided by the river Jihūn, or Amū, and sundry deserts of a vast extent; and on the west by the Caspian Sea.

It extends about four hundred and forty miles in length from south to north, and three hundred from west to east, being situated between the 39th and 46th degrees of latitude, and the 71st and 77th degrees of longitude. The country consists for the most part of vast sandy plains, like those of Great Tartary. Some of them are barren deserts; but others afford excellent pasture. There is good land in several of the provinces, where vines grow, of which wine is made; however, water is very scarce, for there are but a few rivers or springs in the country¹.

Soil and produce.

Karazm, according to Bentink, is extremely fertile where watered; and Abū'lghāzi Khān himself recommends it as a fine country. The melons here, called by this last author arbūs, and by Jenkinson karbus, are the true water-melons.

Rivers.
The Amū changes its bed.

Karazm owes all its fertility, in a manner, to three rivers and a great lake. The rivers are the Amū, Khesel, and Sīr. The Amū, as it is called by the Usbekis and Persians, is the Jihūn of the Arabs, and Oxus of the ancient Greeks. It has its source to the north-north-east of the kingdom of Kashmīr, towards the frontiers of Little Bukhāria, in those high mountains which separate it from the dominions of the Great Mogul. It crosseth the southern part of Great Bukhāria from east to west, then, winding north-westward along the borders of that country, enters Karazm in the same direction, and, forty leagues from its mouth, divides in two arms or branches. That on the left-hand, turning westward, falls into the Caspian Sea towards the borders of the province of Astarabād, belonging to Persia; but the right-hand branch, which formerly passed before the city of Urghenj, and joined the sea twelve leagues to the north of the former, above eighty years ago quitted its ancient channel, six leagues from the place where it separated from the other branch, and changing its course more to the north, threw itself into the Khesel, on the other side of the little town of Tūk; so that its old channel, which run before Urghenj, is at present dry. The Amū abounds with all sorts of excellent fish, and its banks are the most charming in the world.

¹ Short Way to know the World, or Compend. of Mod. Geogr. p. 253.

Along them grow those excellent melons, and other fruits, so much esteemed in Persia, the Indies, and Russia.

The river Khesel, Khesil, or Kesi, rises in the mountains to the north-east of the province of Sogd, or Samarkand, and running westward between the Amû and Sîr, falls into the lake of Arâl, fifty or sixty miles after it has been joined by the Amû. The sides of the Khesel are exceedingly fertile wherever they are cultivated; but the greater part of them are neglected by the inhabitants; nor do they make use of those excellent pastures which are found along this river, although they are much better than those which enrich the sides of the Amû. At present there is not one considerable town to be seen upon the Khesel. The Usbek Tatars of both Great Bukhâria and Karazm, chuse rather to be near the frontiers of the Persians than of the Eluths, or Kalmûks, and Karakalpaks, as there is more to be gained by their incursions on one side than on the other. The waters of this river are greatly increased by the junction of the Amû before mentioned: but of late years the Tatars of Karazm have also turned the course of the Khesel from the Caspian Sea into the lake of Arâl, on the following occasion.

Peter I. emperor of Russia, having been informed that gold ore was found in great abundance on the coast of the Caspian Sea, at the mouth of the river Sîr, called also Daria, and judging that a new course of trade between Siberia and the southern countries of Asia might be carried on by means of that river, ordered certain persons, skilled in maritime affairs, to accompany the Kossâks of Jaïk in their expeditions along the shores of that sea, in order to discover the mouth of the Daria. These people, finding that no considerable river discharged itself into the Caspian Sea, between the Yemb, or Yemba, and the Amû, excepting the Khesel, concluded that this must be the river which they looked for; especially as the Kossâks assured them that it was named Daria; not knowing that the word daria is an appellative, signifying *a river* in general among the Persians.

After they had founded the entrance of the Khesel they returned, and made their report to the emperor; who in 1719, sent one brigadier Beckowitz, by the way of Aftakhân, with two thousand five hundred men, to take possession of the mouth of that river; but the Tatars growing jealous of this design, turned the course of the river Khesel northwards, by three channels, the land being low on that side, into the lake of Arâl, and then stop-

*The Khesel,
its course
turned.*

ed up the entrance towards the sea ; so that Beckowitz, arriving some time after with his vessels at the mouth of the river, found it quite dry.

The khân's artifice to ensnare him.

Notwithstanding this discouragement, in obedience to his orders, he landed his troops, and began to build forts thereabouts, as well as the ground, which was exceedingly sandy, would permit. They were scarce in a condition of defence when the Uzbeks of Karazm came down upon him in great numbers ; but Beckowitz opposed them with so much resolution, that the khân who was at the head of them, despairing to conquer him by force, tried to ensnare him by fraud. To this end he sent to inform him privately, that in his heart he was sincerely a friend to the Russians, and desired nothing more than to see them settled near his own dominions ; but that at the same time he was obliged to seem their enemy in appearance, and oppose them, in order to comply with the humour of the princes, who were his relations and neighbours. In short, that it was resolved in council to make a last effort the day following ; and in case they had no better success than in their former attacks, he would do his endeavour to bring about an accommodation.

Beckowitz gave credit the more easily to this declaration, as the khân had already caused protestations of the same kind to be made at the court of Russia, by an envoy sent for that purpose. Next morning the Tatars did not fail to renew the attack with great vigour ; but having been repulsed, at length, with loss, the khân sent one of his mursas to the Russian general to know on what account he had landed an army in his dominion, and what he wanted ? Beckowitz demanded that the sluices made in the river Khesel should be stopped up, and the mouth of it opened again, that the current might resume its former course. The Tatars having remonstrated that it was not in their power to dam up the channels, the water ran into them with such rapidity, Beckowitz offered to accomplish that work with his own troops, provided they gave him hostages for his security. As this was just what the Tatars wanted, they readily agreed to his demands.

The Russians sail. In consequence of this agreement the Russian commander, leaving some men to guard the forts, he began his march with the rest to execute his design ; but the hostages, who served for guides, led him through places quite desert, where there were only certain holes of stagnant water, not sufficient for his troops ; so that, after five days march, they found themselves quite destitute of means to quench their

their thirst. In this distress their guides proposed to divide into several bodies, and march by different roads, that they might the more easily find a supply. Beckowitz was obliged to consent to this proposal, although he saw the danger of it. In short, the Russians being thus separated into parties, the Tatars surrounded them one after another, and slaying their leader, with most of his men, carried the rest into slavery. When those who were left in the forts heard of this misfortune, they reembarked, and returned to Astracân.

The lake of Arâl, that is *Eagles*, before mentioned, separates the province of Arâl, to which it gives name, from the eastern provinces of Karazm. It is one of the largest in the north parts of Asia, being above twenty-five German leagues in length from south to north, about half as much in breadth from east to west, and above eighty in circumference. Its waters are exceeding salt, and breed great quantities of the same sorts of fish which are found in the Caspian Sea, with which, however, it does not seem to have any communication; neither does it ever overflow its banks, although it receives the waters of the Sir, the Khesel, and several other smaller rivers. The Karakalpâks, who inhabit the northern coast of it towards the mouth of the Sir, and the Turkmâns of the province of Arâl, in summer, convey the water of this lake, by means of small canals or ditches, into the neighbouring plains; and the surface, when the moisture is exhaled by the sun's heat, is covered with a fine crust of crystalline salt, with which the inhabitants of all Karazm and Turk-estân are plentifully supplied^m.

Lake of
Arâl
affords
much salt.

S E C T. II.

Provinces of Karazm.

KARAZM is divided into many provinces, as appears *Provinces*, from Abû'lghâzi Khân's history, who mentions several of them, which Bentink, his commentator, has succinctly described.

1. Ogorza, or Ogorja, situate towards the coast of the Caspian Sea, was very fertile heretofore, when it was watered by the northern branch of the river Amû; but since that branch took another course, it is become a desert for

^m Abulgh. Hist. ubi supra, p. 444, & seqq.

want of water. This country takes its name from the great quantity it formerly produced of cucumbers; which both in the Tatarian and Russian language is called *Or-gurza*.

Pishga.

2. Pishga, a little province, situate to the east of the city of Urghenj, which has been but thinly inhabited ever since the northern branch of the river Amû ceased to pass through it as formerly.

Karakizit.

3. Karakizit, or Karakijit, a small province, situate between those of Pishga and Ogorza, very thin of people since the river Amû deserted Urghenj, to the west of which it lies.

Ghilkupruk.

4. Ghilkupruk, a small province, situated to the south of the southern branch of the river Amû, in the confines of the provinces of Khoraffân and Astarabâd.

Gordish.

5. Gordish, a small province lying between those of Pishga and Kumkant. It is one of the most fruitful, and best cultivated, in all Karazm, as being watered by the Amû; which in this country quitted its old channel to join the Khesel, as before-mentioned.

Kumkant.

6. The small province of Kûmkant lies to the east of Gordish, towards the northern banks of the river Amû; which in the borders of those two provinces divides into two branches.

Yanghi Shahr.

7. Yanghi (or Yenghi) Shâhr, a little province, near the right bank of the southern branch of the river Amû; which is of no great consequence at present.

Burma.

8. Burma, one of the largest provinces of Karazm, to the east of the city of Wazîr, towards the frontiers of Great Bukhâria. It is very populous, as well as fertile; and produceth the most delicious melons in all the kingdom.

Bayalkiri. Khesel

9. Bayalkiri, a little province to the north of Urghenj, is very sandy, and desert; because it wants water.

Rabat.

10. Kefil Rabat lies towards the Khesel, or Kefil, and to the north-west of the town of Tûk. This little province is very populous, and produceth all kinds of delicious fruits in abundance.

Gardankhast.

11. Gardankhast, a large province, situate between the cities of Khayuk and Hazârâsh. It has pretty good pasture; and is almost wholly peopled by the Sarts, who are the antient inhabitants of Karazm.

Yenghiarik.

12. Yanghi-Arik, a small province on the north side of the Amû, and bordering on Great Bukhâria; at the foot of the mountains which separate it from Karazm.

Bakirgan.

13. Bakirgan, a large province, on the north side of the river Khesel, and north-east of the town of Tûk.

14. Kuigan,

14. Kuigan, another large province, north of Bakirgan *Kuigan.* and the Khesel, extending as far as the borders of the Karakalpâks and the Kalmûks (or Eluths). It consists, for the most part, of vast plains ; producing excellent pasture, like all the other sandy grounds of Great Tartary.

15. Ikzi Kumani, a little province towards the southern *Ikzi Ku-* banks of the Khesel, and lying west of the territory of *mani.* Khayuk.

16. Khika, another small province on the south side of *Khika.* the Khesel. It lies east of the territory of Tûk, and west of the province of Ikzi Kumani.

17. Tarkhân, a little province, situate to the north of *Tarkhân;* the Khesel, and west of Bakirgan. It abounds with excellent pastures : but lies uncultivated.

18. Bamaburinak, a little province to the north of the *Bamabu-* Khesel, towards the southern coast of the lake of Arâl, *rinak.* and west of the province of Tarkhân.

19. Kogherlik, a large province, situate on the bor- *Kogherlik.* ders of Great Bukhâria, and north of the province of Yanghiarik.

20. The province of Arâl, towards the coasts of the *Arâl.* Caspian sea, is very large ; extending from the mountains of Abûlkân, to the north of the old mouth of the northern branch of the Amû ; which is now dry, as far as the country of the Karakalpaks. This part of Karazm is, at present, almost wholly inhabited by Turkmâns ; who find in many places, excellent pasture for their flocks. But in general, the province of Arâl, which takes its name from the lake before described, is mountainous, sandy, and barren ^{n.}

Besides the provinces above described, Abû'lghazi Khân *Other pro-* mentions others in his history ; particularly, those of Abû'l *vinces.* Khân and Dehestân ^{o.} The first seems to be situate where the mountain of Abû'l Khân stands, on the north side of the antient channel of the northern branch of the Amû ; and the latter properly belongs to the province of Khotaffân, bordering on that of Jorjân.

^{n.} Abulgh. Hist. p. 434.

^{o.} Ibid. p. 235.

S E C T. III.

The Cities, and other remarkable Places, of Karazm.

*Full of
cities.*

KARAZM was in former times full of cities, towns, and castles; remarkable for their beauty, strength, and abundance of people. This was its case, it may be presumed, for a long series of ages, as well anciently under its own kings, as while it was a province of the Persian and Arabian empires: but, in all probability, it flourished most when it became an independent kingdom under the family of the Kharazm khâns; who annexed to it, by conquest, all Irân, or Persia at large; and Turân, or the countries to the north of the Jihûn, or Amû; forming a great empire, of which Orkanj was the capital. But at present the cities of Karazm are but few, and reduced below the condition of ordinary towns, through the destructive power of the Usbeks; who have brought ruin and poverty where-ever they settled ^p.

*Orkanj,
or Urgenj.*

Orkanj, or, as it may be written Urghenj, is still the capital. This, we are told, is the Mungl name which it took after the time of Jenghîz Khân ^q; before it seems to have had the name of the country of Karazm, or Khowarazm, as we often find it was called. The Persians, instead of Orkanj, write Korkanj. In the tables of Abûlfeda, Nâsfiro'deîn, and Ulugh Beg, we find two cities of the name of Korkanj; Great Korkanj, or Nu Korkanj, and Korkanj the Lesser, or Jorjanîya, of Khowarazm, to distinguish it, doubtless, from Jorjaniya, of Persia. The first was the metropolis of the country; and both were situated on the west side of the Jihûn, ten miles asunder ^r. At present it is called Urghenj, or Urkenj, by the Usbeks.

*Its ruinous
state.*

This city, called by different authors, Orkanj, Jurjench, or Urjensh, is situated in a great plain, to the north of the river Amû, twenty-five German leagues from the eastern shores of the Caspian sea. The place was very considerable in former ages: but since the Tatars became its masters, it has fallen so much to decay, that, at present, it makes but a pitiful figure, being no more than a great straggling town, about a league in circumference.

^p Abulg. Hist. ubi supr. p. 438. ^q La Croix Hist. Geng. p. 240. ^r Abulfeda Deter. Chowarazm. p. 23. 26. Edit. Liudion.

This decay is owing partly to the disorderly government of the Uzbeks, and partly to the desertion of the northern branch of the Amû, which formerly ran by the walls of the city.

The walls of Urjensh are of sun-burnt bricks ; and the ditch is full of rubbish in several places. The houses are no better than paltry cabbins of earth. It has indeed a castle, built with bricks ; but so ruinous, that scarce a fourth part of it is habitable. The brick mosques likewise are nearly in as bad a condition : for the Tatars in general are very ready to destroy buildings ; but very backward either to erect new houses, or to keep the old in repair. Although Urjensh is situated very conveniently for commerce, being the mart of all the business carried on between the Bukhârs and the countries on the west side of the Caspian sea, yet, at present, the trade of it is very inconsiderable : because foreign merchants, finding no security among the Mohammedan Tatars, very few of them will venture thither.

The khâns of Karazm commonly winter in this town ; but in summer they encamp on the banks of the Amû^s.

Although at present Urjensh is reduced to so low a state, yet it was once both rich and populous. In the year 582, when Soltân Shâh besieged it, the inhabitants, who had submitted to his elder brother Takash, were so numerous, that they kept their gates open in his view^t ; and when Jenghiz Khân took it, in 1221, the Mungls put one hundred thousand, some say two hundred thousand, people to the sword. Urjensh began to flourish again under the family of the Sofi's ; and was a great city, when Timûr Bek, having, in 1379, taken it from Yusef Sofi, and conquered the kingdom, caused it to be razed, and the ground sowed with barley. It was repaired three years after, when, by the conqueror's order, the country was repeopled, and restored to its ancient splendor. But from that time, it may be presumed, that Urjensh never was able to recover its former importance ; and the government of the Uzbeks, which it has fallen under, so injurious to commerce, joined to the inconveniences attending the turning of the river Amû from the town, has completed its ruin^u.

Manguslau is a very good port, twelve leagues within a bay.

Walls and castle.

Trade inconsiderable.

Once very great.
A.D. 1186.

^s Bentink. ap. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 438. ^t D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 835, art Takash. ^u Abu'lgh. Hist. Turks, p. 440, &c seqq.

Sellizür.

Sellizür, called also Shayzür, is twenty-four days journey of the karawâns from Manguslau, and two from Urjensh. It was a castle, seated on a high hill, where the king, called Azim Khân, resided with three of his brothers. The palace was not strong, being built of earth, and made a poor figure.

Fruits and grain.

To the south of the castle the land is low, but very fertile; producing many good fruits, particularly one called a dinie. It is very large, and full of moisture; the people eating it after meat, instead of drink. There is another, called Karbûs, the size of a great cucumber, yellow, and sweet as sugar. Here is also a certain corn, called jegur, whose stalk resembles a sugar-cane, and is as tall; but the grain is like rice, growing at the top like a cluster of grapes. The water with which all this country is supplied, is conveyed by canals out of the Oxus (or Amû;) so that it does not fall into the Caspian sea, as merly.

The towns besides Urjensh, mentioned by Abû'lghazi Khân, and described by Bentink, are the following seven:

Tuk.

Tuk, a little town, six leagues to the north-east of Urjensh, at a small distance from the southern bank of the Khesel.

Khayuk.

Khayuk lies towards the borders of Great Bukhâria, half a day's journey from the river Khesel. It is the best city in all Karazm, next to Urjensh; yet the houses are no better than miserable cabins. The neighbouring country is fertile enough, but very ill cultivated. However, there are some vines, of which the natives make a kind of red wine, which is pretty good.

Wâzîr.

Wâzîr, situated towards the northern bank of the river Amû, like the rest of the towns, is at present inconsiderable.

Kumkâla.

Kumkâla is a small town in the middle of Karazm, to the north of Wâzîr, but not worth taking notice of.

Kât.

The town of Kâht, Kâth, or Kât, is situated on the north side of Khesel, towards Great Bukhâria, and is of consequence at present only on account of its passage over that river.

Hazârâsb.

Hazârâsb, situated on the north side of the Khesel, is also become inconsiderable since it fell into the hands of the Usbekhs.

Mankish-lâk.

Mankishlâk, a small town on the shore of the Caspian Sea, on the north side of the southern branch of the river Amû. The town itself is inconsiderable, consisting of about seven hundred houses, or rather pitiful cabins, built

built of earth; but its port is capacious, and the only one to be found in all that sea. As it is secure and deep, it would in any other hands but those of the Tatars, soon become a place of great trade. The town is inhabited only by Turkmâns, who can bear the neighbourhood of the sea better than the Usbeks ^o.

Abû'lghâzi Khân mentions several other towns of Karazm in this history. The Usbeks of this country have likewise some others in Khorassân, which, by degrees, they conquered from the Persians; as Durûn, Nasay or Nesa, Ibûrd or Pawerd, Mahân, Bâghabâd, Yawrfurdi, and Marû. These places, however, were, in all likelihood, recovered from them a few years ago by Nâder Shâh; who, we are told, chastised them severely, and drove them beyond the river Amû.

S E C T. IV.

The Inhabitants of Karazm, their Manners and Customs.

K A R A Z M is at present inhabited by three sorts of people, the Sarts, the Turkmâns, and the Usbek Tatars.

With regard to the first of these we are only told, that they are the ancient inhabitants of the country, and support themselves like the Turkmâns by their cattle and husbandry. What we are to understand by the ancient inhabitants seems not easy to determine; whether the original inhabitants, who first possessed the country, or those who were settled there before the Usbeks became masters of it; which latter conjecture is most probable.

Of the Turkmâns.

T H E Turkmâns, or Târkomâns, came originally from Turkestân, or the parts of Tartary to the north of Karazm and Great Bukhâria. They separated from the Kankli, with whom they dwelt in that country, towards the eleventh century, with an intent to seek their fortune somewhere else, and settled in Karazm long before the Tatars, as Abû'lghâzi Khân relates. They divided into two parties, one of which went round the north side of the Caspian sea, and settled in the western parts of the

^o Bentink, Hist. Turks, p. 442, & seqq.

greater

greater Armenia, from thence called Turkomania, or the country of the Turkomâns. The second division turned south, and rested about the banks of the river Amû, and the shores of the Caspian Sea, where they still possess a great number of towns and villages in the countries of Karazm and Astarabâd, a province of Irân, or Persia at large.

Oriental Turkmâns.

This branch of the Turkmâns has been hitherto unknown to the European historians and geographers, although they are much more numerous at present than that of the western. The authors who have given extracts from the Eastern writers, take but little notice of them ; and others relate no more of their history than what occurs in the Byzantine and such western historiographers, who lived at too great a distance to be acquainted with their affairs.

The Turkmâns seem to be descended from the Turks, or to differ from them only as the wandering Arabs, called Badwîns, who live under tents, do from those who dwell in cities. As the western branch of the Turkmâns formed the famous dynasties, under the denominations of the Black and White Sheep, in Armenia, and the neighbouring provinces ; so from this eastern branch some Oriental authors derive the three famous dynasties of the Seljûk sultâns, who, for several ages, held in subjection the countries of Asia from the Archipelago to Hindostân.

Shape, dress, religion.

The Turkmâns of this latter branch are tall, robust, and swarthy, with square flat faces. In summer they wear long gowns of calico, or thick cloth, and in winter robes of sheep-skin. Cattle and agriculture afford them subsistence according to the different parts they possess. In winter they inhabit towns and villages about the river Amû, and towards the coasts of the Caspian Sea. In summer they encamp where they can meet with the best pastures and good water. They all profess the Mohammedan worship. Such of them as are settled in the country of Astarabâd generally follow the Persian sect ; but those who dwell in Karazm conform with the Uzbek Tatars in sentiments of religion ; although neither one nor the other give themselves much trouble about it.

Character, and number.

These eastern Turkmâns are exceedingly restless, and with great difficulty submit to the Tatar yoke. They are very brave, and at least as good horsemen, but not so great robbers as the Uzbeks, to whom they are obliged to pay tribute. To this imposition is principally to be imputed the great animosity which they bear those rigid masters ; but

but the Turkmāns, who dwell under the dominions, of the Persians, are treated in a much better manner. Both together may amount to a hundred thousand families. These people are still divided into tribes, like all the other branches of the Turkish nation, and their chiefs enjoy the same prerogatives^q.

Of the Uſbek Tatars.

THE name of Uſbeks, which the Tatars of Karazm *Name and origin.* and Great Bukhāria bear at present, is derived from Uſbek, khān of Kipjāk^r; and this custom, to assume the name of the prince, has always been in use with the inhabitants of Tartary.

When Ilbār Soltān was invited by the inhabitants of Urjensh to come and take possession of Karazm, about the year 911, the Uſbeks possessed all the country of Kipjāk *A.D. 1505.* eastward to the river Irtish, and southward as far as the river Sir, besides Great Bukhāria, which they had subdued under the conduct of shāh Bakht Soltān. This prince likewise added to his other conquests the greater part of Khorassān, with Karazm, which then depended on that province. However, only a small number of Uſbeks seem to have settled in the country till Ilbār and his *Way of living.* brother brought the rest of them out of Kipjāk.

The Uſbeks, for the most part, live by rapine, resembling in all respects those of Great Bukhāria, excepting that they are far less civilized, and more restless. They dwell in winter in the towns and villages which are towards the middle of Karazm; and in summer the greater part of them encamp in the neighbourhood of the river Amū, and in other places where they can meet with *Encamp for convenience.* plenty of pasture for their cattle, always waiting for some convenient opportunity to rob and destroy. They never cease making incursions upon the adjacent territories of Persia or Great Bukhāria, and are to be restrained by no treaties or engagements whatever. All their riches and support consist in the slaves and plunder which they carry off on those occasions.

These Tartars never ride without their bow, arrows, *Arms and* and sword, although it be in hawking, or taking any *diet.* other pleasure. They have no arts or sciences among them, but live an indolent life, sitting round in great com-

^q Bentink, ap. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 426, & seqq. ^r Abu'lgh. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 235.

panies in the fields, and passing their time in idle discourse. They have not the use of bread, neither do they till or sow: they are great devourers of flesh, which they cut in small pieces, and eat greedily by handfuls, especially horse-flesh. Their chief drink is mare's milk fermented, like that in use with the Nogays, with which they will get drunk. They have no rivers nor places of water in this country, from Manguslau, where the author landed, to the bay where he arrived, twenty stages distant, excepting some wells of brackish water, more than two days journey asunder. They eat their victuals upon the ground, sitting with their legs doubled under them, which is their posture also when they pray.

Their cattle.

They have abundance of camels, horses, and sheep, both wild and tame. Their sheep are extraordinary large, with great tails, weighing sixty or eighty pounds. There are many wild horses in the country, which the Tatars frequently kill with their hawks. These birds seize upon the head or neck of the beast, which being tired with running to get rid of this cruel enemy, the hunter, who follows his game, comes up and kills him.

A piece of silver, called *tanga*, is current both in Karazm and Great Bukhâria; it is round, pretty fine, and in value near the fourth part of a crown. It has on one side the name of the country, and on the other that of the country with the year of the *Hejra*. The rest of the money made in this country consists of small pieces of copper, of different sizes, which answer to our pence, half-pence, and farthings³.

S E C T. V.

The Government and Revolutions of Karazm.

The khân's authority.

KARAZM is commonly divided among divers princes of the same house; of whom, notwithstanding, only one has the title of *khân*, with a kind of superiority over the others. The usual place of his residence is Urjensh, or some other city which he chuses; although, during the summer, he, in general, encamps on the sides of the river Amû. And, as his camp is called Khiva, his subjects are commonly denominated the Tatars of Khiva. This *khân* is sovereign in his own dominions, and in no sort depends on the chief of Great Bukhâria, or any other prince⁴.

³ Bentink, ap. Hist. Turks, &c. p. 428.

⁴ Ibid. p. 423, & seq.
Every

Every khân or sultân hath at least four or five wives, besides concubines. When the country is divided among brothers, they are generally at variance. He that is vanquished flies to the desert, with his followers ; and there lives by robbing the karawâns, till he is strong enough to invade some of his brothers again ^u.

Bentink observes, that as the Turkmâns, who were the *State factions.* first occupants, are always in opposition to the Usbekhs, the princes of the reigning house know how to make use of this jealousy, and draw to their side the faction which thinks itself neglected by the khân. It is to this extreme facility of making a party, that those troubles, which continually distract Karazm, are principally owing.

This state can with ease furnish forty or fifty thousand able horse. What *Abû'lghâzi Khân* reports of his *Karazm.* infantry and musketeers, shews that he had profited by his imprisonment in Persia ; for, before his time, that way of fighting was entirely unknown to the Usbekhs : nor do they seem to have retained the use of fire-arms.

Karazm is an ancient kingdom, and hath undergone a *Its anti-* great many revolutions. In the time of Herodotus it was *quit.* subject to Persia : but nothing very material occurs concerning it, till it was possessed by the Arabs, in the year 61, and for a long time after ; farther than that it was a *A. D. 680.* province of their empire, under a governor, like the rest of the countries conquered by them. Upon the declension of the power of the khalifs, when the governors seized the provinces intrusted to their care, it is probable that Karazm acted like the rest, in setting up for itself ; although, in the histories hitherto come to our knowledge, we meet with no king of this country before Mamûn Ebn Mohammed, who reigned some time after the year 385. *A. D. 995.* Not long before that period, we find it under a governor, named Abu Abdo'llah ; but it does not appear for whom. At length it fell under the dominion of Soltân Mahmûd Gâzni, king of Khorassân ; who, after the death of Mâmûn, in 407, took that kingdom from the usurper, and *A. D. 1016.* made it a province of his empire ^w.

Karazm continued under the families of Gâzni and Seljûk, successively, till, upon the death of Mâlek Shâh, surnamed Jalâlo'ddîn, third sultân of the Seljûk Turks, in 489, Kothbo'ddîn, then governor of that province, taking *A. D. 1092.*

^u Purch. Pilgr. vol. iii. p. 237.
nast. p. 220.

^w Abu'lfaraj. Hist. Dy-

advantage of the broils which ensued upon the demise of that great monarch, assumed the title of king ^x: but that title was better established by his son and successor Mohammed, surnamed Atsîz; though not without great opposition from sultân Sanjer, son of Mâlek Shâh, who often reduced him to a dependency: but it was Takash, sixth sultân of this dynasty, who firmly established the empire of the Karazmians, by the ruin of that of Seljûk; which he put an end to in Irân, by the death of Togrul Arslân,

A.D. 1193, in 590 or 593; and added the dominions of that brave or 1196. but unfortunate prince to his own. His son Kothbo'ddîn

Mohammed extended the empire yet farther, by the conquest of all Irân, or Persia at large, and Mâwarâ'l-nâhr, or Great Bukhâria; and was the greatest prince in all Asia, in 615, when Jenghîz Khân invaded and deprived him both of his territories and his life.

A.D. 1218. It is very probable, that, on the declension of the power of the khâns of Jagatay, on the death of Ghâzân, in 749, Karazm either set up a king of its own, or fell a prey to some other power; for in the time of Timûr Beg we find it possessed by Huffayn Sofi, son of Yânghâday, of the hord of Kongorat, one of the four Uſbek tribes, which, at present, possess Karazm and Great Bukhâria.

A.D. 1379, and 1388. It continued in that family of the Sofis, till conquered by Timûr, in the year 781 and 790, when he razed the capital to the ground, and sowed it with barley.

Afterwards Karazm continued in the hands of the descendants of Timûr Beg in Mâwarâ'l-nâhr and Khorassân; on which last it was then dependent, till the famous Scâh Bâkht Sultân, with his Uſbeks, subduing those two pro-

A.D. 1498. vinces, about the year 904, it fell of course into the hands of that conqueror. Shâh Bâkht having been de-

A.D. 1510. feated and slain by Shâh Ismaël Sofi, in 916, Karazm returned once more under the dominion of the crown of Irân, or Persia at large; but, about two years after this revolution, the inhabitants, revolting against its governors, sent for Ilbârs Sultân; who, coming with his Uſbeks out of Turkestân, was proclaimed khân, in 918 at Wazîr; and his descendants have continued ever since in possession of the country.

The events which have distinguished the reigns of these khâns, are a series of rebellions, assassinations, treachery, and barbarity, specified either in domestic quarrels, or predatory incursions. Even the historian Abû'lghazi

^x La Croix, Hist. Gengh. p. 129.

himself,

himself, who reigned in the seventeenth century, and is celebrated for his politeness and affability by Chardin, who saw him at the court of Persia, acted upon many occasions with the most ferocious brutality.

C H A P. XXII.

A Description of Hindústán, or the Empire of the Great Mogol.

S E C T. I.

Name, Extent, Mountains, Rivers, and Produce, of Hindústán.

INDIA, or the Indies, takes its name, according to *India, it is* some authors, from the river Indus; to others, from *name*; the inhabitants, named Indows, Hindows, or Hindús. Hence it is called, by the Turks and Persians, Hindústan, or the country of the Hindus: of which Indostan, a name used by Europeans, is a corruption. In the geography of these latter, India, or the Indies, is a term of vast limits, extending over not only a great part of the continent of Asia, but also of the islands of the ocean lying to the south of it. The continent of India is situated between the 84th and 127th degrees of longitude; and between one degree 12 minutes and 36 degrees of north latitude; containing in length, from west to east, about two thousand three hundred and fifteen miles; in breadth, from south to north, two thousand one hundred and ten miles. It is bounded on the north by the countries of Great and Little Tibet; on the south, with the Indian ocean; on the east, with China, and the Chinese sea; and on the west, with Persia and the Indian sea.

This large region is divided into three great parts. *Divisions* The peninsula of India within, or on this side of the Ganges; the peninsula without, or beyond the Ganges; and the main land. The two peninsulas contain several potent kingdoms; but the third part is, at present, under one sovereign, called the Great Mogol by Europeans. This is chiefly the part which at present we mean to treat of; and this only of the three is known to the orientals by the name of India or Hindústan.

Hindûstân.

Hindûstân, or the Mogol's empire, is bounded on the north with Great and Little Tibet; on the east, with Tibet and the Farther Peninsula of the Indies; on the south, with the Hither Peninsula, part of the Indian sea, and bay of Bengâl; and on the west, with Persia. It is situated between the 84th and 102d degrees of longitude, and between the 21st and 36th degrees of latitude; being in length about one thousand two hundred and four miles, and in breadth nine hundred and sixty: though in some parts not near so much.

Nature of
the coun-
try.

This is the part of India which consists of the greatest extremes. Towards the north it is very cold and barren; in the south, very hot and fruitful, in corn, rice, fruits, and other vegetables. The northern provinces are very mountainous and sandy; while the southern are, for the most part, level plains, well watered with good rivers.

Moun-
tains.

The most remarkable mountains are those which surround it on three sides, and serve as a rampart against the neighbouring nations. Those on the west, which separate Hindûstân from Persia, are called in different parts by different names, and in general by that of Solymân Kûh, or the mountain of Solymân. These are of a vast height, as well as breadth; and are only passable in certain places, through which roads have been made for the sake of commerce; the chief of them leading to Kâbul, Gâzna, and Kandahâr. This great chain of mountains is inhabited by several different nations of hardy fierce people; the principal of whom are the Afghâns, or Patans, and the Balluchîs, who have extended themselves on the side of India as well as Persia. The mountains on the north are called Nagrakût, Hina, or Mûs Tâg; and by other names, which are given also in common to the mountains on the east side, which separate Hindûstân from Tibet. The northern part of this eastern chain is, called Kantel, Kentel, or Kenti, by the people of those parts. The very prospect of them is frightful, being hideous precipices, perpetually covered with snow; not to be crossed without the greatest difficulty as well as horror^a.

River
Indus,
or Send.

Among the rivers of Hindûstân two have been particularly famous from all antiquity: these are the Indus and the Ganges. The Indus is called by the orientals Send, Sind, or Sindi. It rises in the mountains, to the north or north-east of Hindûstân; but the exact spot is not yet

^a Lettr. Edifiantes, vol. xv, p. 190.

known

known to us. From thence it runs southward, by Kâshmir and Attok, to Multân, where it turns towards the south-west; and, having passed by Bukor and Tatta, falls into the Persian sea, below Lowre Bander, by several mouths. In its course it receives several other large rivers, as the Nilâh, Jamâl, Behât, and Lakka.

The Ganges, called in the Indies *Ganga*, rises in the *The Ganges.* kingdom of Tibet; and, having taken a large sweep towards the west, then winding south-easterly, enters Hindûstân, or the Mogol's empire, about the 30th degree of latitude. Thence it runs south-eastward, by the cities of Bekâner, Minaphor, Halabas, Benâres, and Patna, to Rajah Mâhl, where it divides into two great branches. The eastern, having passed by Dâkka, capital of Bengâl, enters the gulf of that name, about Chatigan. The western, descending by Koffum-Bazâr and Hugley, falls into the gulf below Shandernager towards Pipeli. The Ganges in its course admits several other considerable rivers into its bosom, particularly the Chun, or Jemna, and the Gûderasu, on the west side; the Persilis and Lakia on the east. This river hath always been held in great veneration, and as sacred, by the Indians, who think they are freed from their sins by washing in it at certain times. The Great Mogol also drinks the water of the Ganges, as being deemed lighter and purer than that of any other river.

The weather and seasons are in general, very regular in this spacious country. The winds blow constantly for six months southerly; and northerly the other half of the year, with very little variation. The months of April, May, and the beginning of June, till the rains fall, are so extremely hot, that the reflexion from the ground is apt to raise blisters on the face; and, but for the breeze, which blows every day, people bred in northern climates, could not live in that country; for, excepting in the rainy season, the coldest day is hotter there at noon, than the hottest day in England. However, very surprising changes of heat and cold sometimes happen within a few hours: so that a stifling hot day is succeeded by a night cold enough to produce a thin ice on the water; and that night by a noon as scorching as the preceding ^b.

From Surat to Aiga, it seldom or never rains, excepting in one season of the year; that is, from the middle *Rainy season.*

^b Terry Voy. to E. India, p. 272, & seq. folio edition.

of June to the middle of September. During these three months it rains usually every day, and some times for a week together, without intermission. Although the land looks like the barren sands of the Arabian deserts, yet, in a few days after those showers begin to fall, the surface appears covered with verdure. When this season is over, the sky becomes perfectly serene again, and scarce one cloud appears during all the other nine months of the year. However, a refreshing dew falls every night during that dry interval, which cools the air and cherishes the earth.

Precious stones.

The produce of India is very rich, in every kind, whether the fossil, vegetable, or animal. With regard to fossils, we meet with here the most valuable precious stones, particularly diamonds. However, there is properly only one diamond mine in the Mogol's empire, and that is at the town of Soumelpūr, in Bengāl. The other diamond mines are in the Hither Peninsula of the Ganges; and the coloured stones are found chiefly in Pegu, a kingdom of the Farther Peninsula, and in the island of Ceylon. Quarries of stone are plenty in some countries of the Rājāns, and elsewhere in the Mogol's empire^c. Nor is Hindūstān destitute of lead, iron, or copper. Nay, it is said the country affords silver mines also^d. But, if so, they need not be opened, since the bullion of all other nations is sunk in this empire; which will take nothing else in exchange for her commodities, and prohibits its exportation.

Agriculture.

The soil being brittle, tho' fat, is very easily cultivated. They till it with oxen and foot-ploughs; sowing their seed in May and the beginning of June, that all may be over before the rains begin. Their harvest is in November and December; which are with them the most temperate months in the year. Their ground is nowhere inclosed, excepting a litt'le, near towns and villages; which lie scattered very thick over this empire. Nor do they mow their grass to make hay; but cut it off the ground, either green or withered, as they have occasion to use it.

Grain.

Wheat, rice, barley, and other grain, grow here in plenty, and are very good; the wheat especially is more white and full than the produce of England.

Fruits.

The country abounds no less with fruits. Besides pomegranates, citrons, dates, grapes, almonds, and co-

^c Tavern. Trav. part ii. p. 139.
P. 146.

^d Thevenot Voy. part iii.

coa-nuts, there are, among other plums, that called the mirabolan, of an excellent kind, and remarkable for its curious stone. Plantains, which grow in clusters, are long, like slender cucumbers; very yellow when ripe, and taste like a Norwich pear, but much better. The mango, another excellent fruit, in shape and colour like an apricot, but much larger. But the best fruit of all in Hindûstân is the anana, or pine apple, which excels all other fruits in taste and flavour. In the northern parts they have variety of pears and apples: lemons and oranges are common here, but not so good as in other countries. Lastly, India produces very good musk-melons; we are told, however, that the melons eaten at the Great Mogol's court are brought from Karazm and Great Bukhâria.

The woods and groves, which adorn the country, afford abundance of timber, firm and strong, fit for building and other uses. Some bear leaves as broad as bucklers; and those of others are small, and divided like the leaves of fern: of this kind is the tamarind tree, whose fruit grows in a pod resembling that of beans. There is one very remarkable tree among the rest; for its branches shoot downwards and take root; so that it spreads so much in compass, that some hundreds of men may shade themselves under it, in any season; as the trees in those southern parts of India keep their leaves all the year^e. This is that which is called by Europeans the banian, and war-tree. But, of all the trees of this part of India, the cotton and mulberry may be reckoned the chief, on account of the wealth they bring to the natives, arising from the manufacture of callicoes and silks. There are many other kinds of trees, which produce excellent fruits peculiar to the country.

Here is abundance of sugar-canæs, as well as tobacco; both which are much used, and very cheap: but the latter is not so rich and strong as that reared in America.

The soil of Hindûstân affords plenty of roots known to *Roots.* us; as carrots, potatoes, onions, and garlick; besides some small roots and herbs for fallads. In the southern parts ginger grows almost every where. Among their *Flowers.* vegetable perfumes there is a white flower, like the Spanish jasmin, yielding a most fragrant smell. From this is extracted an excellent oil, with which they anoint the head, and other parts of the body^e.

^e Terry, ubi supr. p. 363, & seqq.

Wild beasts. Hindûstân abounds with animals, both wild and tame: of the former kind are elephants, rhinoceroses, lions, tygers, leopards, wolves, and jackals. These last seem to be wild dogs; which in companies run about in the night, and disturb people with their hideous noise. They dig up and eat dead bodies. The rhinoceros is a large

Rhinoceros. beast, bigger than the English ox. The skin is extremely thick and tough; all wrinkled, and without hair. It has a strong, but short horn, with the point turned upward, just over the nose; from whence it has its name. This beast is not common in the Mogol's empire; but elephants are very numerous^f.

Elephants. Some of these are fourteen feet high. Their skin is black, thick, smooth, and without hair. Their eyes are full, but not proportionable to their bodies; their ears like those of oxen; their tails slender, and not very long. Their legs are like the trunks of small trees, cut off towards the roots; and the feet set round with thick short and broad toes. The elephant can lie down and rise at pleasure. It walks slow; is very sure-footed, and exceeding tractable, as well as sensible. The trunk is of great length, hanging down between the tusks; and, being of a gristly substance, is endowed with so much strength, that the stroke of it will break the bones of a horse, or camel, and even kill him outright. With it the elephant can likewise pull up great trees by the roots; yet it is so pliable, that he uses it for conveying victuals to his mouth, as well as for many other purposes.

Game in common. There is in India plenty of venison, or game of several kinds; as red deer, fallow deer, elks, antelopes, kid, and hares. The elks are very large, strong, and fierce creatures. The antelopes also differ somewhat from those of other countries. They have even more courage, and are to be distinguished by their horns, which are blackish, and one foot and a half long; whereas the horns of antelopes elsewhere are greyish, and not half that length. Those of the former grow winding to the point like a screw. The fakîrs and fântons commonly carry two of them joined together, and armed with iron at each end, which they make use of as a little staff^g.

Musk-cat. Among the wild animals may be reckoned the musk-cat and monkey. The musk-cat is pretty common; particularly in the province of Azmîr. It is snouted like a

^f Terry, ubi sup. p. 366, 371.

^g Thevenot, part iii. p. 38.

fox,

fox, and no bigger than a hare. It has teeth like a dog, and is of the colour of a stag. The musk is contained in a kind of a bladder, or purse, under the belly. The woods and groves, especially in the southern parts of Hindûstân, are full of apes, monkeys, and baboons; which live among the trees, and climb them at pleasure^h.

Hindûstân affords variety of beasts for carriage; as *Beasts of carriage.* camels, dromedaries, mules, asses, horses, oxen, and buffalos. The camels here have an odd quality; for they cry and make a hideous noise at night when their burthens are taken off: but are very quiet when loaded.

The horses are well shaped, and high mettled. The *Oxen used. for horses.* oxen are not very large, and each has a great bunch of gristly flesh between the shoulders. Their flesh is very sweet and tender, besides being much whiter than that of English breed. As they are very tame, many people use them as horses to ride on; though they commonly go but a slow pace. Instead of a bit, they put one or two small strings through the gristle of the nostrils, and fastening the ends to a rope, use it instead of a bridle. These are generally made use of all over the Indies; and with them only are drawn waggons, coaches, and chariots. These oxen are of different sizes; but generally very hardy, so that some will travel fifteen leagues a day. There is one kind almost six feet high; but they are very rare: and another, called dwarfs, because not three feet in height: these have a bunch on their backs like the rest, go very fast, and serve to draw small waggons. For this sort of carriage white oxen are in most esteem. In the province of Azmîr, or Asmîr, the roads being very stony, they shoe their oxen when they are to travel far.

The buffalo is very large and strong, having a smooth *Buffalo.* skin without hair; which makes excellent buff. The female yields very good milk: but their flesh is neither so palatable nor wholesome as beef. They are much employed to carry water, for the supply of families, in large skins, which hang on both sides of them. The Hindûstân sheep differ from the English in their great fleshy tails, which are very weighty. Their flesh is very good, but their wool coarseⁱ.

Hindûstân is much infested with reptiles and insects; *Lizards.* such as lizards, scorpions, snakes, and rats. The li-

^h Terry, p. 368.

ⁱ Thevenot, part iii. p. 51.

zards

Scorpions: zards are of a dark-green colour, and small; they often are seen in houses, but not hurtful. Scorpions are very common, and frequently creep into houses; especially in the rainy season. In shape they resemble cray-fish; but are smaller, and of a black colour. They have a little round tail, which usually turns up, and lies on their back: at the end of it is the sting; very sharp and hard; not long, but crooked like the talon of a hawk. Its sting is very painful, and even dangerous, if the part is not immediately anointed with oil; or bathed with spirits.

Snakes. Snakes are here sometimes used in executions. Terry gives an instance in a man who had killed his mother. The Great Mogol ordered two snakes to be set upon him; each twined about one of his thighs, and bit him in the groin. After they were taken away, he complained of a violent heat or flame diffused through all his limbs; and his whole body began to swell exceedingly. He stood upon his feet about a quarter of an hour, then fell; and, in about thirty minutes, expired in grievous torture^k.

Large Rats. The rats here are very large, and so bold that they attacked some of Sir Thomas Roe's retinue in their beds.

Insects troublesome. The most troublesome insects in this hot country are flies, musketos, and bugs. The first kind swarm so thick in the heat of the day, that they would fill their cups, and cover their meat, if it were not for servants; who, all the while they are eating, are employed to drive them off with napkins. And as they are annoyed with the first by day, they are no less plagued in the night with the two other sorts of insects^l.

Fowl. Hindostan breeds plenty of peacocks, partridges, quails, geese, ducks, pullets, pigeons, doves, and variety of other good fowl: but as they do not cut their chickens, they have no capons. The partridges are smaller than ours: among the hens there is a small sort, whose skin is perfectly black, but the flesh very white and delicious^m. The pigeons differ from ours only in colour; being all over green. These and parroquets are taken with bird-limeⁿ.

^k Terry, p. 371, & seq. ^l Terry, p. 372. ^m Bernier, part iii. p. 24. ⁿ Thevenot, ubi supra, p. 38.

^o There

There are two kinds of bats in this country: one *Extraordinary bats.* like those in Europe; the other of a singular make; it is eight inches long, and covered with yellowish hair: the body is round, and as big as that of a duck. It has the head and eyes of a cat, and a sharp snout like a great rat: the ears are black, and without hair; the wings are almost two feet long, and seven or eight inches broad; joined to the body along the sides from the shoulder downward. They have a black skin, resembling wet parchment. The four legs, or arms, seem to be glued within the wings; each as big as a cat's thigh, and towards the joint almost as thick as a man's arm. The two foremost, from the shoulder to the fingers, are nine or ten inches long; and each is fleshed into the wing, perpendicular to the body, being covered with hair, and terminating in five fingers; which form a kind of hand. These fingers, which are black and without hair, have the same joints with those of a man, and serve the animal to stretch out his wings, when it has a mind to fly. Each hind-leg, or arm, is but half a foot long; and, being fastened to the wing, parallel to the body, reaches to the lower part of the wing, out of which pceps a little hand, much like the human; only instead of nails it hath claws. The hinder-arms are black and hairy, like those before, but somewhat smaller. These bats have no tails; but under the wings appear two teats, each as big as the end of one's little finger. They stick to the branches of trees, with their claws; fly almost out of sight; and some, who had eaten of them, said they were good meat^o.

Among the birds, which frequent the woods, there is a species smaller than the wren, very beautiful, covered with curious parti-coloured feathers, embellished with various little spots: nor do they delight the eye with their form more than the ear with variety of pleasing notes. Nature has instructed them to build their nests in the twigs at the extremity of the boughs of trees; where they hang like little purse-nets, out of the reach of the smallest monkeys^p.

Besides crocodiles, which infest many rivers, there is *Fishes.* variety of very good fish; especially two sorts, resembling pike and carp^q. Both fish and flesh is very cheap all over India.

^o Thevenot, p. 70.
^q Bernier, ubi supra, p. 25.

^p Terry, ubi supr. p. 363.

S E C T. II.

Provinces of Hindûstân.

Number of provinces. ALTHOUGH Hindûstân, or the empire of the Great Mogol, comprises many provinces, yet they are not so numerous as they have been represented by the earlier authors.

Frazer has given two lists of the provinces from the Mogol historians, as they stood, one in the time of Shâh Jehân¹, the other in that of Aureng-zîb. But, as the author has given only simple lists of the provinces, without any account of them, and some of the names we can no means reconcile to those mentioned by other travellers, we shall follow the division as found in other authors; particularly Thevenot.

Guzerât province. I. Guzerât, formerly a kingdom, is a maritime province, and the most pleasant in all Hindûstân; though none of the largest. It is rendered fertile by the Nardaba, Tapti, and other rivers. The fields look green all the year round, on account of the corn and rice which cover them, as well as the various kinds of trees, which continually bear fruit. The most considerable part of Guzerât lies upon the sea-coast; on which stand the towns of Surât, Baroch, Brodra, Kambaya, and Ahmedâbâd; which last is the capital.

This province fell into the hands of the Great Mogol Akbar, on the following occasion. About the year 1545, Soltân Mahmûd, king of Guzerât, being near his death, intrusted the tuition and regency of his only son Soltân Modaffer to a great lord of his court. This nobleman, to support himself against the other great men of the kingdom, who were his enemies, at length called in Akbar, under pretence of protecting his pupil, though already of age, against his rebellious subjects. Akbar, having defeated the malecontents, seized the whole kingdom, and made both the king and governor prisoners. Modaffer made his escape, with design to recover his kingdom; but, having been defeated and made prisoner a second time, he killed himself in despair².

¹ Fraser's Hist. of Nadir Shah, p. 26.
part iii. p. 6.

² Theven. Trav. Ind.

The first town next to Sindi is Kuchnâgghen ; which *Kuchnâg-* has some trade for cotton, corn, coarse cloth, and chonk ; *ghen.* a large kind of periwinkle-shell, which in Bengâl and other parts of India, they saw into rings, or ornaments, for the arms of women.

The province and town of Kuchnâgghen is governed by a queen, who is very formidable to the neighbouring states. They chose to be governed by the female sex, because, in their judgment, they are more tractable and gentle than men, who, intoxicated with power and honour, become obstinate in their opinions, and insolent in their behaviour.

The next province to Kuchnâgghen is Sangânia, go- *Sanganiâ* verned also by a princess, for the same reason. It produces cotton and corn, like the rest of Guzerât ; but the people living wholly by piracy, admit of no trade, for fear of being civilized by example. Their chief sea-port is called Baët ; and as they give protection to all criminals, such as commit offences deserving punishment repair thither, and become public robbers. Depending on their numbers, they board the ships of every country without distinction. Before they engage, they drink bang, an intoxicating liquor, made of a seed like that of hemp, which renders them quite furious. They wear long hair ; and let it loose as a sign they will give no quarter.

The next port to Baët is Jigat, standing on a low point *Jigat port* of land, called Cape Jigat. The city makes a good appearance from the sea, and is the seat of a fouzdar, or governor, for the Mogol : but has no trade. Yet Mangaroul, the next maritime town, admits of commerce ; chiefly for coarse callicoes and provisions. It is inhabited by Banyans ; so that deer, antelopes, and peacocks, are not afraid to enter into the very houses. Poremain, which follows on the shore, is a pretty large town. Its trade and inhabitants are of the same kind with the former : but both places are obliged to maintain râspouts (or râji-pôûs), who are natives of Guzerât, to protect them from the insults of the Sangânians.

Diu, which is the next port, and most southern land *Diu, or* of Guzerât, is a small isle, three miles long, and two *Diu city.* broad, belonging to the crown of Portugal. The city is pretty large, surrounded with a high stone wall, flanked with bastions, well furnished with cannon ; and a deep moat cut in a hard rock, to defend it on the land-side ;

[†] Hamilton's New Account of the E. Ind. c. 12. p. 131, & seqq.
about

about one third part of the city. The other sides are fortified by the ocean, thickset with dangerous rocks and high cliffs, which forbid any approaches that way; and a rapid, deep river, which affords a good harbour on the north-east side. The harbour is secured by two castles (D): one of which, can bring a hundred great pieces of artillery to bear on its mouth, and obstruct the entrance of shipping. The other is but small, built on a rock in the middle of the river, and serves for a magazine of stores.

*Situation
and
Strength.*

Diu is one of the best built cities in the Indies. It is situated on an ascent, beginning from the great castle; and as it hath five or six beautiful churches, which stand one above the other, facing the sea, the prospect from thence is extremely pleasant. The stately buildings of freestone and marble, which still remain, are evidences of its ancient grandeur and opulence; but at present not above one fourth part of the city is inhabited. This fortress first baffled the power of Badr, the king of Guzerāt; who, after having granted them leave to build it, would have expelled them again, when he saw that it drew all the trade from his other ports; and then that of the Turks, in 1538, who brought a great fleet to dispossess them: but, about 1670, the Arabs of Muskāt, with a fleet of trankis, landed by night on the west end of the island; and, marching silently up to the town, at break of day, when the gates were opened, entered without resistance. The enemy slew all the Portuguese who could not reach the castle; and for three days loaded their vessels with the rich plunder. They also mounted some cannon on one of the churches, and fired on the fort; but to little purpose. The governor could easily have made them remove farther off the castle, with his heavy artillery; but the priest forbade him, under pain of excommunication, to shoot a single bullet, for fear of hurting some holy image. However, this forbearance did not save the sacred trumpery; for the Arabs not only took away all the consecrated plate and cash, but did not leave a gold or silver image behind them; as for those of wood and stone they broke them to pieces*.

*Surprised
by Arabs.*

*Recovered
again.*

At length the Arabs growing secure and negligent, about four thousand soldiers and slaves, on promise of freedom, made a sally with such success, that they killed a thousand of the enemy, and drove the rest out of the city; which

(D) Thevenot says it had three in his time.

* Hamilton, ubi supr. ch. 2. p. 353, & seqq.

still

still feels the dismal effects of that surprize. At present there are not above two hundred Portuguese in both the town and castle. The rest of its inhabitants are Banyans, to the number of about forty thousand: but few of them are rich; because it is unsafe for monied strangers to dwell among the Portuguese, who still retain their pride and insolence. The king of Portugal receives about twelve thousand pounds yearly by a poll-tax, and six thousand by the customs and land-tax: but was Diu in the hands of some industrious nation, it would be the best mart-town on the coast of India, on account of the neighbourhood of the Indians, both by the bay of Sindi and that of Kambaya.

The country between Diu and Dand Point, extending *Warrels* about thirty leagues, admits of no traffick, being inhabited by free-booters, called *Warrels*; who often associate with the *Sangānians*, in their piracies and depredations.

These *Warrels* dwell in small villages, the best of which, *Coast dangerous.* called *Chance*, stands about sixty miles to the east of Diu, three miles within the mouth of a river. Though people occupy all the coast from Dand Point to *Goga*, which lies above twelve leagues within the gulf of Kambaya, the coast is very dangerous, being not only thick-set with rocks and sand-banks, but a rapid tide of six or eight miles an hour runs among them, in a channel twenty fathom deep in some places.

Goga is a pretty large town, and has had some mud-wall fortifications; which still defend the inhabitants from the insults of their neighbours the *Kowlis*; who inhabit the north-east side of Guzerāt, and are as great thieves by land as the former are by sea.

Goga has some trade, and admits strangers to a free commerce. Its harbour is capable of receiving the largest ships, although they lie dry on soft mud at low-water; but the tides, rising four or five fathoms perpendicular, afford a depth enough at high-water. The place is governed by an officer from the Mogol, with about two hundred men under his command.

Kambaya, or, as the natives call it, *Kambawt*, lies about twelve leagues from *Goga*, at the bottom of the gulf, or *Kambaya city.* bay of Kambaya, on a small river. It is a large city, with high walls, and the capital of a kingdom, which bore the same name, when the Great Mogol Akbar sent his son *Jehān Ghīr* with a great army, who conquered it^w.

^w Hamilton, *ubi supra*, p. 144, & seqq.

This city lies about fifteen or sixteen leagues from Ahmed-abâd, and is twice as large as Surât; but not near so populous. The walls are of brick, defended by towers. The streets are spacious, with gates at the end; and the houses high. The castle is large, but not handsome: the town swarms with monkeys, who throw stones at passengers from the house-tops.

Its trade

Kambaya is still a place of good trade, though not half inhabited; and contributes greatly to the wealth and grandeur of Surât, to which it is subordinate. From its vicinity to Ahmed-abâd, it shares the advantages of that large city; for most of what it exports comes to Kambaya, and is carried by the Surât shipping all over India; except what is transported to Europe.

*and manu-
factures.*

The product and manufactures of this place are scarce inferior to any in the Indies. It abounds with grain and cattle, cotton and silk. The cornelian and agate-stones are found in its rivers, and no-where else in the world. Of the first they make rings, and stones for seals. They cut the agate into bowls, spoons, handles for swords and knives, snuff-boxes, buttons, and other curiosities. The people of Kambaya embroider the best of any in the Indies, and perhaps in the world: but they are much infested by their neighbours the Patâns, as well as the Râspûts and Kowlis, who have sometimes surprised and plundered the city*.

Baroch.

The next maritime city to Kambaya is Baroch; it stands on the east shore of the bay, on the side and at the foot of a high and steep hill, looking southward to the river Nerdâba. It is long and square, encompassed with stone walls, eighteen feet high, flanked with round towers. The fortress stands well, but is neglected; here the Baftas are made. These are famous all over India, the cotton of this country being the best in the world. It depends on Surât, and was formerly a place of great trade; but it suffered much in the wars, which Aurengzîb waged with his brothers.

Surât city.

Surat, or Surrât, is twenty leagues from Baroch, situate on the banks of the river Tâpti, or Tâpta; and the present city is not much above one hundred years standing: for, about 1660, the Tâpti being incommoded with sand-banks at Rannier, the then mart-town on this river, the English removed two miles farther down, on the opposite side, near a castle; which had been built many years before, to secure the trade from the insults of the Malâbar pi-

* Hamilton, p. 144, & seqq.

rates. Others following their example, within a few years the place became a large town; but without walls: and so continued till the rajah Sevaji in, 1664, came and plundered all but the European factories; which were on their guard. After this disaster, at the request of the inhabitants, Aureng-zib inclosed with walls a space of ground, about four miles in compass, to build their city in: but, the number of people increasing with the trade, several large suburbs were added for the convenience of mechanics. The wall was built of brick about eight yards high; with round bastions, two hundred paces asunder, each mounted with five or six cannon^a.

Surat is very populous at all times; and from December to April so full of people, that both in the city and suburbs lodging can scarcely be had. It is inhabited by Mohammedans, Hindûs, and Parsis. There are very rich people here. The English have settled in this city the greatest staple of their trade: the Dutch have also a factory in the place. The castle stands on the river to the south of the town, is square, and pretty large, with a wet ditch. The houses are flat, and pretty well built of brick: the streets large, and even; but there is no considerable public building within the walls. Provisions of all sorts are here in plenty.

This city flourished in trade till the year 1686, when the English company disturbed its tranquillity, by an unjust war which they made on Surat; and which ended in three years, neither to their profit nor honour. In 1695, its trade was molested by Avery the pirate, who took one of the Great Mogul's ships, with a booty of three hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds, and a young Mohammedan lady, on her return from Mecca. In 1705, the neighbouring rajahs, with eighty thousand horse, plundered all the villages in the plain country, and then besieged Surât; but, having no artillery, they did not succeed. These free-booters are composed of Warrels, Kow-lis, Râspûts, Pâtanners or Pâtans, and Grasias; but go under the general name of Gannims. The Grasias were formerly the landed men of this country; who, on their submission to Akbar, articed to have the ground-rents paid them: but as the nabobs often defraud them, they levy it themselves in the manner abovementioned. While this army lay before the place, the inhabitants built redoubts, about half a mile without the wall, and afterwards joined

^a Hamilton, p. 146, & seqq.

them by curtains: so that this new wall, which incloses the suburbs, extends about five miles from the bank of the river above the town, to that part which terminates below the town; and all the inclosure is well peopled.

Rich merchant.

The inhabitants of Surát are computed at two hundred thousand; and among them are many very rich men, as well Mohammedans as Hindús. Hamiton was acquainted with one of the former, named Abdol Gafour, who drove a trade equal to that of the whole English East India company. The commerce of this city is very considerable; for the revenues, arising from the customs, land-rents, and poll-money, amount, one year with another, to one hundred and sixty-two thousand five hundred pounds^c.

The port.

The bars.

The port of Surát is Swalli, two leagues north of the bar, or entrance of the Tápti, distant from the city four leagues and a half. Here is good anchoring; but, because the customs have been often stolen, no ships are admitted since the year 1660, excepting those of the English and Dutch, who have their magazines in the place. Since that time, the vessels of all other nations come to an anchor at the bar of Surat, which is only a road^d.

There are in Guzerát about thirty-five cities, or considerable towns; among which may be reckoned several of the ports already mentioned; and all the rest are near the sea: but we shall only speak of two inland places. The first is Brodra, which lies between Baroch and Kambaya. It is a large modern city, with pretty good walls, and has above two hundred towns and villages within its district; where store of lakka, or gum-lak is found. The second place is,

Ahmed-abád:

Ahmed-abad, or Ahmed's City, so called from a king of that name. Shâh Jehân nicknamed it Gherd-abâd, or the *Habitation of Dust*; because it was much incommoded therewith. It was the seat of the Guzerát kings, as it is now of the Mogol government. The city stands in a delightful plain, watered by the little river Sabremetti. The walls are built with stone and brick, flanked at certain distances with great round towers and battlements. It has twelve gates; and, including the suburbs, is about four miles and a half in length. It is distant from Surát eighty-six kos; which make about forty-three French leagues. The streets are wide. The Meydân Shâh, or *King's Square*, is seven hundred paces long, and four hundred broad, planted round with trees. On the west side is the castle,

fair and rich.

^c Hamilt. p. 44, 147, & seqq.

^d Thevenot, p. 26, & seqq.

well walled with free-stone, and as spacious as a little city; the karawansaray is on the south of the square, and its chief ornament. Near the meydân also is the king's palace, whose apartments are richly ornamented, and in the midst of the city the English factory. The place from an eminence appears like a wood, it is so full of gardens. The Hindûs have here an hospital for sick birds, and another for sick beasts. For magnitude and wealth this city is little inferior to the best in Europe; and the revenue which it yields, is generally reckoned to be ten times as much as that of Surât^c.

The province of Agra is one of the largest in all Hindûstân; and its capital, of the same name, the greatest city in the whole empire; distant from Surât about two hundred and ten leagues. It stands on the river Jemna, or Jemini; which, rising in the mountains north of Delhi, becomes a very considerable river at Agra, and falls into the Ganges at Halabâs. It was no more than a country town, with a little castle of earth, when the Great Mogol Akbar, pleased with the situation, enlarged it, and made it the seat of his empire, in 1566, calling it Akbar abâd, or *Akbar's City*. The present castle, built by him in place of the former, is the largest in all the Indies. The walls are of stone and brick, terrassed in several places, and twenty cubits high. Between it and the river is a large space, left for drawing up troops, and other diversions, in the emperor's view. The palace is in the castle; containing three courts, set round with porticos and galleries, all painted and gilt; nay some pieces are plated over with gold. Under the galleries of the first court are the lodgings for the imperial guards: those for the officers are in the second court: and the third contains the stately apartments of the emperor and his ladies.

There are besides, twenty-five or thirty other large palaces all in a line, belonging to the princes and great lords of the court. The city is very long but not broad; and, excepting a few good streets, all the rest are very narrow and without symmetry. Before the king's palace there is a very large square; besides which there are twelve others in the city. But the chief ornament, next the palaces, is the karawansarays, above sixty in number; some of which have six large courts, with their porticos. There are at Agra above eight hundred public baths, and a great *Fair* *mausoleum*.

^c Hamilt. ubi supra, p. 144, 149.

number of mosques, with very magnificent sepulchres. Among the latter is that of Akbar, and another erected by Shâh Jehân, in honour of his beloved queen Taje Mâhl, extremely beautiful.

After all, Agra is much incommoded by the heats in summer. It is extremely crowded when the court is there; but at other times not very populous: besides, the greater part being taken up by the palaces and gardens, it cannot contain so many inhabitants as some have reported. The generality of houses are low, and those of the inferior sort of people made only of straw. The Dutch have a factory there, but the English have withdrawn^h.

Fetipûr. The province of Agra hath above forty cities, or large towns, dependent on it; and, as they say, above three hundred and forty villages. Among the cities is Fetipûr, formerly called Sikari, about six leagues from Agra. Akbar, having at the beginning of his reign rebuilt the walls, made it the seat of his empire; but he removing afterwards to Agra, it was quite abandoned, and is now much decayed; yet there is still a large square to be seen, adorned with elegant buildings. The stately entrance of Akbar's palace is still entire; and has adjoining to it one of the finest mosques in all the East, with a great reservoir near it, which supplied the whole city with water. Biâna and Skânder-abâd are famous for indigo. This latter was formerly several leagues in length, having been the capital of a powerful Patan king; and in its neighbourhood are the ruins of ancient palaces and other buildings.

Dehli province. The province of Dehli lies to the north of Agra. The road betwixt the two capitals, is that famous alley, or walk, a hundred and fifty leagues in length, which Jehân Ghîr planted with trees. Each half league is marked with a kind of turret, and at every stage there are little sarays, or karawânsarays, for lodging travellers. At that called Sheki Saray, six leagues from Agra, there is an ancient pagod, one of the largest and fairest in the Indies; greatly frequented, before the Jemna, on which it stood, retired about half a league from it. The road, though tolerable, has many inconveniencies: it is not only frequented by wild beasts, but by robbers, so dexterous at casting a noose about a man's neck, that they never fail, if within reach, to seize and strangle himⁱ.

City of Dehli. The capital Dehli consists of three cities, built near one another. The first, now quite destroyed, is said, by the

* Thevenot, p. 33, & seqq.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 40.

learned Indians, to have been the residence of king Porus, invaded by Alexander: they report also, that it had fifty-two gates. The second city is that which was taken by Humayûn: it was then beautified with several stately sepulchres of the Patan kings, and other monuments; but Shâh Jehân demolished it to build Jehân-âbâd; which makes the third city, and joins the ruins of the second. It stands in an open plain country, on the side of the Jemna; which rises in this province. The fortress, which is a mile and half in circuit, has good walls, with round towers, and ditches full of water, faced with stone. This citadel is surrounded with pleasant gardens; and in it is the emperor's palace¹.

Fortress.

Dehli, or Jehân abâd, is encompassed with walls, excepting towards the river. They are of brick, flanked with round towers; but without a ditch, and terrassed behind, four or five feet thick. The circuit of the walls may be about nine miles; but if we take into the city a very long suburb, through which the way lies to Lahûr, with what remains inhabited of old Dehli, which is likewise a very large suburb, besides three or four other small ones, the whole would make in a line about a league and a half^m.

The province of Azmîr (or Ajmîr), lies south-west of Dehli, east of Sindî, west of Agra, south of Multân and Penjab, and north of Guzerât. It hath been divided into the three provinces of Bando, Jeselmîr, and Soret. The capital bears the same name with the province, and is about sixty-two leagues from Agra.

Azmîr province.

The city Azmîr stands at the foot of a very high and almost inaccessible mountain, which has at the top an exceeding strong castle. The city has stone walls, and a good ditch. Azmîr is pretty large; but when the Great Mogol goes thither, there is an inconceivable croud of people. The place is famous for the tomb of Khoja Mondi, a Mohammedan saint; to which there is a great resort of pilgrims. Great quantities of salt-petre are made in this city.

City of Azmîr.

The province of Sind, or Sindî, by some called Tâtta, *Sind. or Sindî.* has Azmîr on the east; Multân to the north; a desert and the Indian sea to the south; and to the west Makrân, and Sejestân in Persia. It extends from north to south, on both sides of the Indus, called by the orientals Sindî, or Sind; from whence the province takes its name.

¹ Thevenot, p. 41, & seq.
part iii. p. 5, & seq.

^m Bernier, Mem. Mog. Emp.

City of
Tatta.

The chief city is called Tatta, and the most southern town Diul, or Diul-Sind, and heretofore Dobil. Some orientals name the country of Sind the kingdom of Diul. It is a province of great traffick, especially at Tatta, where the Indian merchants buy a great many curiosities made by the inhabitants, who are extremely ingenious. The Indus, towards the Tatta, forms a great many little islands ; which, being very fruitful and pleasant, render it one of the most commodious cities of Hindústán. A great trade is likewise carried on at Lowri Bânder, three days journey from Tatta, upon the sea-coast ; where there is a better road for ships than in any other part of the Indies ^o.

Lowri, its
port.

It stands five or six leagues from the sea, on a branch of the Indus, capable to receive ships of two hundred tons. This mart is no more than a village of a hundred houses, built with crooked billets and mud ; but has a large stone fort, mounted with four cannon, to protect the merchandize brought thither from the Ballowchîs and Makkrâns of Persia, on the west ; and the Jâms of Hindústán to the east. These often rob the kasfilas, which pass between this port and Tatta, although escorted by one or two hundred horse ; the country being almost level, and overgrown with shrubs and bushes, fit to cover their ambuscades.

Tatta ci-
tadel.

Tatta is the emporium of the province, a very large and rich city, about three miles long, one and a half broad, and about forty miles from Larri Bânder. It has a large citadel at its west end, capable of lodging fifty thousand men and horses, with convenient stabling, and a palace for the nabob, or viceroy. The city stands about two miles from the Indus, where canals are cut to convey water to it. In 1699, no rain having fallen for three years, a plague ensued ; which, in the town only, carried off above eighty thousand manufacturers in silk and cotton ^p.

Famous for
learning.Cattle and
game.

Tatta is famous for above four hundred colleges, in which youth are instructed in theology, philology, and politics. They have plenty of black cattle, large and good ; horses, small but hardy and swift. They hunt with dogs, leopards, and a fierce creature, called a shûgûs. It is as big as a fox, with ears like a hare, and the face of a cat ^q.

Indian
chariots.

They have but few coaches at Tatta ; because the Europeans, who only use them, seldom go thither ; but they

^o Thevenot, p. 52, &c seq. ^p Hamilt. p. 115, & seqq. ^q Ibid. p. 125, 128.

have

have chariots, which are exceeding neat, and convenient enough for travelling. They are flat and even at the bottom, having a border four inches broad, with pillars all round. Some, who will go to the charge, have ivory balusters instead of pillars. The bottom is covered with a neat carpet, on which the party, who is carried through the town, sits after the eastern manner. Some cover it above with a slight canopy, to keep off the sun, when they go into the country. This machine hath no more than two wheels, no larger than the fore-wheels of our coaches. Hackney coaches are hired for twenty-five pence, or half a crown, per day; but are not so easy as our coaches, because not hung.

The finest palankins in all the Indies are made at Tatta. *Palankins.* It is a kind of coach with four feet, having on each side ballusters four or five inches high, and at each end a back-stay, like a child's cradle. This machine hangs on a bambù pole, five or six inches thick, arched in the middle, by means of two wooden frames nailed to the feet at each end, with rings at top, for fastening it to the pole by ropes. The whole is covered with a piece of callico, or red serge, if a woman be in it; but velvet, if a lady: if it threatens rain, a waxed cloth is the covering. In the bottom are laid mats and cushions, to lie or sit on: some have their palankins covered with plates of silver, others painted with flowers, or set round with gilt balls. They are commonly very dear: the bambù alone costs sometimes a hundred crowns; but porters, of whom there are required two at each end, may be had for nine or ten shillings a month; out of which they maintain themselves⁵.

The Indus at Tatta is about a mile broad, and six fathoms deep from side to side. The stream is not very rapid, its motion not exceeding two miles and a half in an hour. It produces many kinds of fish, particularly excellent carp. This country is fertilized by the overflowing of the Indus, in April, May, and June. It is navigable as high as Kashmîr, for vessels, called kaftîs, which are of several sizes; the largest containing about two hundred tons. They are flat-bottomed, with cabins on each side, from stem to stern, which hang over about two feet, each furnished with a kitchen, and a privy. These are for passengers; and the hold is made into separate apartments for traders. They have one mast, and a square sail; but hawl the ship up the stream when the wind is against

*The Sindi,
or Indus.*

⁵ Thevenot, p. 53, & seq.

them;

them ; so that they are six or seven weeks in a voyage from Tātta to Lahūr ; although they return in eighteen days, and sometimes in twelve. It would be difficult to find the mouth of the Sindī, were it not for the tomb of a Mohammedan saint, with a high tower over it, called Sindi Tower, and always kept white, to serve for a land-mark. The bar, going into the river, is narrow, and has not above two fathom and a half in spring-tides ; but this is only a small branch of the Indus ; which appellation is lost in this country, where it is called Divellī, or *Seven Mouths* ; although it discharges its waters into the sea by many more ^t.

Multān
province,

and city.

The province of Multān, which includes that of Bukor, has to the south Sind, to the north Kābul, with Persia to the west, and Lahūr to the east. It is watered by many rivers, which make it fertile.

The city of Multān is but small for a capital ; yet pretty well fortified, and of great importance as a frontier, since Kandahār is in the hands of the Persians. It has many good cities under its jurisdiction, as Kozdār, or Kordār, Kandavil, Sandur, and others. Multān furnishes the best bows, and nimblest dancers, in all Hindūstān. Being not far from the Indus, it had formerly a very great trade ; but as at present vessels cannot ascend so high up, because the river is spoiled in some places, and the mouth full of shelves, the traffick is much diminished. However, the province yields abundance of cotton, sugar, opium, galls, brimstone, and camels. Multān is the chief resort of the Baniyāns, for sake of trading into Persia, by Gâzna and Kandahār. They are very jealous of their wives, who are fairer than the men, yet still of a very brown complexion, and use paint. This is properly the country of the Kâtri, or Kutteri, who from thence disperse themselves all over the Indies. These two sects, or casts, have a famous pagod here, to which pilgrimages are performed. The idol is cloathed in red leather, has a black face, and two pearls in place of eyes ; but the Mohammedan governor takes the offerings which are made to it ^t.

Kâbulistān.

The province of Kâbul, or Kâbulestān, is separated on the north from Tartary by Kâf Dâghi (that is, Mount Caucasus) ; Kashmîr lies to the east, Zâbulestān and Kandahār being to the west, and Multān to the south. The country, though watered by two of the rivers which fall into the Indus, yet being cold and mountainous, is not

^t Hamilt. p. 125, & seqq.

^u Thevenot, p. 55, & seqq.

very

Very fruitful ; it is, however, very rich, on account of its great trade with the rest of India, Persia, and the country of the Usbeks ; who sell here yearly above sixty thousand horses. It is situated so conveniently for traffick, that nothing is wanting, and all things are very cheap.

The city of Kâbul is very large, and has two strong castles, with a great many palaces ; as kings once resided here, and princes successively have had it for their portion.

This province is full of aromatic trees and drugs, which are very profitable ; and yields iron, which is fit for all uses. Mirabolans grow in the mountains, whence that fruit is called kâbulî by the Orientals ; and from hence especially come the canes, of which they make halberts and lances. Kâbulestân is full of small cities, towns, and villages. As most of the inhabitants are heathens, here are a great many pagods. At the full moon in February they celebrate the feast of Hûli, which lasts two days, in honour of Krushman (or Krîsna), who slew a giant. This country supplies the Indies with physicians ; who are all Banjâns (or Baniyâns), and some of them very skilful.

The province of Kashmîr, or Kîshmîr, is bounded on the west by Kâbulestân, on the east by part of Tibet, on the south by Lahûr, and on the north by Tartary. It is surrounded entirely by steep mountains. It is one of those countries called Turk Hind, that is, the India of the Turks, or the Turkey of India, as having formerly belonged to the kings of Turkestân.

Kashmîr is a very fine champaign country, about thirty leagues in length, and twelve in breadth. Their histories say, that it was once a great lake, till a holy man let out the waters, by a miraculous gap which he made in the mountain of Baramoule. The mountains which inclose this little kingdom consist of two ranges, the higher and the lower. The latter, which are next to the plain, are all green with trees or pasture ; stored with all sorts of cattle and game, without any wild beasts. Above these mountains rise others exceeding high, and always covered with snow.

Out of these mountains issue innumerable springs and rivulets, which at last meeting, make a river as large as the Seine ; and this river, having gently made the circuit of the country, and passed through the capital city, quits Kashmîr at Baramoule, between two steep rocks. It afterwards receives many small rivers from the mountains,

tains, and falls into the Indus towards Atok. The country, being so plentifully watered, looks like a great ever-green garden, intermixed with towns and villages. They have here all sorts of European fruit-trees, with many of their plants and flowers, besides those of the country ^b.

The capital Sirenâker. The capital, which bears the same name, and is by some called Sirenâker, is without walls, two miles and a quarter long, and a mile and half broad ; about two leagues from the mountains, and standing on a lake of sweet water, four or five miles in compass. This is formed by the rivulets from the mountains, and communicates, by a navigable canal, with the river, which passes through the city, where it is crossed by two wooden bridges. The houses are of wood, well built, and two or three stories high, with gardens. The lake is full of little isles, adorned with trees and shady walks : beyond the lake, on the side of the hills, there is nothing but houses and gardens of pleasure, which form a charming prospect.

Fine garden.

The finest of all those gardens is that of the king, called Shâh-limar. From the lake one enters it by a great canal, above five hundred paces long, running between two alleys of poplars, to a great summer-house in the middle of the garden ; where begins another more magnificent canal, which runs to the end of the garden, provided with another apartment, with a row of water-spouts in the middle, at every fifteen feet. These summer-houses, which are made like domes, in the midst of the canal, have each a gallery round it, and four gates ; two facing the poplar alleys, with bridges to pass over to them ; the two others look towards the canals. Each consists of a great chamber in the middle, and four lesser rooms at each corner, all painted and gilded within. The gates are very rich, made of great stones, finer than porphyry ^c.

It is not without cause that the Mogols call Kashmîr the paradise of the Indies, and that Jehân Ghîr was so enamoured with it as to say, he would sooner lose all the rest of his empire than this little province ; whose dominion once extended over all the neighbouring mountains, including Little Tibet, the state of Râjah Gamon, Kâshgar, and Serenâgher, as far as Great Tartary, and over all Hindûstân, as far as the island of Seylân, or Ceylon.

^b Bernier, *ubi supra*, part iv. p. 83, & seq. & seq.

^c Ibid. p. 85.

The inhabitants of Kashmîr have the reputation of being very witty, much more intelligent and dexterous than the Indians, and as fit for poesy and the sciences as the Persians: they are besides very industrious; they make palekis (or palankins), and various kinds of moveables, which they varnish very curiously, and vend all over the Indies; but their most profitable manufacture are the stuffs called shales. These are an ell and half long, and one broad, embroidered at the ends twelve inches deep. The Mogols and Indians of both sexes wear them in winter on their heads, passing them over their left shoulder like a mantle. They make two sorts; one of the wool of the country, finer than the Spanish; the other of hair, finer than beaver, taken from the breast of a wild goat in Great Tibet.

Inhabitants very witty, and handsome.

The Kashmîrians look as well as any Europeans; having nothing of the Tatarian flat nose, and little eyes, like those of Kashgar, and most of the people of Great Tibet. The women especially are very beautiful; and as fair as in any part of Europe^d. There are three roads into the country; that from Khoraffân, in Persia, is so difficult, that the passengers are obliged to carry their goods on their backs; the road of India is equally difficult; that of Tôbbot, or Tibet, is easiest^e.

The province of Lahûr lies to the south of Kashmîr, *Lahûr province.* and north of Dehli. Moltân lies to the west, and to the east are high mountains, in many places inhabited by râjalis; part of whom are independent. This is one of the largest and most plentiful provinces of the Indies. It is rendered fertile by the rivers, especially five; whence it takes the name of Panjâb, that is, *five rivers*. Rice, corn, and fruits abound here. It affords pretty good wine, with the best sugars of all Hindûstân; and the towns abound with all sorts of manufactures.

The capital city, called Lahûr, is a hundred leagues from Dehli, and a hundred and fifty from Agra, the whole road being a beautiful alley between shady trees. Multân lies more than threescore leagues distant. It is situated on the Râvi, one of the five rivers above mentioned, which fall into the Indus. This large city was formerly the residence of kings. The castle which still remains is very strong; nor has the royal palace within it lost its beauty: there are a great many pompous paintings on the walls, representing the actions of the Great Mogols. Here are

^d Bernier, ubi sup. part iv. p. 90—97.
lib. iv. p. 96.

^e Hist. Tim. Bek,

streets above a league in length, full of ruinous palaces ; and the houses run daily to decay.

*Ayud, or
Audin.*

The province of Ayud, or Hawd, contains the most northern countries belonging to the Mogols, as Kakares, Bánkîsh, Nágarkut, Siba, and others. It is watered by rivers which fall into the Ganges ; so that, notwithstanding the mountains which are in it, it is exceeding fertile ; and its trade with the countries to the north-east renders it very rich. There are many independent râjâhs in this province, and two pagods of great note, one at Nágarkút, which is by far the most famous, because dedicated to the idol Mâtta. The other at Kalamâk, which is venerated, because the Indians look on it as a miracle, that the water of the town should be very cold, and yet spring from a rock which continually throws out flames ^f.

*Varad, or
Varal.*

The province of Varad, or Varal, resembles in every respect that of Ayud, as to soil, fertility, trade, and wealth. It contains the more north-eastern countries of Hindústán ; namely, Gor, Pitân, Kanduâna, and some others.

*Bekar
province.*

Bekar comprises the provinces of Dowâb, Jesuat, and Udefseh. It is watered also by rivers which fall into the Ganges, like Ayud and Varad. It lies east of Dehli, and is the most eastern province of Hindústán ; which on that side is bounded by the mountains of Udefseh. It is large, and very rich, containing several good cities ; the principal of which are Sânbal, Menapûr, Râjahpûr, Jehânak, and especially Bekâner, which is the capital, situated to the west of the Ganges. In this province, and the two above mentioned, there are to be found some of all the casts and tribes of the Indians ; which are said to be eighty-four in number.

*Halabâs
province,*

The province of Halabâs, formerly called Purop, comprehends those of Narvar and Mevât, which have on the south Bengâl. The chief city bears the same name, and is situate on the Ganges, at the mouth of the river Jemini (or Jemna). For a long time it was one of the bulwarks of the kingdom of the Patans. Akbar having taken it, after he had subdued Bengâl, caused a strong citadel to be built there ; which stands on a tongue of land, inclosed with three walls, whereof the outmost is of very hard red stone. In this castle is a very ancient obelisk, above sixty feet high, with many inscriptions on it ; but the letters are so defaced that one cannot distinguish the characters.

^f Thev. ubi sup. p. 62, 63.

The king's palace is a beautiful building; and underneath it there are places arched, where the pagods of the country are kept, which the people of the province believe to be representations of Adam and Eve; who were created there, and whose religion they pretend to follow. This belief brings, at certain times, incredible numbers of people in pilgrimage from all parts of the Indies; who, before they approach the sacred place, purify themselves in the Ganges, and shave their heads as well as beards.

There are a great many considerable cities in this province; among which are Narvâl and Jehûd: but their religion is split into a number of sects, every one more extravagant than another. Halabâs is pestered with fâkîrs, a kind of religious medicants, who perform strange penances, and are great knaves; but not quite so bad as the Mohammedan fakirs ^g.

The province of Oulester, which we call Bengâl, is named, by the Hindûs, Jaganat, from the pagod of Jag-^{province.} ganat, which is there. It is inhabited mostly by Hindûs; who are as fantastic in their religion as those of Halabâs, and a hundred times more numerous than the Mohammedans. They are extremely voluptuous, have a piercing wit, and are much giving to stealing. The women themselves are bold and lascivious; using all sorts of arts to debauch young men, especially strangers, whom they easily trepan, because they are handsome, and appear well-dressed. The people live much at their ease, because the country is so fruitful. Here are above twenty thousand Christians. This province was kept in far better order under the Pâtan kings, who reigned there before the Mohammedans and Mogols became masters of it; because there was then uniformity in religion ^h.

Bengâl is by some travellers esteemed more fertile than Egypt. It supplies many foreign countries with rice, sugar, and sweetmeats. For half-a-crown one may have twenty good pullets; ducks and geese in proportion. Kid, mutton, and pork, are in great plenty. No country affords such store of calicoes and silks, saltpetre, lakka, opium, wax, and civet. What is most disagreeable to strangers is the air.

Bengal, taking it near a hundred leagues in length, on both sides of the Ganges, from Râjah-Mâhl to the sea, is full of great canals, formerly cut out of that river, with vast labour, and reaching far into the country, for the

^g Thev. ibid. p. 66, 67.

^h Hamilt. vol. ii. p. 17, & seqq.

conveniency

conveniency of transporting commodities. These canals are on both sides lined with towns and villages ; to which belong large fields, bearing rice, sugar-canies, corn, sesamum, small mulberry and other trees.

Bengâl is full of castles and cities ; as Philipâtan, Sati-gan, Patane, Kâsan Bazâr, and Chatigan. As the Indians esteem the Ganges sacred, their chief pagods are built near it ; among which the two chief are those of Jagannat and Banarûs. In short, here idolatry reigns triumphantⁱ. The chief towns on the west branch of the Ganges are, first, Hughli (or Ogûli), a place of great trade. The Dutch have a factory at Chinchura, which is contiguous to it, and another at Barnagur, twenty miles lower : a little below that, the English have a factory, called Fort William, at the town of Kalkutta ; and about three miles below Hughli, at Charnagur (or Chandernâgor), the French have a factory.

Hughli.

Kâssem
Bazâr.

Banâres.
or Kâsbi.

Dâkka
the capital.

Malva
province.

Kâssem Bazar, or Kâsan Bazâr, is a large and rich town, about one hundred miles above Hughli. Here the English and Dutch have factories. Twelve miles higher is Mâksûd-abâd, or Râjah Mâhl, formerly the greatest place for trade on the Ganges, before it removed to Kâssem Bazar. Forty or fifty miles to the east of Râjah Mâhl is Mâldo, a large town, where the English and Dutch had factories. The next city is Pâtana, or Pâtna, where the prince of Bengâl, who is always of the royal blood, resides. About one hundred miles farther up stands Banâres, celebrated for its sanctity, and being the university of the Indies.

On the easternmost branch of the Ganges, which is largest, lies Dâkka, or Dâak, under the tropic of Cancer, the largest city in all Bengâl, and properly the capital. It is narrow, but extends four miles and half along the river. Most of the houses are only of canes covered with earth. As the tide comes up as high as Dâkka, it renders trade there very easy. Fifty leagues lower this branch of the Ganges falls into the sea, one hundred leagues distant from the western mouth, or branch, at Chittagoung, called by the Portuguese Xatigâm the last town of Bengâl, and the Mogol's empire, eastward ; at present a very poor place^k.

The province of Mâlva lies to the west of Bengâl and Halabâs. It includes the countries of Râjah Rânas,

ⁱ Thevenot, p. 68.
Thev. p. 68.

^k Hamilt. vol. ii. p. 19, & seqq.

Gwaliar, and Chitôr. This province is very fertile, and produces whatever is found in the rest. Ratispôr is the capital, a place of the greatest traffick. It is situated on a mountain. Traitors condemned to die are sent to the castle of this city; from the top of which they are precipitated. Mândo is a fine city, seated at the foot of a hill, on the top of which stands the castle. The ruins of temples and places shew it to have been a large and sumptuous place. Chitôr is likewise a famous city, but almost ruined. It stands on a very high hill, which is plain at top, walled about, at least ten miles. The remains of one hundred pagods, many fair palaces, and above one hundred thousand houses, are still visible. There is but one ascent to it, cut in the rock, and secured with four gates. It was taken by Akbar from Râjah Rânas¹. Few mentions, as the chief cities, Ujen, the present capital, Nar, and Seringe.

Kandish lies to the south of Mâlva; and they who reduced the number of provinces joined to it Berar, and what the Great Mogol possesses of Orixa. The whole taken together is of vast extent; full of populous towns and villages, and few countries in all the empire equal it for riches. It abounds with cotton, and manufactures of that produce. In the above mentioned province of Berar Herbert places the fortres of Rota, or Roughtâz, made impregnable both by nature and art^m. It is seated on a hill, the sides of which are perpendicular. There is only one way of going up to the top, where there is a plain sowed with rice and corn, half a league in compass (P). He adds, that the castle is fortified with six bastions, and twenty-seven pieces of cannon, with three moats of water, replenished with good fish. The plain is watered by above twenty springs; but all the rest of the mountain is a steep precipice, covered with woods. The râjahs formerly used to live in this fort with seven or eight hundred men; but the Great Mogol took it by the policy of Amir Jemlaⁿ.

The capital of Kandish is Brâmpûr, about eighty leagues from Surât. The governor is commonly a prince of the

*Brâmpûr
the capital.*

¹ Terry, p. 82. ^m Herb. Trav. Ind. p. 63. ⁿ Tavern. Trav. Ind. part ii. c. 13, p. 139.

(P) Herbert says the plain at top is eight miles in diameter, and twenty-four in circumference; abounding with wa-

ter and necessaries: also that sixteen villages were inclosed within the castle-wall.

blood. It is a great city standing on such uneven ground, that the low streets look like ditches, when viewed from the higher. The houses are of earth; but, being covered with varnished tiles of divers colours, the roofs, seen through a variety of green trees, make an agreeable prospect. Two karawânsarays stand facing the meydân, which extends five hundred paces; and from it you enter the castle; whose walls are six or seven fathoms high, with battlements, and at intervals large round towers, above thirty paces in diameter. The east front of it is washed by the Tâpti, and in that part the walls are eight fathom high, with neat galleries at top. Whence the emperor, when at Brâmpûr, views the fighting of elephants, which is commonly in the midst of the river; where there is the figure of that animal in reddish stone, erected by Shâh Jehân, in memory of one which died fighting in his presence.

*Great
trade.*

The water of the river being brackish, the inhabitants are supplied from a large tank, or basin, which is in the meydân. Beyond the Tâpti is a pretty large suburb. The trade of Brâmpûr equals that of any other city. Besides chints, there are white calicoes mixed with gold and silver; whereof the rich make veils, scarfs, handkerchiefs, and coverings. The same trade is driven at Orixá, Berar, and other towns of this province².

*The Pâ-
tans.*

Besides the provinces already described, five more belong to the Mogol's empire; namely, Ballagât Proper, Baglâna, Telenga, Viziapur, and Golkonda; the description of which will be given, when we come to treat of the Hither Peninsula of the Indies, wherein they are situated.

S E C T. III.

Inhabitants of Hindústán.

*Various
nations.*

HINDUSTAN is inhabited by different kinds of people; as the Hindûs, the Pâtans, or Afghâns, the Baluchis, the Parsis, and the Mogols, or Tatars; besides foreigners, particularly Jews and Christians, of various sects. All, excepting the Hindûs, who are the ancient inhabitants, have settled there by conquest, or accident; having been induced by commerce, or compelled by war and persecution, to abandon their native countries.

*The Hin-
dûs.*

The Hindûs are the original occupants; and, though subject to the Mogol, still preserve the superiority in numbers; being at least a hundred to one compared with all the rest.

The Parsis are the descendants of the ancient Persians, *The Par-*
who worshipped the fire. These, to avoid the persecu-*sis.*
tions of the Mohammedans, on their first conquest of
Persia, fled in great numbers by the sea to India; where
they settled, on the western peninsula, chiefly about Surat,
and there they still remain.

The Pâtans were those from whom the Mogols con-*The Pâ-*
quered Hindûstân. Authors are divided about their ori-*tans.*
ginal. Some say, they came from Pâtna, or Pâtana,
a province in Bengâl, beyond the Ganges^p. But it is
more likely they are the descendants of those Moham-
medans, Turks, Persians, and Arabs, who, about the
year 1000, first became masters of Dehli and Mul-
tân, under Soltan Mahmûd Gâzni^q. These people
are still very numerous throughout Hindûstân, chiefly in
the north-west parts, towards Kâbul, Ghâzna, and Kan-
dahâr; from whence, in all probability, they originally
came. They still inhabit the same provinces of the Per-
sian empire, where they are chiefly known by the name
of Afghâns: they have a great aversion to the Mogols, for
having dispossessed them of their territories; and, being
high-spirited, still entertain hopes of recovering from them
what they seized. The meanest of them frequently used
this expression, “let me never be king of Dehli if it be
not so.” These people are fierce and warlike. They now
possess many of the mountainous parts; where some have
erected petty sovereignties, like the râjahs^r. They
have, from time to time, given great uneasiness to the
Mogols; and had no small share in the revolution brought
about in that empire by Nâdir Shâh.

The Baluchi are another nation who possess several parts of Hindûstân, to the west of the Sind, or Indus; parti-*The Bal-*
cularly the province of Hajakhân^s. But in Persia, where
also they seem to have had their original, they are masters
of a greater dominion; for they are spread over all the
large province of Makrân, and the neighbouring parts.
They are a barbarous people, addicted to rapine: nor do
they pay much obedience to either of the monarchs to
whom they are subject.

The Moguls, or Jagatâys, are the present lords of Hin-*The Mo-*
dûstân, where they reign over the rest, with an absolute
sway. To these five nations we may add the Europeans^t.

^p Terry Voy. East Ind. sect. vii. Bernier Memoirs, c. 2. p 17.

^q See Hist. Turks, Moguls, &c. p. 754, & seqq. ^r Bernier, ibid.

^s Terry Voy. Ind. p. 387. sect. 7. fol. edit.

Several re-
ligions.

who have settled there; particularly the Portuguese Spaniards, English, Dutch, French, and Danes. They first established themselves along the coasts of both peninsulas, and in the islands, chiefly by force; but were afterwards dispossessed almost every where by the Dutch. The Spaniards also made some conquests, as that of the Philippine islands: but the other three nations settled in the Indies by treaty with the inhabitants, or permission of their kings.

Of the several nations above mentioned the Hindūs and Parsīs are Pagans: but excel all the rest in modest deportment, and the practice of virtue. The Pātans, Baluchis and Mogols are Mohammedans. The two first given to arms, and of a restless disposition, subject on slight occasions to revolt, and plunder their neighbours, without distinction. However, the Pātans and Mogols are pretty strict observers of their law, and the rules of justice, at least among themselves.

Having given our readers this general idea of the several nations inhabiting Hindūstān, we proceed to treat more particularly of the Mogols, the Hindūs, and the Parsīs.

I. Of the Mogols, or Jagatays.

Their
shape.

THE natives of Hindūstān are like the Europeans as to stature; but generally very strait: their complexion is of a deep tawny, or olive colour; their hair jet black, very harsh, but not curled. They dislike people who are very white or fair; because that is the colour of lepers, who are common in those parts.

Most of the Mohammedans, except their priests and ancient men, keep their chins constantly shaven, but let the hair on their upper lip grow very long. They likewise shave their heads all over, leaving only a lock on the crown by which they expect to be drawn up to heaven by their prophet Mohammed. They wear, instead of hats or bonnets, a kind of turbān, made with a piece of narrow calico, wound several times about the head*.

Saluta-
tion.

The inhabitants in general are very civil and courteous, as well to strangers as to one another. They salute by bowing the head, or the body, laying the right hand on the breast, and uttering compliments as they pass. The meaner people salute their superiors in a very submissive

* Terry Voy. Ind. p. 276, sect. 5.

or abject manner; either by putting the right hand to the ground, and then laying it on the head, or else by falling on their knees, and then bowing the head to the earth. In their more familiar salutations, they take each other by the chin or beard, and cry *bâba*, father, or *bij*, brother. Their usual compliments at meeting are, “God give you health;” “I wish you the prayers of the poor;” or “that one good may arrive to you quick after another.” Inferior people whose dependance is on others, say, “I eat your bread and salt;” as much as to say, I am your servant, and at your disposal.

The dress of the Hindûstâns is all the same, in great and small, rich and poor, different only in the cost: for they never alter their fashions. The coats to the waist fit close to their bodies, from whence they hang loose a little below their knees, the skirts sitting pretty full. The sleeves are long and tight, that they may ruffle from their elbows to their wrists. Under this coat they usually wear a light vest of the same cloth, but shorter. Under their coats they wear long breeches, like trowsers, which fall down to their ankles. Their feet are always bare in their shoes; but as clean as their hands.

The covering of their heads is made with a long piece of cloth, about half a yard broad, commonly white, and sometimes interwoven with threads of silk, gold, or silver, at least at one end, for ornament. This cloth, which they call a *fash*, winds round the head several times, and is a very great defence against the sun. However, as it must keep their heads hot, they endeavour to remedy that inconvenience by continual shaving. They have girdles of the same kind of fashes, which go twice about them, the ends hanging down before.

The dress of the Mohammedan women differs but little from that of the men; only they bind their hair with long fillets, which hang down behind. They wear likewise on their heads veils of callico, which hang down over their other garments. They bore their ears not only in the flaps, but round the rims, in which they wear small pendants, made of thin and narrow pieces of gold or silver, bras or iron, according to the quality of the person. The lower part of their left nostril is also pierced, for putting in rings of those metals, at pleasure; the ends of their gold rings meeting in a pearl drilled for the purpose. The women of quality wear great hollow rings of gold enamelled, silver, or bras, upon their wrists and the

*The men's
dress.*

*Head at-
tire.*

*Women's
dress.*

small of their legs, two or three on each limb; which make a tinkling when they move ^t.

Their diet. Although Hindūstān affords abundance of flesh and fowl, which are exceeding cheap, yet the Mohammedans feed chiefly on vegetables. They stew all their flesh, cut into slices or small pieces, with onions, herbs, roots, green ginger, and some butter. They sometimes with their other flesh mince that of fowls, so as to compose a kind of olla. But their common dish is rice, boiled and seasoned with ginger, pepper, and butter. Sometimes they make pillow, by boiling together with rice, pieces of flesh, venison, mutton, or fowls ^u.

Bread. They have several sorts of grain, especially wheat; which is more full, compact, and white, than that produced in England. The ordinary people use a coarser grain, which they make up like oaten cakes, and bake it on small round iron plates. Their butter though soft, is very good. They have also plenty of cheese, made of milk taken from cows, sheep, goats, and buffalos.

Drink. The common drink of the inhabitants of Hindūstān is water; which they have in great perfection. Sometimes they boil seeds in it, to give a flavour; and it is observed to be colder after heating than it was before. They have, besides water, two sorts of wine in the Indies, one natural, the other distilled ^v. The first is the juice of a tree, called toddi. It is drawn from it by making incisions in the branches, which grow only towards the top, and hanging underneath pots made of gourds to receive the juice. The liquor is very clear, pleasant, and wholesome. If drank before noon it is diuretic and inoffensive; but if kept till the heat of the day, it becomes unwholesome, and very intoxicating. Their distilled wine is drawn from sugar, and the spicy rind of a tree called jagra. The Indians call it raak or arak. Although they have excellent grapes, they make no wine, because it is forbidden by the law of Mohammed. Those who are strict observers of their religion drink no wine at all, but use coffee. To supply the place of it, likewise they chew betel, or pawne; which is the leaf of a shrub, like the ivy leaf, but more tender. They chew it along with a hard nut shaped like a nutmeg, and a very little pure lime mixed with the leaves. They say it strengthens the stomach, comforts the brain, preserves the teeth, and cures or prevents a tainted breath.

^t Terry Voy. Ind. p. 409, & seqq. sect. 11. ^u Terry Voy. Ind. p. 406, sect. 1c. ^v Ibid. p. 358. 364. sect. 2.

The Mohammedans in this country, are married with much the same ceremonies as are observed in other countries where that religion is professed. *Marriage.*

They who have most wives and women are most jealous ; so that they will not suffer either the brothers or fathers to speak to them, but in their presence ; and custom has made it infamous for a wife to be seen by any man besides to her husband. Adultery and fornication also are reckoned criminal, that rather than the offender shall escape punishment, their own brothers will not scruple to take away their lives : for which barbarity they shall not be called to an account, but commended. Common women are tolerated here ; but they must be registered or licensed before they can have liberty to open house. Some of the better sort of these prostitutes, at certain times, repair to court, to divert the great mogul, with singing their wanton songs, and playing on their timbrels ^x.

The women are exceeding happy in this part of the world, in having easy labour. The children of the poorer sort go naked for several years ; only now-and-then their mothers cover them with a slight callico mantle. The eldest son by a lawful wife has a privilege above the rest, who call him budda or their great brother ^y.

The Mohammedans wash the bodies of their dead ; which they bury not in their mosques or churches, but in some open place out of the towns ; digging the grave very deep and wide. Their mourning over the deceased is immoderate, and often renewed every year, especially by the women, in their houses, and at their graves, which they bedew with tears ; frequently asking the party, as if living, why would he die, since he had such loving wives, such loving friends, and other comforts in this life ? The men of greatest quality often provide costly sepulchres for themselves and nearest friends. For this purpose they inclose, with a wall, a good piece of ground, near some tank, or spring of water, in order to make fountains ; then they erect little mosques, and near them tombs ; which are either round, square, hexagonal, or octagonal, with cupolas of stone over them. They are raised upon pillars, or else piers, with arches, and within the body is deposited. The workmanship is exceeding good. The rest of the ground is planted with fruit-trees and the choicest flowers. *Burials.* *Sepulchres.*

^x Terry Voy. Ind. p. 430, & sect. 17.
iii. ch. 24, p. 47.

^y Thevenot, part

There are likewise many handsome monuments erected in memory of such as they esteemed pirs, or saints ; in which are lamps continually burning ; with votaries, who have salaries, to attend them. These sepulchres are daily resorted to by devout people : and certainly no places in the empire afford more delight than their burying-grounds ; nor do they bestow so much cost on any other structures : witness the famous sepulchre at Sekandra, three miles from Agra, begun by Akbar and finished by his successor^t ; of which an account is given by travellers.

Languages. The common language of the empire called the Hindústán, has much affinity with the Persian and Arabic ; but is more smooth, and easily pronounced ; very significant and concise. The characters are also very different, and written from the left hand to the right, like the European. The Persian is spoken at court, but the Arabic is the learned language ; although all the learning of the Mogols amounts to very little. However, the people themselves are men of very strong reason, and will speak off-hand on any subject exceeding well ; so that, if there was literature among them, they might produce many excellent works ; and as it is, they are said to compose witty poems, as well as histories of their own, and the neighbouring countries. Their chief science seems to be astrology, in which there are many pretenders : because the generality are infatuated with the belief of it, which is encouraged by the example of the court : for the great mogul has his astrologers about him ; nor does he undertake any thing of the least moment without consulting them^u.

Their b.² lief.

The religion of the Mogols, Afgháns, and Pâtans, is the Mohammedan, of the Sunni sect, who hold Abûbekr for the true successor of Mohammed, in opposition to the Shiya, who acknowlege Ali in that quality. When the kingdoms of Golconda and Viziapûr were in being, the Shiya sect prevailed in the former, and in the territories of the latter the Sunni and the Shiya were mingled together^v.

The Mohammedans are very charitable ; some build inns in great cities and towns for lodging travellers ; others make wells and tanks, a kind of reservoirs or cisterns, for the public use ; while some keep servants to attend on the most frequented roads, with water in great skins, carried

^t Terry, p. 431, & seqq. sect. 18.

^w Tavern. Trav. Ind. chap. i. p. 159.

^u Ibid. p. 412, sect. 12.

by buffalos, to refresh passengers and their beasts at free cost ^x.

Among the Mohammedans, as well as Pagans, there *Monks.* are many, who, out of devotion, voluntarily undergo very rigid penance, far exceeding all the Romanists boast of. Of these there are two sorts; the first called dervishes, who spend their lives in solitude and contemplation, retiring to the tops of hills shaded with trees, where they fix their habitation, from whence they never stir. They never cease crying out, "God Almighty look upon me; I love not the world, but thee; and do all this for thy sake." After their retirement they let their hair and nails grow to their full length, and will perish sooner than go out of their cells, depending for relief on the charity of others, who send them cloathing and victuals. Some impose on themselves tasks of fasting for so long a time, that their natural strength is almost quite spent for want of nourishment.

The second sort of penitents, called *fakirs*, wear nothing about them but what is sufficient to cover their nakedness; and, like mendicant friars in the Romish church, make a profession of begging for their subsistence. They commonly dwell in the outskirts of towns, and making little fires by day, sleep at night in the warm ashes, with which they besmear their bodies. They sometimes take intoxicating drugs, which make them talk wildly; this delirium draws the common people about them, who mistake their jargon for prophecy. Some, out of devotion, put iron fetters on their legs, so heavy, that they can scarce move with them, and then, covered with a blue mantle, which is the mourning colour, walk many miles barefoot, on the scorching ground, in pilgrimage to the tombs of their saints.

The number of fakirs in the Indies, is computed at eight hundred thousand idolatrous mendicants, or penitents, called *joghis*, who are all vagabonds, who impose on the credulous multitude by a false zeal, and abundance of idle words, which pass for oracles. Of these fakirs there are several kinds; the almost naked sort have no certain abode, and give themselves up to all manner of uncleannesses. There are others whose garments are of so many different pieces and colours, that one can hardly tell what they are made of. They generally go in troops, and have their superior known by his habit, which is com-

*Fakirs, or
mendi-
cants,
very nu-
merous.*

^x Terry, p. 417, sect. xiv. and p. 429, sect. 15.

Go in companies.

monly more abject, and full of patches, than those of his gang. He draws after him a great iron chain, above two yards long; this he rattles all the while he says his prayers, with a loud voice, and an affected gravity, which attracts the veneration of the people, who in the interim prepare dinner for him on the spot, where he takes his stand, generally in some street or other public place.

Deceive the people.

There he causes his disciples to spread carpets, and sitting down, gives audience to the people; on the other hand, his disciples go about publishing through the country, that God reveals to him his most important secrets, and gives him power to relieve persons in affliction. The multitude approach him with great devotion, as a holy man, pulling off their shoes, and prostrating themselves to kiss his feet. Then the fakîr, to shew his humility, makes them sit down by him, and hears every one apart. They boast of having a prophetic spirit, and, above all, to teach barren women a way how to procure children, and be beloved by whom they please. Some of these fakîrs have more than two hundred disciples, whom they assemble by the sound of a horn, or beat of drum. When they travel they have their standard lances, and other weapons, which they pitch in the ground near their master, when he takes his repose.

An other sort.

The third sort of fakîrs, being born of poor parents, and desirous to understand the law, retire to the mosques, where they live on alms. They employ all their time in reading the Korân, which they get by heart; and if to this study they can but add a little science, they come to be chief of the mosques, and to the dignity of mullahs and judges of the law. These fakîrs marry, and some have three or four wives, thinking they do God great service in begetting many children to be followers of his law ^y.

Tolerance.

All religions are tolerated in Hindûstân, and the people treat the clergy of every persuasion with much respect ^z.

II. *Of the Hindus, or Hindows, as divided into Tribes or Families.*

*Hindus
tribes.*

THE Hindus are divided into four great tribes or orders of people; 1. The men of the law, or the priesthood. 2. The men of arms, comprehending their rajahs, or kings. 3. The merchants, or men of traffick. 4. The

^y Tavern ubi supra, chap. ii. p. 160.
fect. xxx.

^z Terry, p. 475,

commonalty, including mechanics, husbandmen, and all inferior kinds of people.

The first class is called by the Indians Brahmans, Bramans, or Bramins. The names of the other tribes seem to differ in different parts of the country. Roger, who resided at Paliakât in the kingdom of Karnâta, on the coast of Choromandel, calls the second order Setreas; Bernier, who procured his information at Agra and Banâres in the Mogol's empire, calls them Ketteris; and Thevenot, Katri. The third order is named by Roger, Weynias; by others, Vanias, and Paneans, or Baniyans; Bernier calls it Besku; Lord, Shudderis; and by Thevenot, it is denominated Soudr and Kourmi. The fourth class is named Sowdras by Roger; Sidra, by Bernier; Wife, by Lord; and Wens, by Thevenot^a.

The disagreement found in the two last articles is not easy to be accounted for.

These four principal castes of the Hindûs are subdivided into several subordinate classes; of which it will be necessary to give our readers some account.

1. *Of the Brammans, or Bramins.*

The Brâmmans derive their name from Brammon, the *Bramans* eldest son of Pourous, the first man, according to the *name*. Hindûs, or else from Brema, or Bremaw, the first created being of the second age, to whom the law was delivered, and are divided into eighty-two sects or families^b.

The Bramins themselves say, that there is no race or family of men more worthy, or agreeable in the eyes of God than their's, and all the other Hindûs families allow the first place in dignity to be due to them. The *Vedâm*, or *Book of the Law*, which the Hindûs maintain was sent from God, has declared its esteem for this family, by ordering that a Bramin shall not be put to death for any crime he commits, how atrocious soever it may be. His punishment is to be the loss of sight; for it is reckoned to be one of the five great sins to kill a Bramin, not to be expiated by less than a twelve years pilgrimage: during that time also the homicide is to beg alms with the Bramin's skull in his hand, out of which he is to eat and drink what is given him. And when the time of twelve years is expired, he is then to bestow much in alms himself, and build a

Persons sacred.

^a Roger Mœures des Bram. p. 2. Bernier, Mem. Mog. Emp. part iii. p. 145. Lord's Account of the Banian Religion, chap. 9. Theven. part iii. chap. 38. p. 63. ^b Lord, ubi supra, chap. 10.

temple in honour of Eswâra, or Ishuren ; nay, the Vedâm has made the person of a Bramin so sacred, that if one of them will go to war, and happens to be slain, he who killed him must build the temple, in case he be able^c. Besides these express precepts of the Vedâm, or Wedâm, the Bramins claim and obtain from the Hindûs, no small veneration, on account that this book was delivered to them, and that they are the keepers of it^d.

*Race of
kings.*

In some parts of India, on the coast of Malabâr, Brammins are kings : they are in other countries frequently made governors of provinces or cities, and are generally farmers under the râjahs.

The tribe of Brâmmans is among the Hindûs as the tribe of Levi among the Jews ; but we shall consider them as priests, when we come to treat of the Hindû religion hereafter in our account of the Hither Peninsula of India.

2. *The Kuttereys, or Settreas.*

Kuttereys.

THE Kuttereys, or Kutteris, derive their name from Kutterey, the second son of Pourous ; and, as dominion and government was given to him, therefore all kings and soldiers are of this tribe^e ; which properly consists of the nobility, named Râjah, who have a chief, or king, styled Râjah of Râjahs, and *the God of the Râjahs* ; a title which is to be understood of the king of Bisnâgar, or Narsinga, in Karnatika, or Karnata.

The nobles.

In former times, this family of nobles was divided only into two branches : the first named Sowri Wanjam, so called from the sun, which in the famiskortam, or learned language, is named Sowri, because they are the true nobility. The other branch is named Soma Wanjam, from the moon. But there are at present, besides these two, many other branches who do no great honour to their order, as having intermarried with other families.

Their office.

The office of nobles is to govern and defend the country against enemies ; they are likewise to take care, that the Brâmins be not in want. However, a great many of them are poor themselves, and as they cannot trade, their families often increase to such a degree, that the income of their lands will not maintain them : hence it is, that their children, being left poor, are obliged for a livelihood to serve the richer lords for soldiers^f ; and these are

^c Roger, ubi supra, p. 3. & seq.
38. p. 64.

^d Theven. ubi supra, cap.
^e Lord, chap. 11.

^f Roger, p. 5, & seq.

called Rājapūts, and corruptly Rāspūts, that is, *children of the Rājahs.*

The Hindūs of this tribe eat the flesh of all sorts of animals, excepting the cow.

The Shāster tells us, that the misconduct of the kings *Race destroyed:* and rulers, having been the source of all the disorders which occasioned the destruction of the world in the second age, God rooted out the whole tribe of the Kutteris, and that it might be renewed from a more holy stock, appointed that the line of the rājahs should be restored from that of the Brāmmans, in the person of Rām, youngest son of Dusera, chief of the Brāmmans, who was preserved from destruction. But this holy line proved no better than the other; for they grew so wicked, that they brought the third destruction on the world; and in the fourth age, which is the present, it seems Kutteris somehow sprung up again, since they now exist.

As this tribe of kings has suffered many changes, it may be considered in three different states; its flourishing, declining, and present condition.

During their flourishing state, the Kuttereys were the *flourishing ancient sovereigns and rulers in India, especially that part state:* called Guzerāt, and were styled rājahs, which signifies *kings.* These rājahs, whose dominions were large or small, according to their forces, had about them chiefly four persons of eminence. The first was a Brāmman, who, by soothsaying and augury, prescribed the times most proper for the king to begin any enterprize. The second was the Pārdon, who managed affairs of state, and dispatched all matters of judicature under the rājah. The third was the moldār, or *high chamberlain*, who was commonly present, and conversed with the king. The fourth officer was the disnakke, or *general of his armies*, who was sent upon all his military expeditions.

The rājahs, or rather Kuttereys, were then divided into thirty-six subordinate tribes, or noble families; as the Chawrah, the Solenkīs, the Vaggela, the Dodepuchas, the Paramars; and so forth.

Touching the declining state of the rājah tribe, their *declining history relates, that a certain rājah, named Rawisaldī, state:* dying, his son Sideraysaldī, to honour his father's memory, erected a costly temple and monument, at a place called Sīthepolalpūr; and, being desirous that it should last for ever, consulted his Brāmman, named Madew-

naugher, upon that subject: the brâmann's answser was, that one sultân Alao'ddîn, a Pâtan king of Dehli, shou'd deface it, and also gain some confiderable conquest in Guzerât. To prevent this misfortune, the râjah sent both his brâmann and pârdon to Dehli, in order to purchase peace with the sultân, by a sum of money. They could hear of no Alao'ddîn, but the son of a shepherd, a boy, whom they found feeding a kid. However, concluding him to be the person mentioned in the prediction, they acquainted him with the good fortune which was to betide him, and offered him the money to spare their master's monument. Alao'ddîn resolutely answered, that if it was the will of heaven that he should destroy the monument, he could not avoid executing its decrees; and refused the present, till his parents, who were very poor, persuaded him to accept it. Hereupon he gave them a written instrument, importing, that although heaven had decreed that he should scatter some stones of that building, yet he would pick them out of its corners in such a manner as might fulfil the prediction without breaking his promise to the Siderayfaldî.

Alao'ddin, with the money thus obtained, raised forces, and was so prosperous in arms, that he became king of Dehli; he afterwards invaded Guzerât, made great conquests from the râjâhs of that country, and fulfilled his engagement to Siderayfaldî, by sparing his monument. At length, being weary of the toil, he gave the government of his new acquisitions to Futter Khân, his cup-bearer; who, on the sultân's return to Dehli, prosecuted the war in Guzerât. This example was followed by his Mohammedan successors; and thus was the power of the râjâhs in that province reduced very low.

their present state in Hindústán. From that period we may date their present state: some of them yielded to the invaders, others retired to inaccessible places on the borders of the country, where they remain to this day. From thence they make incursions into the neighbouring territories, rob the kâffîas on the high roads; and sometimes advance to the skirts of the strongest, as well as most populous cities, attended with their resolute soldiers, called râshpûts, that is, *sons of râjâhs*. Guzerât was entirely subdued in the time of the Great Mogol Akbaer, as other provinces more northward and to the east, had been before, and the rest by degrees since; yet still many of the râjâhs maintain an independence in the heart of the empire. There were towards the beginning of Aureng-zib's reign about one hundred

hundred dispersed over the whole; of whom fifteen or sixteen were so rich and powerful, that three of them only, were sufficient to have coped with them, if they had united their forces.

The Great Mogol is obliged to keep these, and several other rājahs, in his service for several reasons: first, because their militia is very good, and some of them very powerful; secondly, to bridle the other rājahs by means of them; thirdly, the better to sow division among them; fourthly, to employ them against his own rebellious governors, as well as foreign enemies, especially the Persians; not daring to trust his omrās, who are mostly of the same nation^b.

3. *The Shudderî, Weynjas, Vanias, or Baniyâns.*

The Shuddereys derive their descent from Sudderî, the third son of Pourous; and commerce having been the business appointed for him, for this reason all the people belonging to his tribe follow merchandize, or are brokers for the merchants. They are called Baniyâns, which in the Brâmmans language, wherein their law is written, signifies, *an innocent and harmless people*; as they really are: for they cannot bear to see a fly, worm, or any other living creature hurt; and if they receive a blow, take it patiently.

The Shudderî tribe.

The number of families, or branches, in the Shudderî, or Baniyân tribe, is equal to that of the Brâmmans families, being in effect the self-same families; for they chuse to be under the discipline either of the Visalnagra-naughers, or Vulnagra-naughers; by whom they are directed in matters relating to religious worship: for their law having most resemblance to that of the Brâmmans, they more strictly follow their injunctions, than the two other tribes.

The form used by the Baniyâns in buying and selling is very singular, and different from that of other nations: for the broker, taking his pamering from about his waist, spreads it on his knee; then both he and the seller putting their hands underneath, with the ends of his fingers he imitates the price, in pounds, shillings, and pence, which the chapman is willing to give, and then the seller, by the same method, acquaints him how much he expects to have. This form of making bargains is, they say, en-

Form of bargaining.

^a Bernier, vol. i. part iii. p. 20, 21, 27.

joined

joined them by their law¹. By the same law they ought to deal justly, without either cheating, or taking too much profit. They live much after the same manner as the Brāmmans, eating nothing which has had life.

Of this tribe there are some named Komitis, and others Weapari; each party affirming, that they are the true Weinjas, or Baniyāns^k. /

4. Of the Wives, or Sowdras.

Tribe of
Weyz.

THE tribe of Wise, or Weyz, took its name from the fourth son of Pourous, who was the master of mechanics, or handicrafts. The word Wise implies a person who is *servile* and *instrumentary*; doubtless, because they serve, and are helpful to those of the other tribes, or professions. These people, at present, are most commonly called Gentiles, or Gentews, and are divided into two sorts, the Pure and Impure, or unclean, called Visserawn: this latter kind of Gentiles, of which are the husbandmen, or the inferior sort of people, called Kowlis, or Kūlis, take great liberty in their diet, eating animal food, either fish, or flesh. On the contrary, the purer Gentiles, who are the handcraftsmen, follow the rule of the Baniyāns, as to diet; abstaining both from flesh and wine, or using them but seldom. However, as in religious worship they agree most with the Kuttereys, so they do likewise in the number of their families, or classes, which are thirty-six, according to the number of trades, or professions, to be found among them.

most nu-
rous.

This tribe is the most numerous of the four. The principal families are those of the Wellala and Ambria; others of note, are the Sitti, who trade: the Palli are poulters and painters: the Kay Kulle is an inconsiderable people; most of their women are whores, which, however, is no disgrace among them; the men are dancers, weavers, fowers, and soldiers, as some of almost all the other families are: but the most contemptible of all is the Palla family, being regarded little more than the Perreas, who are not reckoned among the tribes; and of whom we shall speak presently. These several families have each their peculiar customs, of which they are very jealous^l.

The Kor-
rewās.

The family of the Korrewās have no fixed places of dwelling; but wander about the country, with their

¹ Lord, ubi supra, chap. 12. ^k Roger, ubi supra, p. 7. ^l Ibid, p. 8, & seqq.

wives

wives and children. They lodge in little huts, which they set up without the towns ; and, when they remove, put them, with their few moveables, upon little asses, which they keep for the purpose. They live by making fans, or vans, for winnowing the rice ; likewise covers for pots ; and carry salt from the sea-side up the country, on their asses ; which not being able to bear much at a time, they are exempt from all kinds of taxes, and never molested, on account of their poverty. The women of this family pretend to tell fortunes, and get more that way than any other.

5. *Of the Perreas, or Parias.*

THE Perreas or Parias, may be called a fifth tribe, distinct from the other four. They live by themselves in the out-skirts of towns ; and, in the country, build their houses apart from the villages ; or rather have villages of their own, furnished with wells ; for they dare not so much as fetch water from those which other families make use of : and, lest these latter should inadvertently go to one of their's, they are obliged to scatter the bones of dead cattle about their wells, that they may be known ^m. *The Perreas, or Parias.*

These Perreas dare not in cities pass through the streets where the Brâmmans live ; nor set foot in the villages where they dwell. They are likewise forbidden to enter a temple, either of their god Wistnow, or Efwâra ; because they are held impure. They get their bread by sowing, digging, and building the walls of mud houses : most of those inhabited by the common people being raised by these Perreas ; who also do such kinds of dirty work as other people do not care to meddle with. Nor is their diet much more cleanly ; for they do not scruple to eat cows, horses, fowl, or other carrion, which die of themselves, and even stink.

One would scarce imagine, that contentions for pre-
^{two} _{branches.} dency should ever enter into the thoughts of a people, who have renounced all cleanliness, and, like swine, wallow in filth ; and yet pride has divided the Perreas into two classes : the first are simply called Perreas, the other Seriperes. The employment of these latter is to go about selling leather, which they dress ; also to make bridles, and such kind of things : some of them likewise serve for soldiers. The Perreas, who reckon themselves the

^m Roger, p. 12.

better family, will not eat in the house of the Seriperes: but the Seriperes will readily eat with the Perreâs. For this reason they are obliged to pay them respect, by lifting their hands aloft, and standing upright before them.

Seriperes,
or Halal-
chers:

soul feed-
ers.

These Seriperes, when they marry, cannot set up a pandâl, a kind of garland, before their doors, made with more than three stakes, or trees; should they exceed that number, the whole city would be in motion. The Seriperes are likewise subject to some sort of slavery; for, when any person of credit, or authority, dies, in the families of the Komitîs, Sittîs, Pâlis, farriers, or goldsmiths, and the friends have a mind to be at the expence of some cloaths to give the Seriperes, these latter must suffer their beards to be shaven; and, when the corpse is carried out of town to be burned, or interred, they must do that office; for which each receives a fanum, or one piece and a half of silver, worth three sous and a halfⁿ. These are the same sort of people, who are called, at Surât, Halalchers; that is, in the Persian language, *eat-alls*, or *eaters at large*. Nothing can offend an Hindû more, than to be called an Halalchor: yet these poor people are not offended; cringe and bow to all they pass, and go through their drudgery without noise, or concern^o.

6. Manners and Customs of the Hindûs.

Hindûs:

HAVING given our readers some account of the Hindû tribes, and families, we proceed to speak of their manners and customs.

their Cha-
racter:

The Hindûs, in general, are extremely sober; and never commit any excess, either in eating or drinking: they even seem to be born with a natural aversion to all intoxicating liquors. They are very reserved, with regard to women, at least outwardly; so that they never commit an indecent action in public. They are extremely charitable to the poor. It is an inviolable law, that all relations must assist one another; and share the little, which they possess, with those who are in want. They are of a very mild disposition; so that nothing shocks them so much as anger, and a hasty temper. This mildness is particularly remarkable in the Baniyâns; owing to the abhorrence, which they have to bloodshed; which, at the same time, renders them wholly unfit for being soldier. They are not

* Roger, p. 14, & seqq. ^o Ovington's Voy. to Surât, p. 382.
& seq. ^p Le Lane ap. Lett. Ediss. tom. 10. p. 11.

inclined to inflict any corporal punishments; and have a perfect detestation of those which are capital ⁹.

As the Baniyân is formed of so very mild a temper, he ^{not easily offended} is not easily offended. He will bear almost any thing, without emotion, excepting slipping; that is, a stroke with the sole of a slipper, after a person has taken it off his foot, and spit on it: this is dreaded above all affronts; and looked on to be no less ignominious, than spitting in the face, or throwing dirt, among us.

The Baniyâns are extremely covetous, and greedy of ^{greedy of} gain. Some individuals worth an hundred thousand ^{gain.} pounds, will run from the one end of Sûrât to the other, for the prospect of gaining six pence. Their thoughts being thus continually bent on increasing their wealth, they generally secure a comfortable subsistence; and some of them amass a prodigious treasure. Their riches consist solely in cash and jewels, which they keep as secretly as they can from the knowledge of the Mogol officers. This consideration curbs them in their expences, and obliges them to great secrecy in their commerce, so that they pay and receive their money in the night.

If a Baniyân happens to kill but a mite, or flea, the offence must be expiated by some considerable atonement. They condemn those of folly as well as cruelty, who for food slay kids, lambs, chickens, or other young creatures; especially the calf, which is their darling animal, whose life they seldom fail to ransom. Of this humanity the Knavish Mohammedian fakîrs often take advantage, threatening, in presence of a Baniyân, to kill some bird, or other creature, in order to extort money for its redemp-
Kindness to animals.tion.

They are likewise at considerable expences annually, for supporting animals. Within a mile of Sûrât, they have a large hospital for cows, horses, goats, dogs, and other dis-eased, lame, or decayed creatures. When an ox, for instance, is through age and toil become unfit for farther service, lest the merciless owner should be tempted to kill him for his flesh, the Baniyâns either beg or buy him; and then place him in the hospital to be taken care of till he dies a natural death. Once a-year they prepare a set banquet for all the flies which are in their houses, of sweet milk and sugar mixed, in large shallow dishes, set on the floor or table for the purpose. At other times they walk with bags of rice under their arm, for two or three miles

Hospitals for cattle, and even vermin, snakes, and rats.

⁹ Ovington's Voy. Sûrât, p. 257. 277, & seq.

into the country, stopping at each ant-hill to leave a handful of that beloved grain: but the strangest fancy of all is their care for the preservation of fleas, bugs, and other vermin, which suck the blood of men; for in an hospital near the former, built for their reception, a poor man is hired now-and-then to rest all night upon the *kot*, or bed, where the vermin are put; and lest their stinging should force him to take his flight before morning, he is tied down to the place¹.

Their affection for animals is such, that they even adorn them; fastening, for instance, large rings of some metal about the legs of a favourite cow, or goat. They shew the same regard for trees. This great fondness for animals is nourished by their doctrine of the *metempsychoisis*; in consequence of which the scrivan, or secretary to the English brokers, for a long time fed a large snake, which came into his house, with bread and milk, on a supposition that the soul of his deceased father was lodged in it. He was no less indulgent to some rats, which he likewise lodged in his house, on the belief that they harboured the souls of some departed relations².

*Timorous,
but honest.*

The Hindús, in general, are of a low and timorous spirit, excepting the *rājahpúts*, who are the military tribe; but their other virtues make amends for that defect. The *Baniyáns*, who serve as factors, or brokers, whether to natives or strangers, discharge their trust with great integrity; in like manner they of the fourth tribe, who hire themselves as servants, are so faithful, that, far from defrauding their masters on the road, they would die in defence both of them and their goods, if attacked by robbers: nor are they less diligent than faithful, being continually within call; nor are ever absent without leave. Thus, for five shillings a lunar month, they serve and maintain themselves with as much care as if they had ten times the wages³.

Shaving.

The Hindús wear short beards, and shave their heads all over. By thus frequent shaving, they become excellent barbers. The people of this profession seldom keep shop; but go about with a chequered apron thrown over the shoulder, and a mirror in the hand. Their implements consist of a razor, not an inch long; a brass *bafon*, as big as a coffee-dish, and a piece of hard soap, which they dip in the *bafon*, and rub about the lips and head.

¹ Ovington's Voy. to Surát, p. 298, &c.
² Terry's Voy. to Ind. &c. 3. p. 396.

³ Ibid. p. 287, &c.

They have an iron instrument also; one end serves to pick the ears, the other to pair the nails; and all these operations they perform for a gosbik, which is less than a farthing.

The Hindûs often wash their bodies, and keep their feet as clean as their hands. The better sort anoint themselves daily with sweet oils, which give them an agreeable scent. The poor also anoint with cocoa-nut oil; but that being rank, and themselves, both men and women, accustomed to eat hing and garlick, they smell so strong, that strangers find it very disagreeable to pass through their places of resort ^w.

All the different tribes of Hindûs are distinguished *How distinguished.* from one another by the cut of their beards, or different paintings of their bodies and foreheads, as well as the winding of their turbâns. A Brammân paints himself on the forehead with a Pythagorean Y between his eyebrows, descending to his nose; and gives to every tribe its peculiar mark.

The male Indians are tall, and large-boned. Their *Shape.* colour varies according to the different parts they inhabit. The women are small, and for the most part plump; but short in respect of the men. They are neat, and well-shaped, and keep their breasts carefully bound up: they are quick in labour, and affectionate to their children: they are cleanly, as well in their cookery as their bodies; plucking up the hair by the roots in every part, excepting their heads, where they let it grow in tresses ^w.

The garments which the Indians wear are generally *Dress.* made of white callico, fashioned into kabas, or coats, like our frocks. As their breeches reach to their heals, they wear no stockings, nor have a name for them in their language ^x. All the garb of the women consists in a lunghi, or piece of callico tied loose over the shoulders, and tucked between their legs, in nature of short breeches; besides a short waistcoat, or ephod, to keep up their breasts.

To make amends for this plainness of dress, or, rather *Ornaments.* want of clothing, in the females, they set themselves off with variety of trinkets. The rich adorn the tresses of their hair with gold and jewels; the poor braid them with strings of jessamin flowers, whereof they likewise make necklaces. The rich have their arms and feet adorned

ⁿ Fryer's Trav. p. 194.

^w Terry, p 197, &c.

^x Ovington, ubi sup. p. 314.

with gold and silver, the meaner sort with glass, brass, or tuttinague ; besides rings at their noses, ears, fingers, and toes, a custom which obliges them to go bare-foot, shoes being only allowed their midwives ^y. The women have generally the lobes of their ears bored when young, which become in time so large, by means of the things put into the holes to stretch them, as to hold rings as broad as saucers.

In short, the chief cost of the Hindús, especially the Baniyáns, is expended on their wifes, whose greatest joy consists in gaiety of dress, and the above mentioned ornaments ; which the very women who carry water about the streets, will not appear without. Widows, who survive their husbands, are the only females incapable of this happiness ; for they are restrained from wearing jewels, being distinguished from others by a red lunghi.

Old custom. The women scruple no more than the men to ease nature in the public streets, or highways ; for which purpose, at sun-rise and sun-set they go out in droves to some dead-wall, if in the city ; and if any persons pass by in the interim, they turn their posteriors towards them, but hide their faces. When they have done their business, they wash the parts with the left hand, because they eat with the right. The men, who exonerate apart from the women, sit squat like them when they make water. Although this custom may seem indecent to us, yet it cannot be said to be uncleanly ; nor can the Hindús be charged with either fluttery or sloth ; for besides their constant washings at their times of devotion, they never eat nor drink before they have cleansed themselves, with water poured all over them from head to foot : nor will they suffer any parts of their body to harbour filth. They use depilatories for breast, arm-pits, and groins ; are always shaving their heads and beards, cutting their nails, washing their mouths, and rubbing their teeth ^z.

Cleanliness and industry. The life of the Hindús is a continued series of industry. They till the ground, plant, sow, and breed cattle ; they make and sell those curious manufactures with the cloth and stufs which this part of the world affords ^a.

Diet. Part of the Hindús, as those of the tribes of Kutteri and Wife, eat animal food ; those of the Brāmans and Shudderí, or merchants, never touch any flesh-meat ;

^y Fryer, ubi sup. p. 197, &c.
P. 19.

^z Terry, p. 200.

^a Ibid.

feeding upon vegetables, milk-meats, fruits, and sweet-meats.

There are two sorts of food very common among the Hindûs; dye and kicherî. The first is sweet-milk turned thick, mixed with boiled rice and sugar. This is very effectual to restrain the violence of fevers and fluxes, the prevailing distempers of India. Kicherî is made of dol, that is a small round pea, and rice boiled together: and is very strengthening, although not very savoury.

The constant drink of the Baniyâns is rain-water; *Drink.* which, falling in the time of the muzzowns, or monsoons, is preserved in tanks, and cisterns, for the whole year; for they seldom drink of well or river-water^b. Although they never touch strong liquors; yet they indulge themselves with tea and coffee. Tea is universally drank; and, although such liquor may not seem proper for so hot a climate, yet the Europeans themselves find it very conducive to health.

As the Hindûs never drink out of the same cup with a Christian, or any person of a different tribe, nor will defile their lips with water which has been touched by a stranger, they have contrived to quench their thirst, like the ancient Thracians, by holding the spouted vessel at a certain distance, and pouring it into their mouths, without either shutting them, or drawing their breath. *Way of drinking.*

Their times of eating are about eight or nine in the morning, and at four or five in the afternoon; the heat of the day is spent in rest and sleeping, either upon kots, or beds; or bechanahs, which are thick quilts, spread the whole breadth of a room, with bolsters at the head, where eight or nine may sleep together. They seldom take their repose without a wench in their arms; that is, a small pillow upon their stomach, to defend it from the ambient vapours; and seldom use any other covering, but their shirts and drawers; except it be a sheet, or slight callicos. *Times of eating.*

The Indians are in many things of matchless ingenuity, *Mechanics of ingenuity.* and admirable imitators of whatever they copy. The Baniyân, by strength of his brain only, will sum up his account with no less precision, than the readiest arithmetician with his pen. The silk-weavers will imitate the nicest patterns, which are brought from Europe; and the very ship-carpenters at Surât will take the model of an English vessel, in all the curiosity of its building. The Great art-taylors here shape the cloaths for Europeans, of either sex, *tiffs.*

^b Ovington, p. 310, & seq.

according to the mode which prevails, and fit up head-dresses for the women with as much skill, as if they had been bred apprentices at the Royal Exchange. In some things, the artists of India excel the ingenuity of Europe; as in painting chites, commonly called chints; which in Europe cannot be paralleled, either in brightness, or duration of the colours. The gold stripes likewise in their sooseys, and gold flowers in their atlasses, are imitated with us, but not to perfection. Many of their jewellers also are incomparable artists ^c.

*Their tools
and engines
very simple.*

The artificers of Bengal are surprisingly skilful: their linen cloth is so fine, that pieces of a great breadth may be drawn through a ring. They will fine-draw a piece of torn muslin so curiously, that it is impossible to find the seam; and put together pieces of broken glafs, or china, so artfully, that no eye can discover, that they were ever severed. Their goldsmiths are extremely curious in filagree works; and imitate, to great perfection, those of Europe; although their forge and other implements do not cost above a French crown. The weavers, with looms of no greater price, fitting in their own yards, or by the way-side, weave the fine linens, which are so much sought after in all parts of the world. A hand-mill, which does not cost ten pence, is used for breaking the sugar canes. A mason will lay the floor of the largest hall, with a kind of mortar composed of brick-dust and lime, in such a manner, that the whole shall appear as a single stone. Their chemists pulverise all kinds of metal with great ease; and make uie of the first vessel they meet with, to extract quicksilver out of cinnabar, and for other mercurial preparations ^d.

What contributes to the perfection of their manufactures and mechanics in their several professions, is, that among the Mohammedans, as well as Pagans, every one instructs his children in his own trade and occupation.

Great praise, doubtless, is due to the industry and genius of the Indian mechanics; let us now take a view of learning, and see if the Brāmmans, who treat them with such contempt, have acquitted themselves as well, with regard to the sciences, the care of which they claim wholly to themselves.

*Brāmman
learning.*

*Their pec.
try.*

As poetry is generally the first science which any nation cultivates, the Hindūs have not neglected it; and to

^c Ovington. p. 279, & 321.
ix. p. 420, & seqq.

^d P. Papin. Lett. Ediff. tom.

this day abound with poets. The Indian fables, which the Arabs and Persians have so often translated, are a collection of five small poems, perfectly regular, composed for the education of the princes of Pâtna. It is true, eloquence never was much in use among the Brâmmans; but they have a great number of books, containing rules with relation to the purity, beauty, and ornaments, of diction ^e.

Of all parts of literature, history seems to be that which *History.* has been least regarded by the Hindûs, who are excessively fond of the marvellous; to which vicious taste, the Brâmmans, for the sake of interest, have conformed. However, the princes, without doubt, have regular histories of their ancestors; especially in Hindûstân, where they are most powerful, and Nâjahpûts by tribe. There are likewise in the north, books called Nâtak; which the Brâmmans affirm contain many ancient histories, without any mixture of fable. There are likewise in their poems many precious remains of antiquity, relating to the antediluvian world, as well as the Assyrian and Macedonian empires.

The Brâmmans have cultivated almost all the parts of *Mathematics.* mathematics; nor is algebra unknown to them; but astronomy, or rather astrology, was always the principal object of their mathematical studies; because the superstition, as well of the grandees as the people, made it turn most to their profit. They have several treatises of astronomy; with regard to which, there is room to believe, that some learned Greek, as Pythagoras, travelling formerly into the Indies, learned the Brâmmian sciences; and, in return, left them his method of astronomy, with the Greek names of the planets, twelve signs, and other terms. The sole end, to which all the philosophic enquiries of the *Philosophy.* Brâmmans tend, is the moukti, or deliverance of the soul from the captivity and miseries of this life ^f.

As the Greeks had several schools of philosophy, so *Six sects.* among the ancient Brâmmans there were six principal schools, or sects; named Niyâyam, Vedântam, Sankiam, Mimamsa, Pâsanjalam, and Bhassâam. These are what are simply termed the sciences; each distinguished from the rest by some peculiar sentiment on felicity, and the means of obtaining it. The first of these schools is *Logic.* famous for logic, the second for metaphysics. With re- *Metaphysics.*

^e P. Pons. ap. Lett. Ediss. tom. xxvi. p. 228, & seq.

^f P. Pons. ap. Lett. Ediss. p. 235, & seq.

gard to the former, their rules for syllogism are exact, and differ chiefly from our's in this particular ; that according to the Brāmmans, a perfect syllogism ought to have four terms. The school of Niyāyam, that is, reason, or judgment, is famous for this art, which, however, at present, is employed about infinite questions more subtle than useful ; and is, in short, a medley of trifles ; such as was the logic of Europe about two centuries ago.

Other sects. Besides the six sects, there are several others ; which, in matters of religion, are so many heresies. Amongst these, the most remarkable are the Agama-śāstram, and the Bauddha-matham. The followers of the Agamam would have no difference of conditions amongst men, nor legal ceremonies ; and are accused of magic. The Bauddists, whose notion of the transmigration of souls is universally received, are accused of atheism ; and admit of no principles of knowledge but our senses. Bauddha or Bouddha is the Fo-to among the Chinese ; and the Bauddists, the sect of the Bonzas and Lamas ; as the Agamists are the sect of the people of Māha Sin, or the grand Sin ; which comprehends all the kingdoms west of Persia ^g. From the school of Niyāyam formerly issued the most famous adversaries of the Bauddists ; who, by their instigation, underwent a most horrible massacre, in several kingdoms. Batta, one of the two, who distinguished themselves most in this dispute, to purify his soul from so much blood, which he had been the cause of shedding, threw himself into the flames, with great solemnity, at Jagannat, on the coast of Orisha.

First principles of things, from all eternity. All these sects speak of the first principles of things ; but very differently. Some say, that all is composed of bodies indivisible ; not by their solidity and hardness, but their minuteness. Others say, all is made up of matter and form ; but none of them explain either the matter or the form. Some hold, that all consists of four elements and a nothing ; which last comes near our privation. According to some, light and darkness are the first principles ; about which they utter a great deal of idle unintelligible jargon. Others affirm, that all is composed of accidents ; of which likewise they make strange and tedious distinctions ; but all of them agree that these principles are eternal ^h.

^g P. Pons. ubi supr. p. 239, & seqq.

^h Bernier, part iv. p. 163.

With regard to morality, they have a very fine system, *Morality.* contained in many works of the Niti Shâstram, or Moral Science; which is usually comprised in sententious verses, like those of Cato. In this branch of philosophy, which is communicated by the Brâmmans to the other tribes, several authors among the Shoutres, and even the Pârias, have acquired great reputation.

Many of the Brâmmans study medicine, on which art *Physic.* they have many little books; the most ancient and chief whereof are in verse. They assert that a person sick of a fever needs no great nourishment; that the main remedy in all sickness is abstinence; that there is nothing worse, or that corrupts sooner in the stomach of a feverish patient, than broth made of animal flesh; that no blood should ever be taken away, except in the greatest and most evident necessity; as when a delirium is apprehended, or some considerable part, as the chest, liver, or kidneys, is inflamedⁱ.

A physician is not allowed to visit a patient in Bengâl, *Physicians.* unless he can point out his distemper, and discover the state of his constitution, by feeling the pulse; from which he generally draws a sure prognostic. He likewise investigates the patient's urine, by diluting it with water^k.

But they understand nothing at all of anatomy. Nor is *Anatomy.* this ignorance to be wondered at, as they never open the body of man or beast; nor can bear the sight of such an operation.

Touching astronomy, they have their tables, according *Astronomy.* to which they calculate eclipses, pretty nearly as exact as *or Astrology.* the Europeans: yet account for them very absurdly; affirming, that both the solar and lunar are occasioned by Rah, a black deuta, or demon; who seizing those luminaries, blackens them as it were with ink, and so darkens their light. They hold also, that the moon is above fifty thousand leagues higher than the sun: that she is lucid of herself; and from her we receive a certain vital water, which, gathering in the brain, descends thence into all the members, and gives them their respective functions. They believe, that the sun, moon, and all the stars, are deutas: that it is night, when the sun is behind the imaginary mountain *someyra*, and day, when he emerges from its shade. This mountain they say is in the middle of the earth, in form of an inverted cone, many thousand miles high.

ⁱ Bernier, ubi supr. p. 165.

^k Papin, ubi supr. p. 426.

*Geography
absurd.*

In geography the Brāmmans are no better skilled than in astronomy. They hold the earth to be flat and triangular, and that it hath seven stories, all differing in beauty and perfection, as well as inhabitants; and that each is encompassed with its respective sea, one of milk, another of sugar, the third of butter, the fourth of wine, and so forth: that the mountain Someyra passing through the middle of these, the first story begins at the foot thereof; that all these earths are inhabited by deutas, lessening in perfection, till you come to the seventh, which is our's, peopled by men far less perfect than any of the deutas: lastly, that this whole mass is sustained upon the heads of many elephants, which, when they stir, are the cause of earthquakes.

*Benārēs
university.*

Studies.

Books.

*Hindū
wedding.*

The city of Benārēs, or Waranasi, called also Kāsi, or Kāshi, situated in Bengāl, in a rich country upon the river Ganges, is the general school, and as it were, the Athens of the gentry of the Indies. Here the Brāmmans, and religious, who addict themselves to study, assemble together. They have no colleges, nor classes, as in Europe; but the masters are dispersed over the town in their houses, and especially in the gardens of the suburbs, where the great merchants permit them to teach. Their first study is the Hānskrit, rather Sanskrit, but more properly Sam-skortam, or Sam-skroutam; that is, *a pure language*; which is quite different from the common Indian, and known only to the pendets or doctors. As their beths, vedam, or sacred books, which are of great antiquity, are written in this language, they call it holy and divine. They have many other books in this tongue; of which Bernier saw a great hall quite full at Benārēs. Among them were several in philosophy and physic, both in verie and prose, with many poems.

After they have learned this language, which is very difficult, they commonly apply themselves to read the Purān, which is the interpretation and sum of the beths; which are very large¹.

The Hindūs never marry out of the tribe to which they belong. Thus a Brāmmān is married to the daughter of a Brāmmān: a merchant's son marries a merchant's daughter; and the son of a Kūli, who tills the ground, takes to wife the daughter of a Kūli. In like manner, the children are bred to the father's trade or busines; so that although this is the way for them to become great proficient in every art, yet they have no opportunity of

¹ Bernier, ubi supr. p. 158, & seqq.

ever rising higher than they were at first. No man has more than one wife at a time: they marry at six or seven years of age, and consummate often at thirteen. Their marriages are solemnized like the Mohamnedan, with much company and noise.

As the Hindûs reckon marriage one of the most happy actions of a man's life, and to die unmarried one of the greatest misfortunes, they therefore marry their children about seven years of age, that they may procure the one, and prevent the other^m. The match being made between the parents, messengers and presents are sent to those of the maiden, accompanied with drums and trumpets, as well as songs in praise of her accomplishments. In return for these, presents are sent back to the bridegroom, in token of their acceptance of the nuptial proffer. Then, on the day appointed by the Brâmmans for the ceremony, the bridegroom, attended by the sons of all the persons of the same trade in the town, some on horseback, others in palankins and coaches, proceed through the chief streets, accompanied with music and gilded pageants. The bridegroom is distinguished from the rest by a crown on his head, richly decked with jewels.

Next day the bride takes her turn, attended by all the maidens of the same family, in the same pompous way; and towards evening, returns home to be joined in wedlock. A fire is kindled and placed between the parties to be married, to intimate the ardency which ought to be in their affections: then both are inclosed with a silken string, to denote the indissoluble bond of matrimony; and a cloth is put between them, to signify, that before marriage they ought to admit of no intimacy. At length, the Brâmmans pronounce a certain form of words, enjoining the man to allow the woman all things convenient for her, and charging the woman to be faithful to her husband: then pronouncing a blessing upon them, that they may be fruitful, the cloth is taken away, the silken string unloosed; and thus ends the ceremony. There is no dowry given, excepting the jewels which are worn on the bridal day; and to the feast none repair, but those who are of the same familyⁿ.

In marriage they have certain legal injunctions, by which the tribes are distinguished. First, that no woman marry a second time, unless she be of the tribe of Wife, who are the handicraftsmen. Secondly, that second marriage is permitted to the men of all the tribes, excepting

^m Oving. 322, & seq.

ⁿ Lord's Banian Relig. ch. 9.

that

*Form of
courtsip.*

*Marriage
ceremony.*

*Marriage
rules.*

that of the Brâmmans. Thirdly, that all marry within their own tribe ; Brâmmans with Brâmmans, Kutteris with Kutteris, and Shudderis with Shudderis : but the Wîses are obliged to marry not only with those of their own tribe, but with persons of their own occupation ^o.

Baptism.

The ceremony of baptism, or naming their children, is different among the Brâmmans from that used by the other tribes. The latter are only washed in water ; after which ablution, one of the relations, holding the point of a pen towards the child's forehead, prays, that God would write good things therein : then those present say amen, and give the infant its name. Lastly, the Brâmmans makes a mark in his forehead with a red ointment, in token of admission into their church, and the ceremony is ended. The children of Brâmmans are not only washed with water, but anointed with oil : the priest, by way of consecration, saying, " O Lord, we present unto thee this child, born of an holy tribe, anointed with oil, and cleansed with water." Then having performed the former ceremonies, they all pray, that he may live a righteous observer of the law of the Brammans. Finally, they calculate the child's nativity, from the position of the twelve signs at the time of his birth ; which they conceal till the day of his marriage, reckoned one of the happiest in his life ; then publish the dangers past, and evils to come, as resulting from that scheme.

Childbed.

The mother, till ten days after childbed, is touched by none but a dry nurse : nor is allowed to have a hand in dressing victuals till the forty days of purification be over. The cradles for children are hung in the air, to a beam, or post, by strings tied to each end, and so swing to and fro by the slightest touch ^p.

Last sickness.

When a person is past hopes of recovery, they enjoin him to invoke Narrawne, which is the name of God, importing mercy to sinners ; then, as his spirits languish, they stretch out his hand, and pouring water into it, pray to Kistnerupon, god of water, to present him pure to the Sovereign Being, with that offering of his hand. As soon as his life is departed, they wash his body, in token of his cleanliness and purity ^q.

Mourning.

If a râjah dies, his subjects and dependents cut off their beards, and shave their heads, as tokens of the deepest mourning, which is never shewn but for a prince, a parent, or some near relation.

^o Lord's Banian Relig. ch. 9.
^q Lord, ubi supr. ch. 9.

^p Oving. p. 336, & seq.

On the death of any friend the Baniyāns make costly feasts for two or three days; then they observe the twelfth, twentieth, thirtieth, and fortieth days in the sequel, besides one day every quarter till the annual solemnity returns.¹

The generality of the Hindūs, instead of burying, burn their dead. The corpse being carried to the side of some river, and laid on the ground, the Brāhmaṇ who officiates, pronounceth these words: "O earth! we commend unto thee this our brother. Whilst he lived thou hadst an interest in him. Of the earth he was made; by the blessing of the earth he was nourished, and now he is dead we surrender him up to thee." After this ejaculation, combustible matter is laid to the body, and kindled by help of sweet oil: then aromatic odours are strewed thereon, and the Brāhmaṇ faith, "O fire! whilst he lived thou hadst a claim in him, by whose natural heat he subsisted; we return, therefore, this body to thee, that thou mayst purge it." The son of the deceased setteth a pot of water on the ground, with a pot of milk upon him, and throwing a stone at the lower pot, breaks it to pieces, so that the other falls down. This fall gives him an occasion to moralize thus; that as the stone, by its violent motion, caused both the vessels to shed their liquors; so did the assault made by sickness destroy his father's body, and bring it to dissolution, like milk and water spilled on the ground, never to be retrieved.

When the corpse is consumed, they scatter the ashes in the air, while the Brāhmaṇ repeats these words: "O air! whilst through thee he lived, he breathed; and now, having breathed his last, we yield him up to thee." Lastly, when the ashes are fallen into the water, the priest exclaims; "O water! whilst he lived, thy moisture did sustain him: and, now his body is dispersed, take thy part in him." Thus they give to every element its own; for as they affirm every man's life to be continued by the four elements, so, they say, he ought to be divided among them at his death. This funeral solemnity being over, the Brāhmaṇ presents the son, or nearest of kin, with a register of the times when his ancestors died, and reads to him the law of mourners, importing, that for ten days he must neither chew betel, oil his head, nor put on clean cloaths: that for a whole year, every month, on the day

¹ Ovingt. p. 340.

of his father's decease, he must make a feast, and pay a visit to the river which received his parent's ashes^s.

Some scorched only.

Dying persons drowned.

Although burning in this manner is the common usage, yet it is not strictly followed by the Hindūs; for some do no more than scorch the corpse with a little straw, on the river-side, and then cast it from a steep rock into the water. Some, likewise, when they perceive a sick person near death, carry him to the side of a river, and first putting his feet into the water, afterwards immerse him to the throat. When they think he is ready to expire, they thrust him quite under water, and there leave him, after they have made a great clamour and clapping with their hands. The reason they give for this inhuman custom is, that the soul, leaving the body, may be washed from all the impurities it might have contracted^t.

Burnt before dead.

Widows frequently burn themselves.

In like manner the body is burnt sometimes before it is quite dead, when they think it past recovery.

Since the time when the laws for burning the bodies of the dead were made, it hath become a fashion for widows to accompany the corpse of their husbands in the funeral flames. They who cohabited with the deceased marry not a second time; but as they are obliged to cut their hair, and spend the remainder of their lives as creatures quite neglected, some, as well to avoid this reproachful state, as out of love to their husbands, choose to burn themselves. In general there is no compulsion in the case, except when some great man dies, one or more of his wives must be burned to honour his funeral. Sometimes the wife engages of her own accord to bear her husband company at the pile; sometimes he prevails on her to make him a promise to burn herself with his corpse in case he dies before her. We are told also, that in those parts where the rājahs, or Indian princes, have all the power, the Brāmmans, to keep up this ancient but horrid custom, frequently constrain women, especially of their own tribe, to undergo this fiery trial.

Manner of performing this dreadful ceremony.

The manner of performing that dreadful ceremony is this; on the day appointed for burning the corpse the wife sets out, dressed with her best ornaments, as if going to her wedding, and attended by her friends. She proceeds dancing, and sings songs in praise of the deceased, and expressing a desire to be with him in the next world. Being arrived at the place where the funeral pile is erected,

^s Lord, *ubi supra*, chap. 9.
& seq.

^t Bernier, part iii. p. 129.

sometimes

sometimes in a little hut, but generally in a square pit, about two feet deep, she renews her rejoicing with the company, singing and dancing about the pit: at length, having taken leave of her relations, and disposed of her jewels amongst them, they pour oil over her head, and set fire to the wood, on the top of which the body is placed; then taking a pot of oil in her hand, she throws herself at once into the flames, or else, taking a few turns more about the pit, on a sudden leaps into it; the company, at the same time, throw in faggots and pots of oil, with a view to dispatch her the sooner, while drums are beaten, trumpets sounded, and a noise is made to stifle the hideous shrieks which are generally sent forth by the wretched victim. Sometimes the wife mounts the pile before it is kindled, and seats herself by her husband's corpse, holding his head in her lap, and thus heroically parts with life^u.

We shall postpone our account of the religion of the Hindûs, till we come to treat of the peninsula on this side the Ganges, where it appears in its greatest lustre, and proceed to speak of the Parfis.

III. *Of the Parfis.*

THE Parfis are a colony which retired from Persia, *They leave Persia.* soon after the Arabs had conquered that country, on the death of its last king Yezdejerd, in the 31st year of the Hejra, and of Christ 651. Attached to their religion, and willing to avoid the persecution which the Mohanme-dans raised against them on that account, a number of them embarked at Jask, or Jalkes, in seven junks, as merchants, designing to trade to the Indies. Being safely arrived at Swalley, the port of Surât, the Parfis on board five of the junks were hospitably received by the râjah of Nunserri, on condition of paying tribute, and submitting to the government. Those of another junk were admitted by the râjah who resided at Bariyaw, near Surât; but soon after, being overcome by another râjah, with whom he was at war, the Parfis, as his subjects, were all put to the sword. The seventh junk, passing northwards, met with the same kind of reception at Kambaya; and from one of these three places, those who are to be found in any other part of the Indies, have dispersed themselves.

^u *Lord, ubi supra, p. 9.*

Settle in
India.

In this state they continued for a long time, applying themselves to husbandry, and, together with their religious books, lost the tradition of their original ; till, at length, their name making them known to their brethren in Persia, these latter furnished them with copies of their law, and persons to instruct them in it ^w. These Persis, therefore, being the same, as to religion, with those in Persia, called Gawrs, or *Infidels*, and Ateshperest, or *Fireworshippers*, of whom an account hath been given elsewhere, we shall in this place only mention certain customs concerning this Indian colony.

Their dress. The Parsis appear clothed like the other people of India, only they suffer their beards to grow to a great length. Their profession is chiefly agriculture, sowing, planting, and dressing of vines ; in short, all sorts of trees, particularly the palmito, or toddy-tree. They are extremely industrious ^x, and careful to train up their children in arts and labour. They are the principal weavers in all the country about Surát, where most of the silks and stuffs are made by their hands.

Their diet. A Parsi eats by himself and drinks out of his own cup ; nor will they drink in the same vessel after strangers. They are not quite so abstemious as the Baniyâns. However, to avoid giving offence to either the Mohammedans or Hindûs, among whom they live, they forbear eating either pork or beef.

Cock
esteemed.

The cock is no less esteemed by them than the cow by the Hindûs ; for this reason, that their junks being surprised by a storm in their passage to India, they despaired of ever reaching the shore, till hearing a cock crow, their hopes revived, and discovering fire soon after, they, by that signal, reached the land. This was still a more lucky omen, as fire is the principal object of their worship on earth, which they keep continually burning in their eggarîs, or *temples* ^y. They say it was first brought from heaven by their great law-giver Zertûst, or Zerdûst, the Zoroastres of the Greeks ; and that it hath been preserved unextinguished ever since ; for that it would be a sin unpardonable were their darûs, or *priests*, to let it go out. Nevertheless, in case this accident should happen, they are, by their Zundevastâ, or *Book of the Law*, brought by Zertûst from heaven also, allowed to compose a fire of several mixtures, which they call their Antisbeherawn, or

^w Lord, Relig. Parsis, chap. 1. and Terry, Voy. Ind. sect. xxi.

^x Ovingt. p. 375,

^y Ibid. p. 371.

religious fire. The fire, however, kindled and fed with fuel in this manner, they consider as a part of God; who, they say, is of the same substance. Lord says, the fire in their temple at Nunserrî, near Surât, has been kindled in this manner^z. Herbert affirms, that it is not composed of common combustibles, as wood, straw, or coals, nor blown by bellows; but is compounded of sparks flying from red-hot steel, and kindled either by lightning or a burning-glass^a. Terry says, they keep fires continually burning in their temples, in lamps fed with oil, which are perpetually attended by their priests^b.

The Parfis have a great veneration for the fire which they use in the necessary services of life, and look on it as a sin to spill water on the fire, or spit in it unawares, or nourish it with unclean fuel; so that if their houses were on fire, they would sooner be persuaded to pour on oil to increase, than water to allay the flame. If a candle is once lighted, they would judge the breath of him more than pestilential, who durst attempt to blow it out; and a Parfi servant, who is commanded to bring a hot poker to warm any liquor, will desire to be excused from that office, alleging, that he dares not hasten the extinction of the heat by such violent means. In short, they must not, on any account, quench fire; but must leave it to go out gradually of itself.

The Parfis have great veneration for marriage, and think it conducive to eternal happiness: for which reason, if a rich man's son or daughter happens to die before wedlock, he hires some person to marry the deceased. The matrimonial ceremony is never performed in their churches, but at home. The parties, being met at midnight, are placed together on a bed, with each a darû, or her-bûd, attending, with rice in his hands. Then the darû, or priest, for the bridegroom, laying his fore-finger on the bride's forehead, asks, If she will have that man for her wedded husband? The bride's priest puts the same question to the bridegroom; and, the parties having answered in the affirmative, the priests join their hands, and scatter the rice over them, praying God, that they may be fruitful as the harvest, live in unity, and continue many years together. The ceremony being thus performed, the parents of the woman give the dowry, for the man gives none; and the marriage-feast continues for eight days^c.

*Holy fire
continually
burning.*

*Veneration
for fire
and mar-
riage.*

*The cere-
mony.*

^z Lord, ubi supra, chap. 8. ^a Herbert. Trav. Persia, p. 52.
^b Terry, sect. xxi. ^c Lord, ubi supra.

Corpse exposed to birds of prey.

The manner of burying used among the Parfis, is very singular. The noblest sepulchre which they think they can bestow on their deceased friends, is that of exposing them to be devoured by the fowls of the air. After the body has lain dead for some time, the Halachors, a kind of horrid Hindūs, carry it out upon a bier (X) into the open fields, near the place of burial, about a mile from Surāt. There, having laid it down, some friend of the dead person hunts about in the neighbouring villages till he finds a dog, whom, with a cake, he intices, drawing as near the corpse as he can: for the nearer the cur approaches, the better hopes they have of their defunct's future happiness; and if he can be allure to take a bit out of the dead man's mouth, it is an infallible sign of his going to heaven: but in case the dog, not being hungry, or, loathing the object, refuses the morsel, they then consider their friend's state as truly miserable.

Place of sepulchre

When the dog has finished his part of the ceremony, two darūs, at a furlong's distance from the bier, stand up, and, with joined hands, loudly repeat a form of prayer; which, although they utter it with all the hurry imaginable, lasts for half an hour. All this while, a piece of white paper, fastened to each ear across the face, hangs down two or three inches below the chin; and, as soon as they finish their prayer, the bearers convey the corpse to the place of sepulture, which is round, inclosed with a wall, twelve feet high and one hundred in circumference. In the middle is a door of stone, six feet from the ground, which is opened to admit the corpse. The ground with the walls is raised above four feet, and made shelving towards the center where there is a sink for receiving the moisture, which continually drains from the carcasses. The body being left here, the company betake themselves to a neighbouring rivulet, to wash, and then return home: but, a day or two after, some of the nearest relations go thither again, to observe another prognostic of the defunct's state in the next world; for if they find that the vultures have first plucked out his right eye, they take it for an undoubted sign of his soul's felicity; if the left, they then conclude that his lot is miserable^c.

^c Ovingt. p. 376, & seqq.

(X) This bier, Lord says, must be of iron: for the law forbids that the corpse should touch wood; because it is a fuel to the fire, which they account holy.

The Parsis are very careful to preserve their hair, and whatever is cut off their heads or beards, that, once a year, those relicks may be decently interred in their burying-place; which affords a horrid prospect, and is much more shocking than a field of slaughtered men. It contains a number of carcases. Some bleeding fresh, and torn by the vultures, which croud upon the walls, and others mangled and dissevered, in all the different stages of putrefaction.

Particulars relating to the Hindûstâns in general.

THE diversions used in Hindûstân are hawking and *Their exercises.* hunting; in which last they employ leopards as well as dogs. They likewise practise shooting, both with the bow and gun; and are excellent marksmen. They are also expert in horsemanship. For their domestic recreations they have pleasant gardens, accommodated with shady walks, and cooling tanks, or fountains; while variety of fruits and flowers regale both their smell and taste. In those tanks, which are small and round, they bathe themselves; and, in their garden houses, which are very near, spend the heat of the day, sitting, or lying on carpets; where their servants give them air, and drive away the flies, with fans. This is commonly the place where they are attended by the barber, who shaves and rubs them all over, an operation which usually lulls them asleep. The people here are fond of mountebanks and *and diversions.* jugglers; who are very dextrous in their professions. One of their methods to amuse the multitude, is to suffer themselves to be bitten by snakes, which they have in baskets for the purpose; and, when they are swelled considerably by the venom of the reptile, they cure themselves by means of oils and powders; which they sell to the bystanders. Within-doors, they pass the time often in playing cards; which differ from ours, both as to the figures and greater variety of suits ^e.

The Hindûstâns delight much in music, and have many sorts of instruments; most of them blown: some few are strung. They have the use also of the timbrel; but their music is far from being melodious to an European ear ^f.

The endemial diseases in Hindûstân are fluxes, hot fevers, and calentures. But they are free from agues, as *Diseases. Fevers.*

^e Terry, Voy. Ind. sect. 9.

^f Ibid. sect. 12.

well as from the gout and stone. However, they are sometimes visited with an inflammation, or rather a grievous pestilence; which, on a sudden, sweeps away thousands, when it prevails in populous cities. Those affected by it complain of a burning heat, as if their whole bodies were one fire; and die in twenty hours after the first seizure. Just before their death, broad black and blue spots appear on their breasts; and their flesh feels intensely hot. Great blisters, filled with a thick yellow watery substance, rise on the bodies of those who survive it; which, discharge a matter so virulent that it corrodes the skin.

In these diseases, the natives make very little use of physicians, unless it be to breathe a vein sometimes; after which operation, they starve out the distemper, by fasting, or a very low diet^g.

The mor-dechin.

Among other distempers is that called by the Portuguese mordechin; which is a violent vomiting and looseness, caused most commonly by excess in eating; particularly of fish and flesh together. It has been cured by a red-hot iron applied to the heel of the patient. Another distemper, which afflicts the Europeans, is the barbeers, or a deprivation of the use of their limbs. This arises sometimes from the neglect of guarding the limbs from the cold vapours of the night, and moisture of those nocturnal mists, which now-and-then are felt in these parts. The most effectual remedy for this disorder, is the hot bath^h.

Lethargy.

Besides the mortudchin, or mordechin, the sonipat and pilhay are most common in Bengál. The sonipat, or lethargy is cured by putting chenopodium (Y), pounded with vinegar, into the eyes. For the pilhay, or obstruction of the spleen, the joghis, or Hindú penitents, make a small incision over the spleen; then, drawing a long needle between the skin and flesh, apply a piece of horn to the wound; from whence they draw out a viscous matter like corruption.

Cholic.

The common people use very simple remedies. To cure the colic, arising from wind and phlegm, they give the party four spoonfuls of water, in which anise and a little ginger are boiled, till the water is half consumed. They likewise pound a raw onion, with ginger, and apply them cold to the part where the pain is felt. A stop-

^g Terry, sect. 13. ^h Ovington's Voy. Surát, p. 350.

(Y) A plant of the chenoput, or goose-foot, kind.

page of urine is cured by drinking a spoonful of olive-oil, *Strangury.* mixed with an equal quantity of water. Our author has seen fevers cured, by giving the patient, before the fit comes on, three large pills, composed of ginger, black cummin, and long-pepper. Tertian agues are removed by administering three spoonfuls of tencrium-juice, or germander, mixed with a little salt and ginger, for three days together¹.

Among the inhabitants of India, there are many *Longevity.* instances of longevity, which is in a great measure owing to their temperance^k. They are generally more healthy, but then not so full of vigour, as those who inhabit the cold climates; which feebleness and languour of body is a perpetual malady, very troublesome to all in the heats of summer; especially to Europeans, who are not inured to heat.

The Hindûs begin their year with the first day of March; the Mohammedans, on the tenth; when, as their astrologers compute, the sun enters into Aries. Their year is divided into twelve months, or rather thirteen moons; and their time distinguished in a different manner from that used in Europe. They divide the day into four parts, and the night into the same number; which they call pores; each pore is again subdivided into eight parts, which they name grîs. These parts of time are measured according to the ancient method, by water dropping out of one vessel into another; and when the vessel is emptied, a man, who attends, fills it again, and then strikes the number of the pores and grîs which have passed, with a hammer on a concave piece of metal, hanging by the brim on a wire: it has a deep sound, and may be heard very far. But these time-measurers are not common among them; neither have they the use of clocks, or sun-dials¹.

The people of India are not much addicted to building. *Building.* The poor cannot afford to erect sumptuous piles, and the grandes avoid the expence, partly, because, from the middle of September to the middle of April, they live in tents, removing from place to place, as often as they think fit, for change of air; and partly, because they have no inheritances, but subsist wholly on pensions from the emperor, whose favour is precarious. However, they have excellent materials for building; as timber, bricks,

¹ Papin ap. Lett. Ediff. tom. ix. p. 426.
¹ Terry, sect. xiii.

^k Terry, sect. xiii. ■

stone, and marble of various kinds and colours ; with which their mosques and tombs are often raised.

Houses :

The houses to be found in cities and towns, are built low, not above two stories, and many flat at top ; which flat roofs, being laid over with a plaster, like that of Paris, keeps both the sun and rains from penetrating. The upper rooms, in the houses of two stories, are often very large, and furnished on the sides with folding doors, to let in fresh air ; and for the same purpose, the windows are without glass or any kind of shutters. Neither have they any chimneys in their buildings ; because they never use fire, but for their food, which is dressed in the open air, against a wall or bank of earth. In many places, they plant tall spreading trees about their houses, which are kept cool by their shade : so that in approaching some places, as Ahmed-abâd, in Guzerât, one seems to be entering a wood, rather than a city. Most of the houses there are of brick, and many with ridged roofs, covered with tiles ; but the houses in their villages are generally very poor and mean. They are all contiguous ; for our author never saw one standing by itself. The walls of some are of earth mixed with straw. They raise them immediately after the rainy season is over ; so that, having time to dry thoroughly, they stand firm afterwards, and suffer little by the weather. But the cottages in those country villages are miserably small and poor ; being raised at a very little charge, with sticks, rather than timber ^m.

*the best
sort :*

As to the houses of the first class, inhabited by the omras, they are situated commodiously for receiving the air from all quarters, and principally from the north. They have courts, gardens, trees, reservoirs, and little jets of water, in the halls, or at least at the entrance. They are accommodated likewise with good cellars, and great flaps to keep the air in motion, during the time of reposing ; which is from twelve a clock till four or five, when the air under-ground begins to grow hot and suffocating. In lieu of cellarage there are little houses of straw, or rather of odoriferous roots ; which are very neatly made, and commonly placed in the midst of a grafts-plat, near some reservoir, for sake of watering them easily. The house is commonly seated in the midst of some large parterre ; having four great divâns, or raised ways, about six feet high, exposed to all winds. It has, moreover,

^m Terry, sect. ix.

raised-terraces to sleep on in the night, on the same floor with some great chamber, for the conveniency of drawing in one's bedstead, in case of being surprised by storms of dust, or rain, or forced by the morning breezes, or piercing dew, to seek for shelterⁿ.

With respect to the furniture, the whole floor is covered with a cotton mattress, four inches thick, and that with a *how fur-*
nished. fine linen sheet during the summer, and with a piece of silk tapestry in winter. In the most conspicuous part of the chamber, near the wall, is one or two cotton quilts, the border embroidered with gold and silver, with fine flowered coverings over them, for the master of the house, or visitors of quality, to sit on. Every quilt has its cross-board purfled with gold, to lean upon; and several other such boards are set round the chamber along the walls, covered with velvet, or flowered fattin, for the use of company. The walls, five or six feet from the floor, is almost wholly taken up with niches, or little windows, cut in a hundred different figures, with some china vessels and flower-pots in them. Lastly, the cieling is painted and gilded, but without any figure of man or animals; for such are forbid by their religion.

The manufactures of India are chiefly silks and calli- *Manufactures.*
coes; of which there is great variety. Of the former you find velvets, fattins, taffetas, both plain and striped: of the latter, calicoes, white, dyed, and painted; which last are called chintz, being often very rich and beautiful. They likewise make curious silk or cotton carpets, with a silver or gold ground; cabinets, standishes, and boxes, which are nicely inlaid, or varnished^o.

The merchants of Hindûstân trade to several countries, *Commerce.* according as the parts which they inhabit are situated. Those in the western parts of the empire send their commodities to Mecca, on the Red Sea; whither the merchants of Egypt and Habâsh, or Abyssinia, repair to traffic. The goods exported are chiefly cotton and calicoes of several kinds. They are carried in ships called junks, some of fourteen or fifteen hundred tons; built so large for the conveniency of pilgrims who go to Mecca. They are mounted with ordinance, but very sluggish, being broad and short like a lighter; so that, although the voyage is but short, they are a long time in making it. One of these will carry seventeen hundred passengers; and, at her re-

ⁿ Bern. Mem. Mog. Emp. part iii. p. 13, & seqq. ^o Terry, sect. iii. v. Tavernier, part iii. p. 126. Thevenot, part iii. ch. 21.

turn, her cargo may be worth two hundred thousand pounds, most of it in gold and silver. Besides the commodities before mentioned, Hindústán affords diamonds, indigo, lak, musk, and many others, with which foreign countries are supplied.

Cox.

The money current through the Mogol's empire are rúpis, of gold and silver. The latter is in value about half a crown English, and of the purest bullion; all silver which comes into the country being refined to the highest perfection, before it is sent to the mint. The gold rúpi is equal in value to fourteen rúpis of silver. These are divided into half and quarter pieces. Their copper money varies in value from time to time: of it there are three sorts; the first worth about two pence, the second one penny, and the third six deniers: this last is called pesha, which may be changed into shell-money, or kori, fifty or sixty of which make a pesha. There is other money; as mahmûdi, half mahmûdi, and almonds; but it is current only in the province of Guzerât. Five mahmûdi make about a crown. They have also the copper pesha, twenty of which go to a mahmûdi, and forty almonds for a pesha. As these almonds are extremely bitter, there is no danger that the children should eat their money ^q.

Travel-
ing.

They have several conveniences for travelling in Hindústán; such as coaches and chariots, oxen, horses, mules, camels, and dromedaries, on which the women ride astride like the men. The roads are in general very good in this country, and much frequented on the score of trade, the karawâns consisting sometimes of a thousand oxen. But besides the want of inns to lodge passengers, who find them only in great towns, they are infested much with robbers, who lurk in some woods or deserts, not far distant from the highways, and often attack whole karawâns. They commonly kill those they overcome, before they fall to plundering; which obliges the merchants to hire soldiers, and go well armed ^r.

^q Tavern. part ii. p. 2. ^r Terry, sect. v. vi. viii. & ix. Thevenot, part iii. p. 53, 54. 73.

S E C T. IV.

*Of the Great Mogol's Court, his Forces, Revenues, and Government.**Of his Court, Women, and Eunuchs.*

THE fortress of Dehli, in which is the mâhl, or ^{Fortress of} rám, and the other royal apartments, is built round ^{Dehli.} on the river ; yet there is between the water and the walls a pretty large and long sandy space, where commonly elephants are exercised, and often the militia of the omrâs and râjahs is mustered, in the emperor's view, who beholds them from the windows of one of his apartments. The walls are built partly of brick, and partly of a red fort of marble or jasper, with round towers, like those of the city ; but these walls are much higher, stronger, and broader, so as to bear some field pieces, which are pointed towards the town ; and, though sufficient to keep the Indians in awe, would make but small defence against European cannon. The fortress is encompassed on all sides, but towards the river, with a large ditch full of water and fish ; and the ditch by a pretty extensive garden, at all times full of flowers, and green apricots ; which, viewed at some distance, with the red walls, form a very agreeable prospect.

Between this garden and the city is a vast street, or rather place royal, to which the two principal gates of the fortress open, and these two great gates correspond with the two chief streets of the town. In this spacious place are set up the tents of the râjahs, who are in the Great Mogol's pay, and keep a weekly guard ; whereas the omrâs and mansebdârs do duty within the fortress. In the same place the king's horses are exercised. Here is also a kind of market, and hither players, jugglers, and astrologers resort, to tell people their fortunes ; sitting in the sun, all covered with dust, on a piece of tapestry, with some old mathematical instruments, and a book of figures, lying before them ^a.

There is nothing remarkable at the entrance of the fortress, except two great stone elephants, with the râjah of Chitor on one, and his brother on the other. These are on the sides of one of the gates ; which having passed

^a Bernier. Mem. Mog. Emp. part iii. p. 6, & seq. through,

through, you find a long and broad street, divided by a canal of running water, and having on both sides a wall five or six feet high, and four broad; and farther off some arches shut, succeeding one another in form of gates. It is upon this long raised place, that the inferior officers of the court sit to dispatch their business, without being incommoded by the horses and people who pass beneath. There also the mansedbârs keep guard at night. The water of the canal is brought from the river, five or six leagues distant; and, having divided itself through the whole māhl, falls into the ditches; which are thus supplied.

Fair streets. If you enter by the other gate, you also find a long street, having its risings on the sides like the former; but with shops upon them, instead of arches. This street is properly a bazar, or exchange, very commodious in summer, and the rainy season; as being arched above, with great openings by intervals to let in the light. Besides these two streets, there are many others smaller, on each side, which lead to the stately guard-rooms of the omrâs, raised pretty high, with parterres and fountains before them. Here they keep watch for twenty-four hours, and are supplied with meat from the emperor's table. In divers places also one meets with raised walks and tents, which are the offices of so many officers. There are besides many great halls, called kar khânays, where embroiderers, painters, goldsmiths, silk-weavers, and other artificers of all kinds, repair daily to work^b.

The amkas, or audience-hall. Having passed all these apartments, we come to the amkas, or *place of audience*; which is a great square court, with arches along the sides, separated by walls, with doors to pass from one to the other. Over the great gate, which is in the middle of one of the sides, there is a large raised place, open towards the court, called the nâgar khâney; for there the hautboys and cymbals play at certain hours of the day and night; which noisy music, though disagreeable at first to an European, has something in it that is very majestic and melodious, when heard at a distance. Passing through this gate, we enter into another court; where, on the opposite side, stands a large and stately saloon, or hall, open on three sides toward the court, and supported by rows of pillars, which, as well as the ceiling, are painted and gilded. The back-wall of this saloon joins the māhl; and has in the middle of it an opening, like a huge window, the bottom of which is seven or eight

^b Bernier, *ubi supra*, p. 31, & seqq.

feet from the ground. It is here that the emperor appears seated on his throne, with his sons beside him, and several eunuchs attending, to drive away the flies with peacock's tails, and do other offices. From hence he beholds beneath him all the omrâs, râjahs, and ambassadors; and a little behind them the mansebdârs, or lesser omrâs, all standing upon a raised floor, inclosed with silver rails, with their eyes fixed on the ground, and their hands across their breasts. At a small distance from the rails, in the remaining part of the hall, and in the court, the people stand in crowds; for there, every day, about noon, the Great Mogol gives a general audience to his subjects of all degrees.

This assembly lasts about an hour and half; during which time that monarch is diverted with viewing his horses, elephants, leopards, and other wild beasts, and birds of the game pass before him. Sometimes he reviews the cavalry of one or two omrâs: at other times, he orders the young omrâs, mansebdârs, and gûrzberdûrs, or mace-bearers, to try their strength and skill with cutlasses, on embowelled carcasses of sheep, by cutting through the body, and the four legs joined together, at one blow. They who come thither to seek for justice, hold up their petitions; which the emperor observing, causes to be brought to him, and read: then ordering the parties to approach, he examines them, and often causes justice to be executed on the spot. This is the more remarkable, because he is usually present once a week at the adalet khânay, or *chamber of justice*, attended by his two prime khâdis, or chief justices; and at another time spends two hours in private, hearing the complaints of the common people. One is shocked, however, at the abject flattery heard in the amkas, even from the principal omrâs; who at every word which drops from the emperor's lips, lift up their hands, and cry, karamat! karamat! wonder! wonder! The very lowest of the people deal in fulsome adulation ^c.

From the hall of audience, we enter into the court of *The ghuzl khânay*; that is, *the hall to wash in*; which is very spacious and handsome, being painted and gilded, and its door raised four or five feet high. There at night the emperor, seated in a chair, with his omrâs standing round him, gives audience to his officers, receives their accounts, and examines the most important affairs of state.

Emperor's
affinity
to adminis-
ter justice.

^c Bernier, ubi supra, p. 36, & seqq.

His majesty never fails to be at these two assemblies, unless hindered by sickness, or some extraordinary business. On these occasions, all the mansebdârs who are on guard, salute the emperor, the kours marching at their head; these are silver figures of various animals, carried on the tops of poles of the same metal, which make a pompous shew.

*The mähl
impene-
trable.*

No lord of the empire can enter farther than the ghuzl khâneh into the mähl (A); and though Bernier was several times admitted to the apartment of a great lady, who was sick, to attend her as a physician, yet his head was always covered, so that he could see nothing. From the eunuchs, who conducted him, he learned, that in the mähl there are very handsome apartments, more or less large and stately, according to the quality of the women who resided in them; that almost every chamber has at its door plenty of running water; that the place is full of parterres, pleasant walks, shady places, rivulets, fountains, cascades, grottos, and great caves, to retire from the heat of the day. There are likewise large terraces, raised very high, for sleeping in the cool air. They chiefly boast of a little tower facing the river; which they say is covered with plates of gold, like two others which are at Agra: all the inside is ornamented with gold and azure, as well as hung with costly pictures and looking-glasses ^e.

*Classes of
women.*

According to Manuchi, the mähl contains more than two thousand women, which may be divided into six orders, or classes. 1. The queens, or women of the first rank. 2. The concubines, or women of the second rank. 3. The princes and princesses. 4. The ladies of the palace, who watch the conduct of the queens, and the governesses of the princes. 5. The musicians of the court. 6. The women slaves and eunuchs.

The queens.

With regard to the queens, or women of the first order, the Great Mogol has sometimes to the number of six; whom he marries according to ceremony. These usually are the daughters of râjahs; though he sometimes raises to that dignity his favourite concubines, and even his female musicians and dancers, to whom on that occasion he gives new names. None but the sons of these queens are

^e Bernier, ubi supr. p. 46, & seqq.

(A) Mâhl (or mâhal, as commonly written) signifies a place, but particularly that where the

women are kept; and answers to the harâm, or faray, of Persia and Turkey.

looked

looked on as legitimate, bear the title of *soltân*, and have a right of succeeding their father.

The women of the second rank are distinguished from those of the first in several respects. Their apartments are not so fine, nor their pensions so great. Their cloaths are not so rich, nor their female slaves so numerous. They are likewise at the expence of their own victuals; the queens and princesses only being furnished out of the Imperial kitchen; and hence it is, that these latter are entitled *begûm*; that is, *without care or trouble*^f.

The princes and princesses of the blood are treated with the same magnificence as the queens. As soon as the *soltâns* are born, they are assigned a pension; which is always more considerable than that of the greatest *omrâs*. This revenue is kept for the young prince in a particular treasury, and he is put in possession of it on the day of his marriage; at which time also he quits the palace. When these *soltâns* have attained the age of thirteen or fourteen years, they have separate palaces assigned them, and their court is scarce inferior to that of the emperor himself. He only, who is nominated to the succession, remains at court. All the rest are sent in quality of viceroys into the remotest provinces. The eldest son of *Aureng-zîb* had for his maintenance twenty millions of *rupîs*; which amount to about one million five hundred thousand pounds English. While these princes remain in the palace under the eyes of the father, an eunuch has the care of their education. They are taught to read, and sometimes to write, both in Persian and Arabic; their bodies are inured to military exercises, and their minds formed to principles of justice, in being obliged to give judgment upon the causes which daily happen, or on cases proposed for the purpose. Lastly, they are instructed in the Mohammedan religion, and the interests of the nation; which it may be their fortune one day to govern.

As to the young *soltânas*, their sisters, they are bred up with the greatest delicacy. Being the principal amusement of the emperor their father, all their study is to please him; and by these means they often obtain more liberty than is becoming the condition of princesses; for his indulgence goes so far as to permit revelling; which diffuses itself through the whole palace. However, the women live in great harmony. There are but few disputes among them; and, if any arise, they are soon suppressed

^f *Manouchi Hist. Gen. Emp. Mog.* par *Catrou*, p. 334, & seqq.
by

by the governesses. The same dress is common to the queens, the ladies of the second rank, and the princesses of the blood. Their hair is made up in tresses, perfumed, and interlaced with pearls; some strings of which hang down the forehead, having a rich jewel in the middle. Some are permitted to wear turbâns, adorned with heron's feathers and jewels; or else scarfs, in form of pyramids, hanging behind down to the ground. About their necks they have collars of pearls, intermixed with jewels. Their habit is of silk, so fine, that the whole weighs not more than an ounce. They sleep in these gowns, which they never wear but one day. They are loaded with precious stones. Two bands of diamonds, set with two rows of pearls in the middle, go round the neck of the robe, and cross over the stomach. Their ear-rings and bracelets are surprisingly splendid. Both their fingers and toes are adorned with rich jewels. All the wives of the Great Mogol, as well as his daughters, wear on the right thumb a little mirror, set round with pearls, in which they are perpetually viewing themselves. But the ornament which they chiefly affect, is a gold girdle, two inches broad, garnished with precious stones; from whence hang narrow plates of the same metal, set with diamonds, and terminating at the points with bunches of pearls. What is most surprising, each of these ladies has six or eight changes of such jewels. It is incredible what is expended in perfumes, which are burned both night and day in all the apartments ^{g.}

their governesses.

The ladies who are governesses to the young princesses, and spies upon the conduct of the queens, have indeed less share in the luxury and magnificence of the harâm; but then they have a great deal more in the government of the empire. By them all intrigues are carried on, peace and war is made, and viceroyships and governments are obtained. These ladies, venerable for their age and wisdom, have each an office and name, correspondent to the employments and titles of the principal officers of the crown. One has the function of prime minister, another that of secretary of state, a third that of viceroy. Thus, she who is styled first minister, keeps a correspondence with the first minister, by means of eunuchs, who are continually carrying letters between them. It is by the intervention of the ladies of the palace, that matters, which were but slightly touched on in the halls of audience,

^{g.} Manouchi, ubi supra, p. 336, & seqq.

are instilled into the mind of the Great Mogol; so that they are, properly speaking, his privy-council. He learns from those, who bear the title of viceroys, all the news which come from the frontiers; whither they are permitted to send their couriers. From what has been said, it is easy to apprehend, that the chief care of all the great officers of the empire is to cultivate a good intelligence with each his lady of the palace, whose displeasure may be the ruin of their fortunes.

The female musicians and dancers are divided into *Singers and dancers.* bands, and each has its mistress to teach them to sing, play on the lute, and dance. She is likewise the governesses of those young creatures, who are chosen indifferently from among the Mohammedans and Pagans. The pension of the intendants of the music is equal to that of the ladies of the palace, for whom they provide new airs and ballets. In short, all the Great Mogol's wives and daughters have each her band of music, from whom they chuse their confidants; but all these bands unite on certain feast days, either to sing hymns to the deity, or celebrate the praises of the emperor. Their chief merit is to invent diversions to please their respective mistresses, especially comic scenes; one of which, well acted before the emperor, has often gained the actress a place among the women of the first or second order^h.

The women slaves of the palace do all the servile work *Women slaves.* belonging to the harâm. They are divided into companies of ten or twelve, under the direction of a mistress. The emperor himself is served by none but women; and, what is not usual in other courts, is always guarded in the palace by a company of one hundred Tatar females, armed each with a bow, a poniard, and a scymetar. Their conductress has the rank and pay of an omrâh of war. This guard is a necessary defence to the Great Mogol against the fury and plots of so many rivals, which compose his court.

As to the eunuchs, who are very numerous in the inner *The eunuchs;* apartments of the palace, some serve for porters; a very nice and slippery post, it being equally dangerous to guard the entrances of the palace with too much or too little care. By too much rigour, they draw on themselves the aversion of the queens and princesses; while, by too much complaisance to them, they run a risque of losing their lives. Other eunuchs are the superintendants of the ha-

^h Manouchi, ubi supr. p. 341, & seqq.

rám. He especially, who is called the náder, that is, chief of the harám, is one of the principal officers of the crown. His business is to maintain good order in the palace, by his severity. He regulates the expences of the emperor's women and daughters; is keeper of the imperial treasure, and grand master of the wardrobe; he is answerable for all the precious stones and jewels of the emperor; he provides victuals, cloaths, linen, and perfumes; in short, the whole expence of the palace is trusted to his management. The inferior eunuchs have all their offices under him. Some take care of the essences and perfumed oils; others, of the stuffs; a third set, of the furniture.

*their em-
ployments.*

The eunuchs most in favour with the princesses, are they who make and distribute the liquors which are drank in the palace; for, by their means, the ladies sometimes procure wine, and other intoxicating liquors; which they are the fonder of, as they are forbidden. The eunuchs of the lowest class are employed solely to run of errands for the ladies of the court; and it is incredible what a number of them are seen running about the streets on these occasions. Thus, every thing which is done in the city is known in the palace; and none are better acquainted with the news and intrigues of the town than those ladies, who are so closely confined. The expences of the inner palace do not amount to less than fifteen millions of livres (B) every year ¹.

The Forces and Armies of the Great Mogol.

*Mogol
soldiers.*

IT is commonly said in Europe, that the armies of the Great Mogol are more to be feared, on account of the multitude, than valour of their soldiers; but, in truth, they are not so deficient in courage as in discipline. Although on this score they are much inferior to European troops, yet the subjects of this empire surpass in valour all the nations beyond the Indus. Military discipline, as well as the art of making war, are likewise better known to them than any of their neighbours; and it is owing to

¹ Manouchi, ubi supr. p. 343, & seqq.

(B) That is about seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds English.

these advantages, that the predecessors of the present emperor so greatly extended the bounds of their dominions.

All the forces of this great empire may be reduced to three classes. The first is the army, which the Great Mogol keeps always in his capital ; the second consists of the soldiers who are distributed through the several provinces of the empire, the third class comprises the Indian auxiliaries, which the rajahs, who are the emperor's vassals, are obliged to furnish.

The army, which daily encamp at the gates of the palace, whether the court be at Dehli or Agra, amounts at least to fifty thousand horse ; without reckoning that infinite number of infantry, which both capitals are full of. So that when the emperor takes the field, those cities look like two desert camps, which a great army had abandoned. Every body follows the court ; and, excepting the quarter of the Baniyâns, or traders, all the city becomes unpeopled. This militia of the guard is not all upon the same footing. The most considerable among the Mogol troops are those called the four thousand slaves, to denote their attachment to the person of the emperor. Their commander, named Deroga, is an officer of such consideration, that he is often entrusted with the command of armies. All the soldiers belonging to this troop are marked in the forehead, by way of distinction ; and out of them are taken the mansebdârs, or subaltern officers ; who by degrees rise to be omrâs of war, a title answering to that of generals.

The guards of the gold, silver, and iron mace, also compose three different companies ; whose soldiers, marked differently in the forehead, are chosen for their valour, and have more or less pay, according to the metal with which their maces are covered. It is necessary for a person to serve and distinguish himself in one of these troops, in order to arrive at the dignities of the state. As in the armies of the Great Mogul, not birth, but merit only gives precedence, the son of a principal omrâ is often seen in the lowest posts of the militia : nor is there any nobility among the Mohammedans in India, excepting those who pass for the descendants of Mohammed ^a.

When the court resides at either Dehli, or Agra, he keeps there in pay no fewer than two hundred thousand soldiers. But when the emperor is absent, there are commonly left in garrison fifteen thousand horse, and double

*Army at
Delhi.*

^a Manouchi, ubi supra, p. 345, & seqq.

the number of infantry. This proportion is observed in all the other provinces, which, though reckoned fifty-four, may be reduced to about twenty.

Hindú
troops;

The auxiliary troops which the rajahs, who are the Great Mogol's vassals, are obliged to furnish, still add to his forces; although they are entertained more for grandeur than necessity, and to secure thereby the fidelity of those tributary princes. They reckon eighty-four of those Indian princes, who still preserve a kind of sovereignty in their ancient country. They have lands in property, which their children inherit: in this particular they have the advantage of the omras, who yet treat them with much contempt ^a.

their own
rájahs.

Besides these principal rajahs, who could raise among them near five hundred thousand horse and foot, there are thirty others, whose forces are not contemptible. Among the rest, four of them have each in pay twenty-five horse. All these princes, when they join the emperor's forces, command their own troops, and receive appointments equal to those of the first Mohammedan general.

Emperor's
horses;

The emperor's stables are filled with horses and elephants. The number of the former amounts to twelve thousand; whereof, however, only twenty or thirty are set apart for the emperor's use; the rest being kept either for state, or to bestow in presents: it being the custom to give a habit and a horse to all those from whom he receives the slightest service. All these horses come from Persia, Arabia, and Tartary; for those bred in the Indies are sluggish and without vigour. Above a hundred thousand are brought yearly from Bâlk, Bokhâra, and Kâbûl; which, at their passage of the Indus, pay twenty-five per cent. to the Great Mogol; for whose service the best are reserved, and the rest sold to those whose business it is to remount the cavalry. In these countries, where there is no forage, they feed the horses with paste. In the morning, they give them bread mixed up with butter and sugar; in the evening, they have rice-milk, seasoned with pepper and aniseed ^b.

his ele-
phants;

As to the elephants, the Great Mogol has five hundred; which are kept in great porches built for the purpose. The harness of these animals is surprisingly magnificent; that especially, which the emperor rides on, has on its back a throne, glittering with gold and precious stones. The rest are covered with plates of gold and silver, housings embroidered with gold, and gold tufts and fringes. The

^a Manouchi, ubi supra, p. 352, & seqq. ^b Ibid. p. 356, & seqq. throne-

throne-elephant is called, the captain of the elephants; and is always attended with a great train, and a considerable number of officers. Whenever he walks abroad, he *their equipage* is preceded by drums, trumpets, and banners. He is also followed three times the maintenance of other elephants; each of which has twenty-five rupees a day, and ten servants to attend him. These elephants are trained to slaughter, by attacking lions and tigers. They are taught also to break open gates.

There are no public arsenals in the Indies, but every *his arsenal* commander of a troop is obliged to furnish his soldiers *and arms*: with arms; among whom one sees a mixture of muskets, bows, swords, scymetars, and lances, in the same corps: which disorder Aureng-zib in some measure rectified. As for the emperor's arsenal, nothing can be more magnificent. His javelins, bows, quivers, and sabres, are ranged in order, all glittering with precious stones.

The Great Mogol's artillery is very numerous; and, for the most part, more ancient than any to be found in Europe: for, according to Manouchi, cannon and powder were known in the Indies long before the conquest of Timur Bek. Formerly the cannoneers of the empire were Europeans; but Aureng-zib ordered, that Mohammedans only should be employed in that service.

The Great Mogol's Revenues.

THE lands of Hindustan produce abundance of grain, *Mogol's revenues*, fruits, cotton, silk, cattle, diamonds, and other valuable commodities: but then of those lands many large tracts *from the land*, are incapable of culture, and the inhabitants of other parts neglect to till them. Besides, as the emperor is sole proprietor of those lands, no great care is taken to improve them. To remedy, in some measure, this inconvenience, Akbar, who was the reformer of the finances of his empire, instead of paying the pensions of the vice-roy and governors in money, as formerly, assigned them lands in their respective departments, to cultivate for their own advantage; obliging them to pay for the rest of their province a certain sum, in proportion to the fertility of the soil. These governors, who are properly no more than the farmers of the empire, farm it again in their turn: but as the husbandmen have nothing for their labour but their subsistence, they work with reluctance;

^c Manouchi, ubi supra, p. 356, & seqq.

nay, they fly in great numbers into the territories of the rajahs, who treat them with a little more humanity ; and thus the dominions of the Great Mogol being depopulated, remain without culture.

from commerce.

Vortex of silver :

yet money not plenty.

However, the gold and silver, which commerce brings into Hindūstān, effectually repairs this defect, and extremely enriches the sovereign^d. According to Bernier, all the silver of Mexico, and gold of Peru, after circulating for some time in Europe and Asia, passes at last into the Great Mogol's empire, from whence it never returns. One part of that wealth is transported to Turkey, to pay for the merchandizes brought from thence ; from Turkey the money passes into Persia, by way of Smyrna, for the silks of that country ; from Persia it enters Hindūstān, by the commerce of Mokka, Bâb al Mandel, Bâs-râb, and Bander Abbas, or Gomrûn. Besides, it passes immediately from Europe to the Indies, particularly by the trade of the Dutch and Portuguese. Almost all the silver which the Hollanders bring from Japan, goes into the dominions of the Great Mogol, in exchange for commodities. Hindūstān, notwithstanding its fertility, is obliged for some things to other countries ; as, to Japan for copper, to England for lead ; to Ceylon for cinnamon, nutmegs, and elephants ; to Arabia, Persia, and Tartary, for horses. But commonly the traders are paid in merchandize ; so that the greater part of the gold and silver of the world finds a thousand ways into Hindūstān.

Notwithstanding this prodigious influx of gold and silver into India, one meets with no more plenty of it there, in the hands of private people, than elsewhere ; great quantities are consumed in the manufactures ; and the Indians bury a great deal of it, in a belief, that they may stand in need of it in the other world : but, after all, that which contributes most to the scarcity of money is the conduct of the emperors, who amass vast treasures, and deposit them in caverns under-ground, to prevent money being too common. Thus all the treasures brought in by commerce falls at last into the coffers of the emperor^e. This being the case, no wonder this monarch should be immensely rich. In short, the whole revenue which he receives only from the produce of the provinces of his empire, farmed out, as aforesaid, amounts to no less than three hundred and eighty-seven millions one hundred and ninety-four thousand rupîs, equal to forty-eight millions sterling.

^d Manouchi, ubi supra, p. 364, & seqq.
Mog. emp. vol. i. part 3. p. 1. & seqq.

^e Bernier mem.

Besides this, the casual revenues of the empire form *Taxes and another vast fund of wealth, equal to, if not surpassing, mines.* the other. These arise from, 1. The annual poll-tax, which the Hindus pay. 2. The duty of five per cent. on all commodities belonging to the Hindū merchants. 3. The duty laid on bleaching cloth. 4. The diamond mines. 5. The vast customs from the ports of the Indian sea, and bay of Bengâl. 6. The estates and effects of his Mohammedian subjects in his pay; of which he is the heir. 7. The tributes received from the rajahs.

Great part, however, of these casual revenues enter the *Vast emperor's treasury, only to pass out again among his sub- pences.* subjects, half of whom subsist by his bounty, or at least receive wages from him. Besides that vast number of officers and soldiers, who subsist solely on his pay, all the peasants who cultivate the lands only for the sovereign are maintained at his expence; and all the mechanics of the cities, who work for him, are paid out of the imperial treasury ^f (G).

The Government and Police of the Great Mogol.

NOTHING is more simple than the means which set *Officers of this great empire in motion.* The affairs of state are all *state.* in the hands of three or four omras, of the first rank, who manage them under the authority of the sovereign. The itemâdo'dowlet is the first minister; but, as often a person of no experience is exalted to this dignity, the burden of affairs falls upon the two secretaries of state. One collects the treasures of the empire; the other pays them out to the officers of the crown, the troops, and the husbandmen. There is a third officer of the finances, whose business it is to secure the effects of those who die in the emperor's service. The ministers who govern the state, and the generals who conduct the troops, are equally taken from among the officers of the army. They are never approached by suitors without a present; which the om-

^f Manouchi, ubi supra, p. 370, & seqq.

(G) The wealth, revenues, and importance of the Mogol empire, are now much decayed. Kouli Khan rifled the imperial treasures and the city of Dehli, from whence he is said to have carried off above one hundred and twenty millions

sterling. Since that period the power and authority of the Great Mogol has been continually declining, and almost all the rajahs and nabobs have declared themselves independent.

râs expect, not out of avarice, but as it looked on to be a mark of respect.

*Command-
ers and
soldiers,* The command of the armies, when the emperor himself is not at the head of his troops, is often conferred on a prince of the blood: and, when no such prince is present, two generals are appointed by his majesty, one a Mohammedan omrâ, the other an Indian râjah, who command their respective troops; for the râjahpûts will obey none but a râjah. It was the emperor Akbar who regulated the state of his armies, and their pay. As the expence of each man is computed at ten rupîs a day, the omrâs pay is not sufficient to maintain the number of men and horses which he is obliged to furnish for the service; but then the lands assigned those lords to cultivate produce much more than what will answer the expence of his cavalry.

how paid. The omrâs of the first rank receive three millions of rupîs per annum: so that their train is magnificent, and the cavalry which they maintain equal little armies. There are usually six omrâs who enjoy this great pension; the itemâdo'ddawlet, the two secretaries of state, the viceroys of Kâbul, Bengâl, and Ujen.

*Justice well
adminis-
tered.* Nothing is more uniform than the exercise of justice in the Great Mogul's dominions. The viceroys, governors of provinces, as well as those of cities and towns, administer justice, and give judgment with regard both to the effects and lives of the people. It is true, that in all cities a kotwâl, and a kâzî, have been established, to determine certain matters; but then every body has a right to have recourse immediately, either to the Great Mogul himself, wherever he resides, or to the viceroys, and governors, in their respective cities.

*Police in
cities.* The kotwal discharges the function both of civil and criminal judge. The chief duty of this magistrate, as judge of the police, is to prevent drunkenness; to punish all those who distil arrack, to suppress taverns, and, in general, all places of debauchery. As he is obliged to give the emperor an account of all dissensions in private families, as well as nocturnal assemblies, he employs in all parts of the city a vast number of spies, whose business it is to sweep the houses every morning, and set the moveables in order. Being answerable for all the robberies committed within his district, he has always soldiers in the country, and men disguised in the city, to keep things

in good order. With regard to the kâzi, his jurisdiction is confined to matters of religion and divorces. Neither of these two judges is permitted to pronounce sentence of death, without making a report to the emperor; who must confirm the sentence on three different days before it can be put in execution. The same rule is observed in the provinces, where the viceroys, or governors only have the power to inflict capital punishment.

There is no delay in administering justice in the Mogol's dominions. Without any of those formalities and rules which protract causes in our courts, every one opens his own case, or prevails upon an emrâ to be his advocate. The witnesses being called and examined, judgment is pronounced on the spot, almost always as equitable as it is speedy. It is not to be denied, that bribery and subornation are to be found in Hindûstân, as well as in other countries; but then both false witnesses and corrupt judges are punished with death. This small number of judicial officers have not so much business on their hands as the least of our judges in Europe, who yet are so very numerous. Although the customs observed in this great empire may not all be free from barbarity, the government of the Great Mogul, is, upon the whole, not inferior to that of many well regulated European nations.

S E C T. V.

The History of the Descendants of Timûr Bek, who have reigned in Hindûstân, under the names of Jagatays and Mogols.

The reign of Soltân Bâbr, surnamed Zehiro'ddin Moham-med (A).

THIS prince was the son of Omar Sheykh, fourth son of Aufâid Mirza, son of Mohammed, sixth son of Mirân Shâh, third son of Timûr Bek, or Tamerlan. He was born the 12th of February, 1483; and, by the death of his father, on the 8th of June, 1494, became sovereign of the country of Andekhân, or Andjân, in Mâwara'lnâhr, or Great Bukhâria: at which time he was

(A) Soltân Bâbr assumed the title of Zehiro'ddin, which signifies the *supporter of religion*; and the name of Moham-med, which signifies *praised*, is prefixed (or supposed to be so) to every Mussulman's name. Frazer.

Hejra 700. eleven lunar years, seven months, and twenty-nine days old. On the death of Soltân Ahmed, son of Abusâid Mîrza, which happened in 899 of the Hejra; he ascended the throne in Samarkant, the capital of all that region. In 904, Sheybeg Soltân, invading Great Buhâria, with an army of Usbekhs, from beyond the river Sihûn, drove him out of his kingdom, and took possession of it for himself.

Invades Hindústán. Bâbr retired to Gâznen, or Gâzna; from whence he began his expedition into India^b. Such is the account given by some writers; but, according to others, after his expulsion from Mawara'l-nahr, he conquered Gazna, with the other provinces of Kâbul, Kandahâr, and Biddukhan; after which conquests he invaded Hindústán five times. In the first four, he was unsuccessful; but in the fifth, on the 1st of May, 1526, he gave battle, near the village of Maltia, to Soltân Ibrâhîm Lawdi, at the head of one hundred thousand Afghâns (B), besides one thousand armed elephants. And, although he had scarcely twelve thousand effective men in his army, yet he entirely defeated those numerous forces.

Great conquests there. Bâbr, pursuing his good fortune, in a short time subdued all that empire, excepting the kingdoms of Dekkân, Guzerât, and Bengâl. Eleven months and five days after the above mentioned battle, he came to an engagement with Râna Sânga, the most powerful of the Indian princes; and although the army of the latter was incredibly numerous, yet he obtained the victory.

His death. Bâbr died on the 25th of December, 1530, in Charbaghi, near Agrâ, on the banks of the river Chum; from whence his body was carried to be interred at Kâbul; after he had lived forty-nine lunar years, four months, and one day. Of this time he reigned in all thirty-seven years, eight months, and two days; thirty-two years, ten months, and three days before the conquest of India; and four years, nine months, and twenty-nine days after the conquest. The best history of his actions are the

^b D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 38, and 163. art. Abusaid Mirza, and Miran Shâh.

(B) Afghâns are the several tribes of Mohammedans who inhabit the northern parts of India; over the whole of which some of them are spread.

They are known often by the name of Pattans, and are esteemed the best soldiers in the country. Fraser.

commentaries written by himself, called *Vakeat Bâbri*; that is, Bâbr's Occurrences^c.

The Indians relate, that Bâbr, before his expeditions into India, in order to discover its strength, entered that country, accompanied with thirty of his lords, in the disguise of pilgrims. But that, at Dehli, they were discovered by Sekânder, the Pâtan king, and arrested: but, on Bâbr's taking an oath not to attempt the conquest of Hindûstân, during either of their lives, Sekânder pardoned them. This story is painted at Lahûr. The oath was inviolably kept; but, when both were dead, Hemayûn, invading the country, dispossessed Ibrâhîm, and Shâh Selîm, Sekânder's son, of their dominions^d.

The reign of Hemayûn.

Bâbr being dead, his son Hemayûn, by some called Homaiun, and Hemayon, surnamed Nefsîro'ddin Mohammed, succeeded him. This prince was born in the castle of Kâbul, on the 4th of March, 1508; and, on the 26th of December, 1530, ascended the throne at Agrâ. In November, 1534, he set out to conquer Mâlva, and Guzerât, then possessed by Soltân Bahâdr. The two armies met; and the Soltân, having been defeated fled to Madow; whither being pursued by the victor, he retired to Chanpanir: from this place to Kambait (or Kambaya), and from thence to Diu. Hemayûn followed him as far as Kambaët; where he halted some time with a design to attack Diu; but the Soltân having in the mean time made a peace with the Portuguese, and obtained their assistance, by granting them leave to build a fort there, Hemayûn, despairing to take the place, returned to his own dominions^e. However, next year, entering Mâlva and Guzerât a second time, he made an entire conquest of those provinces^f, excepting Diu, and a few other places.

Hemayûn, encouraged by this success, in 1538, turned his arms against Bengâl, which he subdued; but, in 1540, being forsaken by his good fortune, he was driven out of his dominions by Shîr Khân, the Afghan, and obliged to fly into Persia; where he remained five years, five months, and fifteen days. At length (by the assi-

^c Fraser Hist. Nadir Shâh, p. 6, & seqq. ^d D'Herbelot Bibl. Orient. p. 58, art. Bâbr; and De Laet de Imper. Mag. p. 166.

^e Fraser Hist. Nadir Shah, p. 6.

^f De Faria Asia Port.

stance of Shah Tahmasp, he in 1545, took Kandahār from Mīrza Askeri, who governed it as deputy to Mīrza Kamrān; and, in six weeks made himself master of Kābul; and, pursuing his good fortune, he, in 1546, marched into Biddukhshān, and recovered that province from Mīrza Soleymān, who had revolted.

After so many prosperous enterprizes, Hemayūn for some time laid aside the toils of war, to take a little repose, and settle the reconquered provinces. At length, in December, 1554, he began his march from Kābul to Hindūstān; and, on the 22d of February, 1555, arrived at Lahūr; in May, he advanced to Serhend, and on the 20th of June, encountered and defeated Sekānder Sowr, son-in-law to the usurper Shīr Khān. His first name was Ahmed, and he governed Panjāb, or Lahūr, under Selīm Khān; after whose death he assumed the government of that state, which extended from the river Send, or Indus, to the Ganges, and called himself Sekānder ^g.

After this victory, Hemayūn intrusted Beyrām Khān Kānna with the education of his son Abdol Fetta Jelālo'd-dīn Mohammed; and then, giving the whole command of the army to that lord, sent him in pursuit of Rekander, who had retired to Dehli. At the same time Allan Kulī, Semaran Khān, and Bahādr Khān, were dispatched to recover the province of Do-ab, which lies between the rivers Ganges and Jemna, or Semena. Success attended both expeditions; Rekander was slain, and that province reduced. Hemayūn then entered Dehli in triumph; and laid the foundation of a magnificent palace: but he had scarce been settled in his capital three months, when, he was snatched out of the world by an accident. On hearing the cryer call to afternoon prayers, he sat down on the palace stairs, leaning on his staff; and, having taken too large a dose of opium, fell asleep: when suddenly the staff slipping, he fell headlong down forty steps, and was so bruised with the fall, that he died in three days ^h. The prince departed this life on the 24th of January, 1556, and was buried in a monument erected on the banks of the river Chun, or Jemni, at the age of forty-nine lunar years, four months, and ten days; of which he reigned twenty-five years, ten months, and five days ⁱ.

^g Fraser, ibid. p. 9.
278, & seqq.

^h De Laet de Imp. Magn. Mogol, p.

ⁱ Fraser, ubi supr. p. 10.

Enters
Dehli.

His death.

The

*The reign of Akbar, or Akber, surnamed Jalâlûddîn
Mohammed.*

WHEN Abdol Khân heard, at Shilnari, of the sudden death of Hemayûn, he sent his chief general, *Soltan Akbar*, Kuli Khân Hemow, an Indian, with one hundred thousand horse, five hundred elephants, and a great military *proclaimed emperor.* chest, towards the city of Dehli, to make war on the Mogols. Mean while Akbar, who, with Beyrâm Khân, Khân Kâんな, and the greater part of his army, had gone in pursuit of his father's enemies, in the mountains of Khoestân, marched to Kalanôr; and, being there proclaimed king by his governor, prosecuted his march to Dehli. In the way he met Turdi Khân; who, venturing out of the city, to fight Hemow, had been defeated. This commander was received by Akbar in a friendly manner; but, after a banquet, he was stabbed by a slave employed for that purpose by Beyrâm Khân. At this time Alla Kûli Khân and Bahâdr Khân being summoned from Do-ab, were despatched before to Panipatam, with an army, to stop the career of Hemow, who had already taken Dehli, while Akbar followed with the rest of his forces ^k.

The two generals, meeting Hemow at Tilleputli, between Panipatam and Dehli, immediately resolved to give him battle; but his soldiers mutinying for want of pay, forsook their leader, and dispersed, so that the Mogols took all their baggage, with the elephants; and Hemow himself, being shot in the eye with an arrow, was brought to Akbar, who smote off his head, and ordered it to be fixed on the gate of Dehli. The enemy being defeated in three successive battles, all Hindûstân, between the river Tsatsa and the Ganges, was recovered in a short time.

Mean while Akbar spent his time at Agra in hunting and other diversions; yet was inwardly grieved to see that his tutor Beyrâm Khân took the whole administration of affairs on himself, and had the army all at his devotion. This jealousy, was in a good measure owing to the whispers of parasites, and chiefly to the insinuations of his nurse Maghem, who devised the follow-

^k De Laet India Vera, p. 180, & seqq.

ing

ing stratagem to free him from his governor's power. One day passing the Semmena, accompanied by a large retinue, under pretence of hunting, he proceeded to Koheb ; from whence his nurse, who followed him by easy journeys, conducted him to Dehli ; where the kings of Hindústán used to be inaugurated. There, the lords of the neighbouring provinces being called together, the prince was enthroned, and acknowledged king by the whole assembly. As soon as Beyrám Khân was informed of this transaction, he sent all the omrâs and mansébdârs who were at Agrâ to the king, with a letter, importing, that, as he had never made use of the power which Hemayûn had intrusted him with, but for the good of the state, and what he thought the benefit of him, the prince, so, now he found that he was able to manage affairs by himself, he wished him all happiness and success ; only desiring, that, as he was quite broken with age, his majesty would give him leave to go to Mecca, there to spend the remainder of his days¹.

Beyram Khân slain. His request having been readily granted, the good old man left Agrâ with all his family, and took his way through Meuwat towards Guzerât, where he intended to embark ; but at the town of Patang, he received a mortal stab from one of his Pâtan slaves, whose father formerly the Khân had slain.

Chitor fortress taken. Zimet Pâta, a certain Râspût, having revolted from Râjah Râna, the most potent of all the Hindû princes, and seized the strong castle of Chitor, of which he was governor, with many other towns, made several incursions into the Mogol provinces. In consequence of these hostilities, Akbar marched with a great army, and besieged that fortress. After a desperate resistance, a practicable breach was made in the body of the place. Zimet Pâta, perceiving all was lost, first set fire to a house wherein he had assembled his wives and children ; and then, rushing desperately upon the enemy, perished, with all who were about him. In remembrance of this great victory, Akbar caused the statues of Zimet, and one of his chief commanders, mounted on elephants, to be placed on each side of the gate of his palace at Agrâ.

Rebellions suppressed. Immediately after this exploit, he received advice, that his brother Mîrza Mehemed Hâkem, with thirty thousand horse, from Kâbûl, had invaded Lûhar : but Akbar

¹ De Laet India Vera, p. 181, & seq.

came upon him, at Sherhinda, so unexpectedly, that Mohammed fled, leaving his camp and followers at the mercy of the victor. These troubles were followed by the rebellion of Bahâdr Khân, and Ali Kûli Khân Zemaen, whom however the Mogol monarch defeated with great slaughter. Ali Kûli Khân was trodden to death under the horses feet, and Bahâdr Khân strangled on the spot by command of Akbar ^m.

This rebellion being thus happily quelled, Akbar resolved to make a pilgrimage, barefoot, to Azmîr, at the distance of one hundred and fifty kos, or two hundred miles, to visit the tomb of Haji Mondi, in hopes of obtaining children by that saint's intercession. In this peregrination, he ordered a stone to be placed at the end of every kos; and, in his return, at Shikeri, or Sikeri, eighteen miles short of Agrâ, visited Sheykî Selîm, to whom he related the occasion of his pilgrimage. The Sheykh foretold him, that he should have three sons, and that one of his concubines was then with child. For this reason Akbar called the first of them Selîm, from the Sheykh; the other two were named Morâd, and Dhaen, or Daniel. This prediction was so pleasing to Akbar, that he inclosed the town with a wall, and called it Fettipûr. He likewise erected a magnificent mosque, with a palace of great beauty; and would have made it his capital, if the river had been wholesome: but the badness of the water obliged him to quit that situation.

During Akbar's abode at Fettipûr, advice arrived from Khân Azem, that a rebellion was raised in Guzerât, by Ibrâhîm Hosseyn joined by Mîrza Khân, Mîrza Mohammed Hosseyn, and Jehân Khân, who had ravaged the country as far as Baroch; and were then on the march to attack Ahmed-abâd. Akbar, on this advice, mounted his followers on dromedaries and penetrated into Guzerât with incredible expedition. Here being reinforced by Khân Azem and other Mogol commanders, he attacked and defeated the rebels with great slaughter near that city. Mîrza Ibrâhîm and Mîrza Khân were slain in the fight: but Mohammed Hosseyn, being taken prisoner, was beheaded. The castle of Surât was reduced, without any difficulty, and the whole province of Guzerât subdued. To secure which, Akbar fortified Ahmed-abâd, and then returned to Hindûstân ⁿ.

^m De Laet India Vera, p. 184, & seq.
p. 187, & seqq. and Herbert's Travels, p. 61.

ⁿ De Laet, ubi sup.

Castle of
Agra.

Sumptuous
sepulchres.

Bengál
conquered.

Rotas castle
surprized.

Jalur
castle be-
trayed.

In the course of the same year, he finished the castle of Agrâ, which cost him two millions five hundred thousand roupîs. At the same time he expended in the walls and palace of Fettipûr one million and a half. At Sekânder, five miles from Agrâ, in the road to Lahûr, he likewise began the sepulchres of his family. While these vast buildings engrossed his attention, Khân Kânnâ and Monim Khân, who governed at Jaunpûr, prosecuted the war in Bengál against Solymân Kaherani; who dying suddenly, his son Skânder succeeded. But, in two years after his elevation, he was slain by conspirators, and Douwet, son of Barat Khân, advanced in his room. As this was an indolent prince, and immoderately given to drinking, Akbar judged it a proper season to subdue the Pâtans, and conquer Bengál. Accordingly, marching thither with an army of fifty thousand horse and six hundred elephants, he passed both the Ganges and Jotsa, and advanced towards Pâtan. Shâh Douwet, on the news of his arrival, sent twelve thousand horse to obstruct his passage, under the command of Râjah Bekan, who met the Mogols between Jotsa and Moheb Ali Pûr; but after a brave attack of three hours continuance, was obliged to retreat, and the enemy pursued them to the city of Pâtan, where Douwet took refuge. After a siege of six months, Akbar took the place by storm. On this occasion a great number of Pâtans fell by the sword; many commanders, with their wives and children, were made prisoners. Shâh Douwet, was carried down the river in a boat by his domestics; but, at length, detesting him for his slothful disposition, which had brought that calamity on them, they cut off his head, and sent it to Akbar; who, having thus become master of all Bengál, returned to Fettipûr.

He sent Rustan Khân and Zadok Khân at the head of an army, against the strong castle of Rantipûr, which he took. Rotas he gained by surprize; and Jalur by corruption.

The news of these losses greatly alarming the rajahs, each did his best to secure himself against an attack; and some of them took the field. Among these was Rûp Mathi, a beautiful princess, at Sarangpûr; who, having assumed the name of Bahâdr, entered the Mogol dominions, with her Pâtans, and began to ravage: being met in the midst of her career by Adam Khân, he with his

troops assaulted her so furiously, that, after most of her people were slain, she was taken prisoner; but, to prevent farther disgrace, took poison and died.

About the same time the king's brother, Mîrza Mo-^{Kâbûl re-}hammed Hakim, who commanded at Kâbûl, dying, ^{duced.} Akbar sent Râjah Manzing, with five thousand horse, who reduced that kingdom into a province.

Mozaffer Khân rebelling in Guzerât, Abdol Rakîn, ^{Rebellions} son of Khân Kânnâ, and Beyrâm Khân, were sent a-^{qu.-shed.} gainst them, with numerous forces: the army of Mo-
zaffer, consisting of no more than twelve thousand horse, was immediately put to flight, and himself taken: but, to prevent an ignominious death, he laid violent hands on himself. Abdol Rakîn hereupon obtained the name of Khân Kânnâ, and the command of five thousand horse. These advantages did not however establish peace in Akbar's empire; for some of the Kâbûl lords, began a new rebellion in Bengâl. Against them Râjah Thor-
miel, Wazîr Khân, and Znebhar Khân, being detached with a strong army, were twice or thrice defeated; but, at length, the rebels being vanquished, were all slain in battle, excepting Mashum Khân, who fled, and afterwards found means to harass the Mogol provinces.

At the same time Râjah Râmjend, lord of Bândo, at ^{Râjâhs} the persuasion of Râjah Birmuel, went to wait on the ^{compliable.} king at Fettipûr; and was received with honour. His example was followed by the rest of the Râjahs, or petty kings; who in this manner began to gain the Mogol monarch's friendship, and send him their daughters for concubines; a commerce which laid the foundation of mutual peace and confederacy⁹.

Akbar, having thus subdued all his opponents, resolv- ^{The Pâ-}ed to go to Lahûr, to meet Abdo'llah Khân, son of ^{tans over-} Iskânder Khân, the Uzbek king of Mawara'lnâhr, who was come into India to pay him a visit. Mean while, Mîrza Tsarof, having received many injuries from the Uzbeks, came from Badakshân to Fettipûr, where the court had now continued fifteen years. With this prince Akbar went to Lahûr, intending to proceed to Kâbûl: but calling to mind that the Ganges was still in the power of the Pâtans, he turned off towards Attek; from whence he sent Jehân Khân and Râjah Birmuel to make war on those people. But the Pâtans, who were subject to Jelâlia Afridi, and Turkost Ji, seizing the passes of

⁹ De Laet, p. 193. Herbert, p. 64.

the mountains, made a great slaughter among the Mogol forces, killing Birmuel, and many other omrâs; so that Chengan Goga, with difficulty, escaped. However, a more numerous army being sent against them, all those provinces, which belonged to Jelâlia and Turkof, were entirely reduced.

*Kandahár
betrayed.*

Some time after this expedition, news arrived that Mîrza Mozaffer Hosseyn and Mîrza Rûstan, sons of Mîrza Bayrâm who commanded at Kandahár, were determined to submit to Akbar: this prince, finding so fair an opportunity offered him, of adding that fortress to his empire, sent Kabîk Khân, with five thousand horse; to whom the two brothers immediately delivered up the city, and repaired themselves to Lahûr; where they were kindly received. Akbar's ambition being increased by these successes, he sent Tzedder Khân and Hakîm Khân to Bokhâra, under pretence of condoling Abdallah Khân for the loss of his father Iskânder Khân; but in reality to pry into the state of Mawara'lñâhr, which he longed to unite to his empire. These ambassadors, after a whole year's stay in that country, returned laden with presents, and a full account of the strength of the cities, as well as forces of the Uzbeks.

*Kashmîr
invaded:*

Akbar was well pleased with this information; but, before he undertook an expedition of such consequence, he judged it proper to reduce Kashmîr. To this end he detached Kassem Khân Merbar, and Mirza Ali Chili, with all his forces, towards that country; charging them at the same time with letters to Yûsof Khân, the king thereof, wherein he promised not in the least to diminish his authority, provided he submitted, without obliging him to make use of hostilities. Yûsof Khân, upon the receipt of this mandate, immediately repaired to Lahûr: but, as he left his son Yakûb behind, Akbar suspected his sincerity, and looked on it as no more than a temporary submission. Nor did he judge amiss; for as soon as Yusof's back was turned, those who had the administration of affairs, disapproving of that measure, prevailed on Yakûb to throw off a foreign yoke. The young prince, following their advice, put his little kingdom in a posture of defence, and shut up all the passes. This vigorous resolution of the Kashmîrians for some time embarrassed Akbar; who considered how difficult it would be to force the kotlen, or straits, of the mountain of Bimber, by which only that country was to be entered. However, at length, he detached the above mentioned generals, with

*won by
treachery.*

with an army of thirty thousand horse, accompanied by some omrâs of Kashmîr, to whom all the passes were known. Yakûb sent several omrâs, with considerable forces, to defend those defiles; but they, being corrupted by the bribes and promises of the Mogols, deserted their posts, and gave the enemy an easy admittance into the kingdom. Akbar's troops advanced to the capital, Kashmîr; which being unwalled, they entered at the first attack, and took the young king prisoner; to whom and his father the victor allowed a yearly pension⁴.

After this success, Akbar turned his arms against the kingdom of Sindi; whose prince Mîrza Jehân was become odious for his tyranny. In this expedition he employed Khân Kânnâ, with twelve thousand men; who, embarking his troops on the Râvi, sailed into the Indus, and thence to Tâtta, capital of Sindi; which he besieged. The city held out six months: but, in the seventh, the tyrant, surrendering himself, was sent to court; where he met with a favourable reception: but his kingdom was reduced to the form of a province.

About this time, Nezâm Shâh, king of Dekân, dying, Akbar became desirous to conquer that kingdom also. With this intent he dispatched khân Khânnâ from Lahûr, with twenty-two omrâs, and a great army, towards Brâmpûr. Here they were joined by the forces of râjah Ali Khân, governor of that province; but staid there six months without action: for Jând Bibî, daughter of the late king, governed the kingdom at Amdanâgar with great prudence, and had an army under the conduct of Koja Shuhel, an eunuch, eminent for his courage and activity. This general, with forty thousand horse, including the troops of Viziapûr and Golkondâ, advanced to meet khân Khânnâ; who, notwithstanding he had scarce twenty thousand men with him, yet, confiding in the valour of râjah Ali Khân, Mîrza Ked Gafîm, descended from Zadet, and others, ordered them to oppose the enemy with their troops; while he kept at a small distance with a body of five thousand men, in order to send relief from time to time. The battle continued all day and all night; during which fortune seemed doubtful, and many were killed on both sides; among whom was râjah Ali Khân. At length, towards morning, khân Khânnâ rushed with so much fury upon the harassed enemy, that he presently obliged them to fly, after the general Koja Shuhel had been slain in the

⁴ De Laet, p. 197. Herbert, p. 66.

fight. Although this was a signal victory, yet the province of Dekân did not suffer much by it; for the queen took care, with fresh forces, to repel the attacks of the Mogols*.

The war revived.

Hitherto every thing succeeded to Akbar's wishes; but, from this time, many misfortunes in his family troubled his reign. His desire of conquering Dekân still continuing, he ordered shâh Morâd, who commanded seven thousand horse, with Zadok Khân, and other omrâs, to prosecute the war in that country. The prince, arriving at Brampûr with his forces, consumed six months in that city, where he gave himself up so entirely to drinking, that he was taken dangerously ill. Akbar sent Abdol Fâzl, president of the divân, formerly Morâd's tutor, to reclaim him; but soon after his arrival the prince died. On his death, many of the omrâs and mansebdârs, who accompanied him, fled without any apparent cause. Abdol Fâzl took on him the command of the army, and ordered several of the fugitives, who were brought back, to be trodden to death by the elephants. Then sending Morâd's corpse to Dehli, and distributing his treasure among the troops, he marched towards Kapûr, and encamped opposite to the enemy.

Barar and Kandîsh conquered.

In a little time he annexed the provinces of Barâr and Khândîsh to the Mogol empire. He then intreated Akbar to remove to Agra; alleging, that this removal would facilitate the conquest of Amdanâgar, Viziapûr, and Gol-kondâ. The king took his advice; and leaving Lahûr, where he had resided twelve years, repaired to Agrâ, where he remained twelve months.

A.D. 1598.

War in the Dekân.

In 1007, he departed from Agrâ, in order to prosecute the Dekân war; but when he had passed the river Nera-beda, the râjah Bahâdr Shâh, not caring to trust him, put his castle of Hasler in a posture of defence, and furnished it with provisions. Akbar, judging it dangerous to leave such a place behind him, immediately laid siege to it; and, after six months continual battery, Bahâdr Shâh, finding himself unable to hold out much longer, not only submitted, on promise of his liberty and effects, but actually entered into the Mogol service.

Shâh Selim rebels.

In the midst of these transactions, news unexpectedly arrived, that Zebhar Khân Kambau, who had accompanied the prince Shâh Selim, in an expedition against râjah Râna Mardout, the most powerful prince of Hindû-

* De Laet, p. 200. Herbert, p. 67.

Soltân, was dead at Azmîr; and that the prince, having seized his treasure, was marching with a numerous body of select troops to Agra, in order to dethrone his father. Roused at this intelligence, Akbar, leaving his son Shâh Daniel with Abdol Fâzl, khân Khamzied, Yûsuf Khân, and several other omrâs, to proceed to Amadanâgar and Viziapûr, departed for his capital. Shâh Selîm had been there; but finding that he could not reduce the castle, left the place, and passing by the way of Rehen and Annewâr, retired to Elhabâs. He had, however, reduced several cities, in which he placed his own omrâs, turning out his father's commanders, to whom the greater part retired, leaving the rest, with all their effects, to Selîm.

As soon as Akbar arrived at Agrâ, he sent letters to his son, expatiating upon the judgments threatened by God *Success in Dekân.* against disobedient children, and promising to restore him to his favour, in case he returned to his duty. But the rebellious prince, despising his father's admonition, continued to extend his power; and having subdued all the country as far as Hassipûr and Pâtan, sent to râjah Mânzing, viceroy of Bengâl, to deliver up that province; but the râjah rejected his request. Meanwhile Daniel Shâh advancing with his army to Gandezîn, Jând Bîbi shut herself up, with all her father's commanders, in the castle of Amadnâgar, and prepared to undergo a siege. This *Amadnâgar taken.* castle is exceeding strong, built on an eminence, and surrounded with deep ditches, in which several springs discharge their waters. However, prince Daniel reduced it after a long siege. A great treasure fell into the victor's hands; but the princess Jând Bîbi had before destroyed herself by poison. Soltân Daniel, having given the command of the place to Koja Bîk Mîrza, reduced the provinces of Gandes and Berar, and returned to Brampûr, where ambassadors came to him with rich presents, and submissive letters, from the kings of Golkondâ and Viziapûr. The prince did nothing remarkable from this time forward, but gave himself up entirely to drinking ^b.

Shâh Selîm, being at the head of a formidable army at *Abdol Fâzl slain.* Elabas, and some overtures of an accommodation with his father proving ineffectual, Akbar wrote to Abdâl Fâzl, who was with Daniel Shâh, to come and help him to reduce his rebellious son. Selîm, resolving to intercept him, sent a body of troops on this service; and the vizîr, with all his attendants, was slain, after an obstinate resistance.

^b De Laet, p. 205, & seqq. Herbert, p. 63.

Fâzîl himself (A), having received twelve wounds, was taken, by the information of a captive slave, under a neighbouring tree, and his head being cut off, was sent to Selîm.

The king, when he heard of the death of that minister, whom he entirely loved, was extremely afflicted, and for three days did not appear in public. Nor did Akbar's sorrows end here; for not long after this disaster, intelligence arrived of the death of shâh Daniel at Brampûr, occasioned by excessive drinking ^c.

He now resolved to turn his arms against Selîm; and had already passed the river Semena, when advice coming from court that his mother was fallen sick, he returned to Agrâ, where in a few days she died, and was buried in the sepulchre of her son Hemayûn, at Dehli. As soon as these ceremonies were over, Akbar dispatched Mîraseddâr, who had been Selîm's tutor, with letters to that prince; wherein, reproaching him severely for his rebellion, he declared, that, as he was now his only son and heir, he was ready to receive him into favour, provided he would come and make his submission. Selîm, affected by his father's letters, and the persuasions of Mîraseddâr, set out with his son sultân Perwîs, from Elabâs, in the year 1013; and passing the Jemni with his army, arrived at the castle of Agra, where he was introduced to his father by Môrtôsa Khân; when, according to the custom of the country, he fell down before the throne, his father, taking hold of his hand, led him into the mâhl, or inner apartment, and, in a great rage, struck him several blows on the face, at the same time upbraiding him with his wicked attempts. Then, changing his strain, he reflected on him for want of courage; because, having seventy thousand troops at his command, he submitted so tamely. Finally, he ordered him to be carried to another court of the palace, and confined. His omrâs likewise, excepting râjah Batso, who had fled in time, were seized, and conducted to prison, loaded with irons. Selîm, who used to take opium every day, astonished at this unexpected usage, forbore taking opium for twenty-four hours; but next day, the king, going to see him, gave him some with his own hand. On the third, all the ladies of the mâhl waited on Akbar, and intreated pardon for the prince, which having

^c De Laet, p. 208, & seqq. Herbert, p. 70, & seq.

(A) This is the famous Abu'l Fâzîl, who wrote the history, entitled Akbar Nama.

obtained,

Shâh Daniel dies.

Selîm sub-
miss:

A.D. 1604.

received to
favour.

obtained, he was sent to his own apartments. From thence-forward he daily came, accompanied with a great train, to salute his father; but certain courtiers having infused a suspicion into the old king's mind, that Selim intended him some mischief, he was ordered to come for the future attended only by four of his omrâs.

Akbar did not long survive this reconciliation. Being *Akbar's death:* incensed against Mîrza Gaja, son of Mîrza Jehân, who governed Sînda and Tâtta, on account of some insolent expression which dropped from him, he resolved to get rid of that lord by poison. To this end, he ordered his physician to prepare two pills in the same form, and put poison in one of them; resolving to give this to Gaja, and take the other himself: but, after holding the pills in his hand for some time, he by mistake swallowed the poison, and gave the other to Mîrza. As soon as he discovered his error, he took remedies, although it was then too late. On occasion of this accident, Selim paying him a visit, he put his own turbân upon the prince's head, and girt him with his father Hemayûn's sword; but ordered him not to act within the palace, nor visit him, till he was recovered. However, Akbar died the twelfth day after he had taken the fatal pill⁴, in the year 1014, at the age of A.D. 1605. sixty-three.

*The Reign of Jehân Ghîr, surnamed Nuro'dâñ
Mohammed.*

AS soon as Akbar was dead, the principal omrâs, who were about him, shut all the gates of the castle of Agra, and committed the charge of them to their most trusty officers. This precaution being taken, Mortâza Khân, Seyset Khân, Kûli Mohammed Khân, Râjah Ramdas, and Râjah Mansing, met together at the house of Khân Azem, to consult what was best to be done at this critical juncture. Khân Azem and Râjah Mansing were for placing Soltân Khosraw, son of Soltân Selim, on the throne; but Râjah Ramdas, who had four or five thousand Râspûts within call, opposed their motion; and seized the treasury. Mean while, Soltân Selim, being informed of his father's death, assembled his omrâs at his palace, and acquainted them with the designs of his adversaries; but, in the interim, Mortâza Khân, to whom the chief gate of the castle was intrusted, went out to the

Soltân Jephân Ghîr proclaimed emperor.

⁴ De Laet, p. 211, & seqq. Herbert, p. 71.

prince, and saluted him king. His example was followed by the nabâb Sayel Khân, his son Kûli Mohammed Khân, and soon after by Khân Azem himself; but Râjah Mansing, passing out by the gate which faces the river, carried Soltân Khosraw with him in a boat to his own house.

Selîm, having now gained all the principal omrâs to his interest, went with them on foot, attending the corpse of his father, and buried him in great pomp. Then, returning to the castle, they crowned him, and gave him the name of Mohammed Jehân Ghîr. Three days after this ceremony, Soltân Khosraw was taken out of the hands of Râjah Mansing and Khân Azem, and brought to court; where his father seemed to be reconciled to him. The coronation of Jehân Ghîr being soon made known in foreign countries, ambassadors arrived from Persia, Tartary, Golkondâ, Viziapûr, Dekân, and the neighbouring râjâhs, with magnificent gifts, to congratulate him upon his accession to the throne.

Soltân
Khosraw
flies.

A.D. 1606.

Being jealous of his son Khosraw, he asked Mîrza Omrâ, his chief minister, what was the proper course to be taken with him? The mîrza answered, to deprive him of sight: but while the king delayed coming to a resolution, the prince, who had discovered what was in agitation against him, wrote to his friend Hassân Bek, to hasten towards Agra with his choicest troops, and carry him off to Lahûr. Hassân Bek, whom Akbar before his death had sent to Kâbûl to collect the revenue of that province, upon receipt of Khosraw's letter, immediately advanced with two or three thousand horse; and, arriving at Akbarpûr, within twenty kos of Agra, the prince, with five hundred young men, departed in the evening from the castle, the kotwal Koja Mâlek Ali not daring to oppose him. In their way, they put out the lights every where, and plundered some shops; then getting into the fields, arrived early in the morning at Akbarpûr; from whence they hastened to Lahûr ^a.

Refuges
Lahûr
castle;

As soon as the king was informed of his son's flight, he sent the kotwal Koja in pursuit of him, with three hundred horse; he was followed the same night by Mortâza Khân, with one thousand five hundred; and the king himself, by the persuasion of Mîrza Omrâ, set out in the morning after the rest, with the swiftest elephants, and several omrâs. The prince plundered all the country people along the

^a De Laet's Ind. Vera, p. 214. Herbert, p. 72.

road, took the king's horses out of the stables, and pressed all he met into his service; so that on the ninth day, when he arrived at Lahûr, he had assembled a tolerable army: but Ibrâhîm Khân, the Pâtan, whom the king had a little time before made governor of Lahûr, getting into the castle before the prince could come up, shut the gates against him.

This was an unlucky accident; but he met with another still more mortifying; for hearing that Sayd Khân was encamped with his people, only three kos from the city, in his way to Banghe, he sent to desire him to join his forces. Sayd Khân seemed to consent; but when he came with the soldiers of the prince to the river Râvi, he deceived them, and brought the boat to the castle.

In the mean time, Jalâlo'ddîn Hassân came from the king, to offer the prince Kâbul and Banafûd, provided he would quit Lahûr: but Khosraw demanded, that all the country of Serhînd should be yielded to him; and as he found this treaty was set on foot only to delay time, till the imperial forces came up, as soon as he heard that the king had passed the river at Soltânpûr, he relinquished the siege of Lahûr castle; and with twenty thousand men turned back, determined to give his father battle. Accordingly the two armies met at Fettipûr, where Khosraw was totally defeated. Being accompanied by Hassân Beg, Khân Pâdishâh, and Abdol Râjah, he hastened back to Lahûr; where leaving the râjah, he, with Pâdishâh, crossed the Râvi, in order to reach the strong castle of Rantas; but falling into the hands of their enemies, they were brought to the king, who returned with them to Lahûr; where Abdol Râjah was drawn out of his concealment. To punish the rebels now in his power, he ordered the peasants to fix a long series of sharp stakes on each side of the road; on which some were impaled, while others were hung upon trees. He carried the captive prince with him towards the city; and, the more to mortify him, placed him upon an elephant with Zemâna Bek behind him, in order to shew him the criminals as they passed along, and tell him their names. When they arrived at Lahûr, he was given in custody to the same lord; and Hassân Bek Pâdishâh, being sewed up in a raw hide, was left to die in horrible torment. Afterwards his head was cut off, and sent to Agra, to be fixed on the castle gate.

This rebellion being thus quashed, Jchân Ghîr for some time took the pleasure of hunting; and when he had staid four

he re-treats.

Taken prisoner.

A new conspiracy.

four months at Lahûr, set out to visit Kabûl. Soltân Khosraw still remained confined, the omrâs and mansébdârs, by turns, guarding him. One day, as Mîrza Fettulla, son of Hâken Mîrza Sharîf, son of the etimado'ddawlet, Mîrza Muro'ddîn, nephew of the great Assof Khân, Mîrza Jâffer Bek, and several other omrâs, were upon that duty, they conspired among themselves to slay the king in passing the Kâbul mountains, and set Khosraw upon the throne ; but a proper opportunity not offering, Jehân Ghîr got safe to that city.

Sîr Af. ghân slain. Mean while, the etimâdo'ddawlet, who was great treasurer, being accused by Ottem-chend, one of his Indian slaves, of having converted fifty millions of rupîs to his own use, was committed to the custody of Dianet Khân.

A.D. 1609. In the year 1018, the king received advice, that Shîr Afkân Khân, son-in-law of the imprisoned treasurer, had slain Kotho'ddîn Mohammed Khân Goga, viceroy of Bengál, at Râjah Mâhl. Sheykh Ghiatho'ddîn, the brother, and Kizwer Khân, the son of the viceroy, revenged his death, and sent Shîr Afkân's head to Agra. They likewise imprisoned his brother Gommer, with his son and mother ; also his wife Mehîr Mejam, daughter of the etimâdo'ddawlet ; whom they treated in a very ignominious manner.

The plot discovered. This murder greatly aggravated Jehân Ghîr's resentment against this last mentioned lord ; but what soon after happened completed his ruin : for just as the king was ready to return to Lahûr, Koja Veïz, both by verbal evidence, and in writing, accused the above mentioned lords, and several others, of a plot against his majesty's life. Jehân Ghîr, highly enraged at this treason, ordered all the conspirators with the etimado'ddawlet, to be brought before him bound, he then commanded their heads to be cut off, and their bodies to be fixed upon the battlements ; only the etimâdo'ddawlet, at the request of his keeper, was pardoned, on promise of paying eleven lak (M) of rupîs for his life ; but led back to prison in the most disgraceful manner. After these executions the king left Kâbul, and returned to Lahûr ; where, by the advice of Mîrza Omrâ, and other lords, he ordered Soltân Khosraw to be deprived of sight, with the juice of aek leaves ;

(M) That is one hundred thirty-two thousand five hundred and fifty pounds sterling ; reckoning the lak at twelve

thousand five hundred pounds. Herbert says, he paid two hundred thousand pounds.

which

which yet did not so effectually blind him, but that he could see a little with one eye.

At the same time, *Jehân Ghîr* vented his anger against *Khân Azem*, father-in-law of the prince. After having confiscated all his effects, he ordered him to be brought before him, clothed in wretched apparel, and all the omrâs were commanded to spit on his beard. Then he sent him loaded with chains to the castle of *Gwaliyâr*, where he was imprisoned; but at the end of two years he was, by the intercession of some ladies of the haram, restored to favour and his places at court.

The king, having taken the diversion of hunting, and intending to return to Agra, gave permission to the etimâdo'ddawlet, and his keeper *Dianet Khân*, with all his family, to repair to that city, in order to collect his fine of rups, and soon after went thither himself. From thence he wrote to *Salâm Khân*, to send him with all speed the family of *Shîr Affeghân*; namely, his widow *Meher Meja*, and his brother. *Salâm* obeyed the order, and the parties set forward. When they had entered the province of *Bahâr*, a darwîsh, reported to have foretold many things, accosted *Meher Meja* on the road; and, looking her in the face, promised her favour with the king, and future splendor. As soon as they arrived at Agra, the brother and son of *Shîr Affeghân* were given in charge to the omrâs; but *Meher Meja* and her young daughter were introduced to *Rokkia Soltân Begum*, the king's mother: who, embracing her with the greatest affection, could scarce ever after bear her to be out of her sight.

This lady happening to carry *Meher Meja* into the mahl, or women's apartment, the king came in; and, putting aside her veil, looked in her face. On the feast of the new year, the king being very merry among his ladies, *Meher Meja* brought her daughter, but six years old, before the king; who, deeply enamoured with the mother, said with a smile, "Henceforward, I will be father to this child." The lady answered, that she was an unhappy widow, unworthy to be numbered among his majesty's wives; and only desired he would have pity on her daughter, and do something for her. After this event, *Jehân Ghîr* became so doatingly fond of *Meher Meja*, that every evening he went by water to the etimâdo'ddawlet's house, and did not return to his palace till early in the morning. He had loved her when a virgin, in his father *Akbar's* life-time; but, as she had been espoused to *Shîr Afkân*, his father would not give her to him for a wife.

Mehr Meja, or *Nûr Mâhl*
brought to court.

Hejr. 1610.

After

*Marries
Jehán
Ghir.*

After he had thus for forty nights made his addresses to her, he ordered Koja Abdol Hafsan to go and demand her of the etimâdo'ddawlet; for that he was determined to marry her, and give her the precedence of all his other wives. The etimâdo'ddawlet received the royal message, and, having declared himself unworthy of the honour designed him, gave his consent; after which, a fortunate day being fixed, the king married her, and changed her name to that of Nûr Jehán Begum (N). In short, he loved her to such excess, that he not only preferred her to all his other wives, and gave her father the command of five thousand horse, but also conferred honours and places at court on all her relations.

A.D. 1611.

*Prefer-
ments at
court.*

In the year 1020 of the Hejra, he sent the nábab Mör-tâza Khân, with his youngest son Soltân Sheriâr to command in Guzerât; and Khân Jehán, to Brampûr; the province of Khor was given to Khân Khâna; and Mohabet Khân was sent with an army to make war upon Râjah Râna. The same year arrived Zeynel Bek, ambassador from Shâh Abbâs, king of Persia, with a magnificent equipage, and very rich presents. He was received with great honour, and sent back with presents suitable to the occasion. In Bengâl, the territory of Râjah Kots was reduced into a province by Salau Khân; and Murfa Khân, son of Hisâ Khân, with many other lords, were brought into subjection to Jehán Ghîr. As for Mohabet Khân, after having taken some towns from Râjah Mardout, he was recalled to court; and Abdol Khân sent to command the army in his room.

*War a-
gainst Râ-
na.*

When Abdol Khân arrived at Sislimîr, he was met by an army of Râspûts; whom Râna had sent to oppose him; but he attacked them with such vigour, that, being quickly routed, they fled to Oudepur. That province being thus subdued, the wives and children of the Indian inhabitants were carried into slavery. From thence he marched with his army to Siavend, where the ancestors of Râna formerly resided in a very strong castle, which was now taken after a very obstinate defence.

The victor pursued Râna so closely, that after obliging him several times to shift his quarters, he at length forced him to leave his provinces at the mercy of his enemies. Jehán Ghîr, highly pleased with Abdol Khân's conduct, sent him to command in Guzerât, with particular orders

(N) In De Laet, Nourzi- lady, who is the light of the am Begem. It signifies the world.

to pursue and extirpate the Bielsgrats and Kowlis who infested the ways, and robbed the karawâns. In his march many râjahs and their subjects met him with presents, and voluntarily submitted; but râjah Eder and Lael Kowli, trusting in the ruggedness of their country, still held out^b.

Abdol Khân, however, marched at the head of five hundred select men, with so much speed, that he arrived at the castle of Eder before the garrison knew any thing of his coming. The râjah nevertheless hazarded an action, in which, after a vigorous conflict of some hours, he was compelled to fly, leaving his castles and treasures to be possessed by the victor. Not long after this event, Abdol Khân being informed that Lael Kowli had robbed a karawân of all its merchandises, moved towards him with an army; the Kowli, far from retreating, met him with two or three thousand horse, and ten or twelve thousand foot; but after a bloody engagement, the victory declared in favour of Abdol Khân, and Lael himself having been slain in the battle, his head was cut off, and set on the gate of Ahmed-abâd.

Meanwhile khân Jehân, who was sent against Mâlek Amber, king of Decân, finding he made no progress, chiefly through the discord among the commanders, sent to desire Jehân Ghîr to command the army. The king, upon this intimation, sent sultân Parweis, accompanied by râjah Ramdas; who being arrived at Brampûr with his forces, wrote to Adel Khân and Kothb Mâlek, to know why the accustomed tribute was not paid; and being answered that it had been ready a considerable time, he sent a person to receive it. As soon as he had secured the money, he dispatched khân Jehân, râjah Mansing, and râjah Ramdas, with a strong army, into Ballagât, against Mâlek Amber; and Jehân Ghîr sent khân Azem, with a fresh reinforcement, to Brâmpûr. Meanwhile advice arriving that râjah Râna had appeared in the field again, and recovered Oudenpûr, Pormândel, and other neighbouring places, the king sent against him his son sultân Kourm, with a potent army. The prince, advancing to Oudenpûr, sent out troops on all sides, whereby Râna was hemmed in so closely, that he intreated Kourm to mediate his pardon with the king; and, at the sultân's demand, sent his son Karen as a pledge of his fidelity, with rich presents, valued at a hundred thousand rupîs. With these he repaired to the sultân at Azmîr, and made peace

*Successes in
Guzerât.*

*Mâlek Am-
ber at-
tacked.*

^b De Laet, p. 224, & seqq. Herbert, p. 75, & seqq.

for Râna with his father, who kept Karen about him, and gave him the above mentioned places.

Decân invaded.

It was now resolved in a council of war, that the râjahs Abdol Hassan, Mansing, and Ramdas, with several omrâs, should march before towards Ballagât, while khân Khânnâ and khân Jehân followed with the rest of the troops. Mâlek Amber, on the news of their march, determined to meet them with fifty thousand forces; twenty thousand of his own, twenty thousand brought by Adel Khân, and ten thousand by Kothb Mâlek. By this time the Mogol army having advanced as far Kerki, the regal seat of Decân, Mâlek Amber was so astonished at its number, that he fled with only a few followers, leaving in the camp Molhena Mohammed, Lâri, and the wakil of Adel Khân, who, with twenty thousand men, were come to his assistance.

Notable stratagem.

In this emergency the king of Dekân had recourse to stratagem. He ordered counterfeit letters to be written, giving an account that Jehân Ghîr was dead; and contrived, by unknown messengers, to convey them to the hands of râjah Mansing, râjah Ramdas, and khân Khânnâ. The omrâs, giving credit to these letters, immediately broke up their camp, and in great haste returned to Brâmpûr. Mâlek Amber being thus delivered from his enemies, quickly recovered the places which they had taken from him, and fortified them with new works. Jehân Ghîr was not a little incensed when he understood how his generals had been duped. He sent Mohabet Khân to command in Brâmpûr and the province of Barar; and that general was so fortunate as, in a short time, to reduce the whole country as far as Kerki; he himself having resided for one year and five months at Mândow, proceeded to Guzerât, from whence he sent Abdol Khân to govern the province of Kalpi and Khûr: then he diverted himself another year with hunting, and retired to Agra.

Commotions in Bengál.

At this time some disturbances arose in Bengál, where Ozmân Khân, the Pâtan, besieged the city of Daak with a great army; but he was defeated and slain by the Mogul omrâs; and this success was followed by the entire reduction of the provinces of Khûr and Kalpi, by the valour and conduct of Abdol Khân.

This officer brought in subjection or destroyed all the râjahs and others who had rebelled, and never would obey the former governors. He made captives of their wives and children, who were sold in Persia; and, to humble

the

the natives effectually, he razed all their fortified places to the ground.

Jehân Ghîr, about this time, resolving to send an ambassador to shâh Abbâs, pitched on khân Azem, a man of prudence and high birth, to execute that commission. That he might appear at the Persian court with greater lustre, he was entrusted with magnificent presents for the king. These consisted of agate vessels, all sorts of cotton and woolen cloths, made in Hindûstân, intermixed with gold and silver; daggers and swords, adorned with gold and precious stones, with other curiosities of great value; amounting in the whole to seventy thousand rupîs. He likewise ordered sixty thousand more to be paid out of his own treasury for defraying the expences of the khân's journey. In his letters to the shâh he bestowed great commendations on the ambassador, styling him not only his friend but brother.

Azem was received in Persia with particular marks of honour. When he was introduced to the king, his majesty rose up and walked a few steps to meet him, took him by the hand, and placed him by him on the throne. Banquets were made, and shews exhibited daily for his entertainment. At length, after two years stay, khân Azem was dismissed with magnificent presents, both for his master and himself. Among those for Jehân Ghîr were five hundred Persian horses, twenty he and fifty she mules, with a hundred and fifty dromedaries of both sexes, all very beautiful in their kind. Shâh Abbâs, at the same time, desired the ambassador would intreat his master to restore Kandahâr, which had been betrayed to his father Akbar, or else to take an equivalent elsewhere in lieu of that province.

In 1628, Jehân Ghîr made a second progress to Kashmîr, but quickly returned to Lahûr, when, by the persuasion of Nûr Jehân, and her brother Affos Khân, sultân Khosraw was taken out of the custody of khân Jehân, and delivered into the hands of his brother sultân Khûrm. This prince was now greatly in favour with his father, who gave him the command of forty thousand horse, and sent him to the army in Dekân, accompanied by Koja Abdol Hassân, and other experienced generals. The kings of Viziapûr and Golconda had for several years forborne to pay the tribute, and Mâlek Amber had surprised the provinces of Khândish and Barâr; so that khân Khânnâ, was in a manner besieged by an army of Râspûts. In the mean time Abdol Azîz Khân was appointed governor of Kandahâr

*Embassy to
Persia ho-
nourably
received.*

*Sultân
Khosraw
removed.*

Kandahár in the room of Bahádr Khán Ušbek, who was sent against Kangra. The command of Multán was given to khán Jehán, that of Kalpi to Abdol Khán, and the government of Bondela to rājah Lala Bertsing. Lastly, sultán Parweis was nominated to that of Pátan.

A.D. 1619.

War of
Decán.

In 1029, rājah Rāna dying, Jehán Ghir sent Karen from court to succeed his father in his territories; and at the same time ordered his brother, rājah Rihem, to assist sultán Khûrm with two or three thousand Rásput. This prince, who now assumed the name of shâh Jehán, at length arrived at Brâmpûr with his whole army; from whence he detached before Abdol Khán, Lala Bertsing, and Koja Abdol Hassán, with several other omrâs, to make war on Mâlek Amber, Ziadû Râjah; and Mîrza Makkey was sent to invade Golkonda. At the same time Mohammed Takki was dispatched to Viziapûr, with letters for Adel Khán, in which he gave them notice, that unless the tribute was immediately paid, he would invade their dominions. In the interim Abdol Khán, with his forces, passed through Ballagât, followed by the prince, at the distance of ten or twelve kos, with the rest of the army.

Kerki
taken.

At length they were opposed by the troops of Mâlek Amber, with whom they fought several battles, in which they had always the victory; then advancing to Kerki they took it a second time; where, to be revenged on Mâlek Amber, they demolished his palace, and carried away a vast booty. Thus the province of Khândish and Barâr, with all the places about Amdanâgar, again fell into the hands of the Mogols.

Sultán
Khosraw
murdered
by his bro-
ther's or-
der.

In the year 1030 of the Hejra, shâh Jehán contrived a scheme for the murder of his brother Khosraw, who lived with him at Brâmpûr; and it was executed accordingly. While Jehán rode out, Reza, his slave, going in the night with his assistants to the prince's apartment, knocked at the door, pretending he brought him vestis and letters from his father, with orders to his brother shâh Jehán to set him at liberty. As Khosraw, who suspected his errand, refused to admit him, the ruffian forced the door off the hinges, and throwing the prince on the ground, strangled him with the help of his accomplices. Then laying his dead body on the bed, went out and shut the door again.

Next morning his wife, who was daughter of khán Azem, going into the chamber, and finding her husband dead, filled the house with lamentations. Every one was

^c De Laet, p. 239, & seqq. Herbert, p. 78, & seqq.

grieved

grieved for the prince's unexpected death ; but nobody suspected that he was murdered. As soon as shâh Jehân returned to the city, he wrote his father an account of his brother's death ; and the better to conceal his crime, prevailed upon all the omrâs and mansebdârs to sign the letter ; but the nabâb Nûro'ddîn Kowli, happening to be there at that time, sent a detail of the whole matter to Jehân Ghîr. The king bewailed his son's death, and wrote in very severe terms to the omrâs, demanding why they failed to let him know whether his son died a natural or violent death ? He likewise commanded the body to be sent to Elabâs, where it was buried in his mother's tomb. Then he comforted khân Azem, father-in-law to the deceased prince, and committed to his care the education of his nephew sultân Bolaki, on whom he conferred the command of ten thousand horse.

*From the Rebellion of Soltân Khurm to the recalling Mohab-
bet Khân to Court.*

THIS reign was a tissue of violence and trouble. Shah *Kandahâr taken.* Abbâs, king of Persia, advancing at the head of a formidable army, besieged and took Khandahâr, before any effectual steps could be taken for its relief.

Shâh Jehân had long wished to ascend his father's throne. It was with this view that he had married the daughter of Assof Khân, who with his brother and adherents almost engrossed the administration at court : he had attached many omrâs to his interest by presents and pensions, which the large and wealthy provinces he possessed enabled him to do. In all the cities and districts of these provinces he had appointed officers upon whose attachment he could depend. He had made away with his eldest brother by the advice of Rajah Bikermansid, who was his chief confident ; and now receiving notice from his father-in-law, that he was ordered to bring the Mogol's treasures from the castle of Agra to Lahûr, he resolved to intercept them on the road.

With this view he marched from Brampûr, with an army of seventy thousand horse, under pretence of going towards Mandow to hunt ; and advanced as far as Fettipûr with incredible expedition. As soon as Ethabar Khân, governor of Agra, heard of his approach, he carried back the treasures, which he had got ready to deliver to Assof

A.D. 1621.

Agra be-
sieged.

Khân, into the castle of Agra; and by couriers immediately gave the king notice of the prince's design. Jehân Ghîr, without delay, set out from Lahûr to that other capital. In the mean time the prince detached Rajah Bikkermansid, his chief general, Beyrâm Bîk, Rostom Khân, Tsöffalia Deria Khân, Wazîr Khân, and Mohamîd Takki, with an army, to take the castle of Agra: but Ethaber Khân, faithful to his king, had already fortified it, prepared his warlike engines, and walled up all the gates ^a.

The king taken; yet gains the victory.

Shâh Jehân having no hopes of taking the castle in a short space of time, resolved to meet his father, and give him battle: for this end he distributed money among his soldiers, and, having reviewed his forces, departed from Fettipûr. The king began his march with a few troops; however, he had sent for Mohabet Khân from Kâbûl, and Khân Jehân from Multân: Soltân Parweïs also was on the road from Pâtan with a reinforcement.

The forces of the king were commanded by Shehriar, his youngest son, and Mahobet Khân; those of the prince by Bikkermansid. In the heat of the battle which ensued, Bikkermansid broke his way through the king's troops to his very tent, and took him prisoner: but before he could secure his prize, he was killed by one of the guards; which accident so astonished the rest of the omrâs, that they immediately retired with their forces, and left the victory to the king's troops.

Khurm suomits.

Notwithstanding this advantage, the king wrote to Shâh Jehân, that provided he came to him from to Azmîr, and swear not to attempt any thing against his person for the future, he would not only pardon, and take him into favour, but would also confer on him great honours and riches. The prince, on receipt of these letters, immediately set out with Khân Khânnâ, Abdol Khân, Beyrâm Bîk, and other omrâs, who all arrived at Azmîr, and were cordially received.

Guzerâi taken by the royal army.

After the death of Râjah Bikkermansid, Shâh Jehân conferred the government of Guzerât on Abdol Khân; who, continuing with the prince, sent his eunuch Baffadar Khân to command in his absence. When he arrived at Amed-abâd, he expelled the nabâb Shaffi Khân, the king's chancellor, who, enraged at this affront, repaired to Kanksi. From thence he wrote to Nâzar Khân, gover-

^a De Laet, p. 243, & seqq. Herbert, p. 80, & seqq.

nor of Pàtan, and Babon Khân, who resided at Kapperbeniz, giving them an account of what had passed. As he knew that Soltân Bolaki, and his grandfather Azem Khân, were on the road with an army to recover Guzerât for the king, they resolved to march to Ahmed-abâd; and beginning their march in the evening, early next morning arrived before the walls of that city. Dividing their forces into three bodies, each attacked a gate, which with their elephants they broke open; and thus entering the place, seized Baffader Khân, and other lords who had deserted to the prince.

Shâh Jehân advanced from Madow to Wasset, at the head of seventy thousand horse; but found Shaffi Khân prepared to receive him. This lord knowing the king's army, under Soltân Bolaki and Khân Azem, was at a great distance, stripped the throne, which Shâh Jehân had caused to be made at Ahmed-abâd, of its gold and jewels; with which he in nine days raised a considerable body of forces.

Being informed of Abdol Khân's approach, he posted himself at Bowben-talaw, six kos from Ahmed-abâd. Abdol Khân advanced to Neriâd, and thence to Momod-abâd, but six kos from the enemy, whom he despised: but when he understood how strong the royal army was, Kurm's general attempts to recover it, but is defeated. and knowing that some of his commanders were not to be trusted, he turned off towards Baroch, with design to attack Shaffi Khân in the rear. However, his design being discovered by the watchful enemy, he resolved to engage them without delay. Next morning he drew up his army in order of battle, and advanced to Fettabâgh, where the action began with equal fury on both sides.

Shaffi Khân so galled the enemy with his cannon, that one of the chief elephants being wounded, turned about, and made great disorder among their ranks. Abdol Khân was not wanting all this while to encourage his soldiers; and having in some measure restored the battle, challenged Nahar Khân to a single combat. The brave old man did not fail to meet him; but having been wounded by his adversary in the head with a lance, his men came to his assistance. Here began a fierce conflict; and Nahar Khân finding the enemy too strong for him, began to give ground; but Delawer Khân renewed the fight.

After a very bloody dispute, the rebels were totally defeated, and Abdol Khân fled with a few followers to Bro-

* De Laet, p. 248, & seqq. Herbert, p. 82, & seqq.

dra ; from thence he took the route to Surât, and afterwards returned to Brâmpûr.

*Khurm o-
overthrown.* In the mean time Jehân Ghîr, who remained at Fettîpûr, detached his son Soltân Parweîs, with Mohabet Khân, Râjah Lala Bertzing, and the whole army of Râspûts, to pursue his rebellious son, and, if possible, take him alive. As soon as this prince knew that the royal army was advancing, he removed from Azmîr to Mandow, and assembled all his forces, in order to try his fortune in battle ; but he was totally overthrown, and with great difficulty escaped to Brâmpûr.

*Flies to
Malek
Amber.*

Beyrâm Bek and Darab Khân being left at the river, to hinder the passage of the king's forces, Khân Khânnâ, persuaded Shâh Jehân to send him to his brother Soltân Parweîs, in order that he might intercede for them with his father ; nor could Abdol Khân divert the prince from entering into this measure, or induce him to suspect Khân Khânnâ's fidelity. The khân having crossed the river, and arrived at the sultân's camp, advised him to pass the Nardaba with what rafts or boats he could procure in haste ; assuring him that his brother had but few forces, and that Beyrâm Bek, already gained, would not hinder him. Soltân Parweîs, without delay, passed the river, as he had been advised, and sent Beyrâm Khân to inform Shâh Jehân, that Khân Khânnâ had made his peace with his brother ; but Abdol Khân cautioned the prince to beware of Khân Khânnâ's treachery ; assuring him that his design was to seize him unawares, and deliver him into his brother's hands, since twenty thousand horse had already passed the Nardaba : he therefore advised, that instead of regarding what Beyrâm Bek said, both he and Darab Khân should be put in irons, and the prince himself retire as fast as he could to Rehen Kera^f.

*The Uzbeks
repulsed.* Shâh Jehân, approving this counsel, caused those two lords to be bound on an elephant, and fled towards Kerki, to Malek Amber, who appointed him a residence in Nassîr Trom. Soltân Parweîs arriving at Brâmpûr, without any opposition, sent an account of his success to Jehân Ghîr, who received the news with the utmost joy ; but this was soon allayed with the news, that Ihens Tous, the Uzbek, with thirty thousand horse, was on his march towards Kabûl, in order to conquer that province. As soon as Khânnâ Zaed Khân, son of Mohabet Khân, governor of

^f De Laet, p. 254, & seqq. Herbert, p. 86, & seqq.

the province of Banghiz (O), heard of this Tatar invasion, he hastily repaired to Kabûl, and fortified it. Then being informed by his scouts that Ihen Tous was advanced within fifteen kos of that city, he marched out to meet him with twenty thousand horse ; and giving the Uſbek battle, obliged him to fly, after he had made a great slaughter among his troops. Zaed Khân, making use of his victory, pursued the enemy to the borders of Uſbek. Then attacking the city of Gassani, he took it, and returned to Kabûl with a rich booty ; for this victory he was rewarded by the king with the command of five thousand horse.

While Jehân Ghîr made another progress to Kashmîr, for the sake of hunting, Shâh Jehân, with four thousand horse and three hundred elephants, marched by the way of Golkonda and Orisba, through the deserts, into Bengâl. Kamet Bek Khân, the governor, was so terrified at his approach that he fled, leaving the prince in possession of his treasure. Several mansebdârs revolted to Shâh Jehâir, who thence marched into Pâtan ; which Moklidis Khân, the governor, shamefully deserting, fled to Rostam Kandahâri, governor of Elhabâs, who, for his cowardice, imprisoned him, and seized his effects.

Shâh Jehân, having crossed the Ganges, entered Bengâl, and advanced to Kerin ; but Ibrâhim Khân, governor of Daak, meeting him at Râjah Mâhl with five or six thousand horse, attacked him so furiously, that he was on the point of flying ; and must have been utterly defeated, if Abdol Khân, who lay in ambuscade, had not seasonably advanced to his assistance. The king's forces were so dismayed at this unexpected reinforcement, that they turned their backs, leaving Ibrâhim Khân, with five hundred men, to shift for themselves. After a brave resistance, he and his soldiers were all slain. Then the prince, seizing his treasure, sent Darab Khân to Daak, to bring away the rest of Ibrâhim's riches, with his wives and children. He had orders also to reduce all Bengâl, while Shah Jehân marched to Patân, where Râjah Jehân Usîm joined him with five thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot.

As soon as Soltân Parweis was informed of these proceedings, he left Râjah Rostan Khân to command in his absence at Brâmpûr, and began his march for Elabâs, accompanied by Mohabet Khân, Khân Alem, and other omrâs, with the rest of the Raspût forces. Mean time

Soltân Parweis marches against and defeats his brother,

(A) A city to the north of Kâbûl.

the king, having received advice in the city of Kashmīr of Ibrāhīm Khān's death, forthwith sent orders to Khān Jelān, who resided at Mūltān, to march with his forces to assist Soltan Parweis; but he, advancing to Fettipūr, loitered there six months, without carrying any succours to that prince.

Shah Jehān being informed that his brother Soltan Parweis and Mohabet Khān were advancing against him, and had already passed the river Kalpi, sent Rājah Rhīm, Beyrām Bīk, and Abdol Khān, to besiege Elabās; the suburbs of which they destroyed; but they retired to Banares, on the approach of Soltan Parweis and his forces. At length, the prince arriving at Elabas, was joyfully received by Rustan Khān ^g.

Mohabet Khān, eager for battle, with the rājahs Ziffing, Jand, and Bertzing, passed the Ganges with the greater part of the troops, in order to meet Shāh Jehān; who having raised considerable forces in Pātan, was come to Fonek, about ten kos from Banares; where the two armies, parted only by the river, cannonaded each other. At length they encamped opposite to the rebels, who did not long delay coming to a battle. Mohabet having forded the stream, Rājah Rhīm, a gallant soldier, advancing with his troops gave the charge, and so disordered the king's forces, that they were obliged to give way. Had this brave commander been supported by Abdol Khān and Derra Khān, victory must have declared for Jehān; but those two generals, actuated by envy, would not move to his assistance: so that the sultān's troops, having time to rally, returned to the charge with such fury, that they wounded most of the rājah's elephants, and restored the battle. At length Rājah Rhīm being slain, Derra Khān was put to flight. Shāh Jehān was by Abdol Khān prevailed on to quit the field with three or four thousand horse. Upon this occasion both he and Soltān Parweis exhibited many signal proofs of personal courage. The troops of Rājah Bertzing having taken possession of Jehān's camp, the soldiers plundered it of all the gold and silver, of which they found a great quantity; but the elephants, horses, and other spoils were reserved for the king's use.

*who quits
Bengāl.*

Shāh Jehān, after this defeat, fled with such haste, that in thirty-six days he reached the castle of Rantas; where he had placed rājah Gholam, one of the murderers

^g De Laet, p. 260. Herbert, p. 88, & seqq.

of his brother sultân Khosraw. Here leaving all his harâm, excepting Assof Khân's daughter, he, on the third day, fled towards Pâtan. Being arrived at Pâtan, he wrote to Darab Khân, whom he had made governor of Bengál, to meet him at Râjah Mâhl. On the other hand, the sultan Mohabet Khân and his father khân Khanna invited that lord to join the king's forces. Shâh Jehân, after a short stay at that place, thinking Darab Khân had deserted his party, posted on to Medempûr, and thence to Ouja.

In the year 1033, Jehân Gîr sent for khân Zaw Khân, son of Mohabet Khân, governor of Kâbûl, and conferred on him the command of five thousand horse, with the government of Bengál. At the same time Mâlek Amber, king of Dekân, marching with an army of fifty thousand men, to drive the Mogols out of his borders, was met by Lasker Khân, Mirza Manucher, and Ibrâhîm Hosseyn, with fifteen thousand horse: but he defeated them with great slaughter; and, having taken them prisoners, with all their camp and treasure, confined them in the castle of Dolt-abâd. Mean while, shâh Jehân, being closely pursued by Bakker Khân, left Ouja, and, with three thousand horse and three hundred elephants, fled to the borders of Golkondâ, where Mâlek Amber furnished him with money and all other necessaries; he afterwards granted him refuge within his kingdom.

A.D. 1623.

Flies to Dekân.

When he had continued here for three months, he took the field, with Abdol Khân, Derriah Khân, Mohammed Takkik, and Yâkût Khân, whom Mâlek Amber had joined with ten thousand horse, and marched towards Brâmpûr, which he invested. Soltân Parweïs, having left Pâtan, with Mohabet Khân, khân Alem, Râjah Bertzing, and the whole army of Râspûts, made what haste he could to Brâmpûr; which motion was no sooner understood by shâh Jehân, than he raised the siege, and thinking it was in vain to attempt any thing farther, sent his brother the keys of the castles Haßer and Rantas, and retired again to Mâlek Amber^b.

Beseiges
Brâmpûr.

A misunderstanding arising in the sequel, between sultân Parweïs and Mohabet Khân, the prince wrote to desire the king to call that khân to court. On the other side, the king, persuaded by the advice of his wife Nûr Jehân, and her brother Assof Khân, and other enemies of Mohabet Khân, commanded him to repair to him

Mohabet
Khân re-
called.

^a De Laet, p. 265, & seqq. Herbert, p. 91, & seqq.

without delay ; and, on his making excuses, sent Mirza Areb Destoa Khân to bring him to Lahûr. Mohabet Khân, obeying the king's command, departed from Brâmpûr, and came to his castle of Ratampûr, seventy kos distant from Agra. At the same time the king made khân Jehân governor of Ahmed-abâd in his room ; and soon after, that lord joined prince Parweïs. During these transactions, Shâh Jehân, in order to appease his father, sent him one hundred of his best elephants, with his two sons, under the conduct of Koja Jehân, who arrived safely at Agra, where they remained for some time.

Soltân
Khosraw's
sons.

At the same time that soltân Khosraw was delivered to the custody of his younger brother soltân Khurm, or Shâh Jehân, the two sons of his brother Dhân Shâh, named Shâh Etimor and Shâh Husseyn, were also put into his hands. These, when young, he delivered to the Jesuits, to be baptized, and bred in the Christian faith. Not that he favoured the Christian religion, but that he might render them odious to the Mohammedans. After these young princes had been a long time in Shâh Jehân's power, they made their escape. Shâh Etimor, when his uncle was defeated at Elabâs, fled to soltân Parweïs, and when he was obliged to retreat from before Brâmpûr, Shâh Husseyn escaped and took refuge with Râjah Roftan. From thence they repaired to their grandfather, who received them with great honour and affection, giving in marriage to the eldest his daughter Bhar Banû Begum.

From Jehân Ghir's Imprisonment by Mohabet Khân to his Death.

Abdol
Khân de-
ferts
Khurm.

MEAN while Mohabet Khân, who remained with his Râspûts(P) at Rantipûr, was by the king's mandate ordered to deliver up his castle and province to Nûr Jehân Begum, and his governor Bakker Khân, and remove into Bengâl, to command there as his viceroy : As this order was worse than death to a man impatient of injuries, he wrote back to the king, that if he was falsely accused of great crimes by the betrayers of the kingdom, his reputation required, that above all things he should acquit himself before his majesty. About the same

(P) Mohabet Khân must not have commanded Râjah have been a râjah, or Hindû pûts. prince ; otherwise he could

time

time an account was brought, that Abdol Khân, in a belief that, on Shâh Jehân's raising the siege of Brâmpûr, his affairs were become desperate, had deserted him; and, induced by the hopes of pardon given him by khân Jehân, had returned to the king's party, and was honourably received by sultân Parweis.

In 1035, Mohabet Khân set out from Rantipûr, with A.D. 1625. five thousand Râspûts towards Lahûr; hoping to meet the king at Kâbûl, whither he was making a progress. But Nûr Jehân Begum and Assof Khân, being informed of his design, persuaded Jehân Ghîr, who had now passed the Chunâb, to command him to leave his men behind, and sending his elephants before, to repair to court with his domestics only. Mohabet Khân who knew that this was a snare laid for his destruction, sent his son-in-law before with the elephants, and wrote back to Jehân Ghîr, that he was sensibly grieved his majesty should distrust his old slave; that he was ready to deliver his wives and children as pledges of his fidelity, but could not suffer himself, on any account, to be brought into the king's presence. As soon as his son-in-law arrived at court, he was clothed in an ignominious habit, then bastonadoed on the soles of his feet; and being mounted bareheaded on an elephant, was carried through the camp by way of derision.

Mean while Mohabet Khân arrived with his little army *His signal victory;* at the river Behad, where he received a new order from the king, that he should repair to him, accompanied by no more than one hundred of his retinue; but the hatred of the queen of Assof Khân, and other great lords of the Khorafân faction, so far had influenced the mind of Jehân Ghîr, that Mohabet could obtain no justice at his sovereign's hands. In the interim, to hasten his destruction, which they were bent upon, they took the opportunity, while the king was asleep in the tent, to cross the river with fifty thousand horse, and fall on the forces of Mohabet Khân, consisting of no more than five thousand Râspûts. But such was the valour of the leader, and fidelity of his soldiers, that, without any difficulty, they put to flight the king's troops; whereof above two thousand were slain, and many drowned in the river.

Mohabet Khân, improving his victory, crossed the *seizes Je-hân Ghîr, and all his court.* river with so much speed, that he seized the king, yet asleep, and put him on an elephant and carried him to his own tent. Guards were set over the tent of the queen. Soltân Balokhi, sultân Shehriar, and the sons of Dhân Shâh, were also taken prisoners. Assof Khân and Fedi Khân

Khân escaped by flight : Eradet Khân and Mohandas, the diwân of Assof Khân, were taken. All the king's treasure and wealth of the omrâs was plundered by the Râspûts, while the camp was filled with confusion and noise. Zâdok Khân, who had quarrelled with his brother Assof before the battle, took part with Mohabet Khân, and had the government of Lahûr committed to his trust. In short, the face of affairs was of a sudden wonderfully changed ; for the queen Nûr Jehân Begum, who but a little before was worshipped like a goddess, became now neglected and deprived of her attendants. Assof Khân, with his son Abontaleh, viceroy of Lahûr, and the son of Mîr Mira, who had fled toward Attek, were brought back by the son of Mohabet Khân, loaded with irons, and carried to Kâbûl : where Eradet Khân and Mulâna Mohammed were so severely as well as ignominiously treated, that the latter expired under his afflictions¹.

Khurm defeated in Bengal.

Shâh Jehân, who had hitherto kept close in Dekân, now appeared again, and with fresh forces, accompanied by the son of râjah Rhîm marched through the province of râjah Râna towards Azmîr. But the son of râjah Rhîm, whom he chiefly confided in, dying suddenly at Azmîr, and the Râspûts by degrees leaving him, he quitted the design of marching to Agra, and turned towards Tâtta ; which at the earnest persuasion of Derri Khân, he besieged. But Sharîf Mâlek, who governed in that city for the king, sallying out with his forces, obliged them to withdraw. However, they soon returned to attack the place a second time ; but the Sharîf making another sally, fell on the enemy with so much fury, that Derri Khân was slain, and Shâh Jehân forced to fly to Bâkker.

*For es
rumâd se-
cretly.*

At the same time Malek Amber, king of Dekân, sent the captive omrâs, Leskar Khân, Mîrza Manucher, and Ibrâhîm Hosceyn, to sultân Parweïs at Brâmpûr, and twenty-six lak of rupîs safely arrived at Agra from Zeyd Khân, son of Mohabet Khân, governor of Bengâl. The king's party consulting among themselves in what manner to destroy Mohabet Khân, before his friends Khân Alem and Râjah Restang should come to his assistance, it was agreed, that Ouriar Khân, governor of Baffower and Desfowa, should, with all expedition, raise five thousand horse, and attack Mohabet Khân at Attek. Koja Shera undertook to furnish five thousand, and the queen assembled a considerable army ; but still her brother, Assof

¹ De Laet, p. 270, & seqq. Herbert. p. 94, & seqq.

Khân, and the sons of Shâh Jehân, remained in Mohabet Khân's custody.

After the king had crossed the river Attek, at the place where the late battle was fought, he desired Mohabet Khân to set Afsof Khân at liberty; promising, on that condition, to build a mosque in the place; but the khân did not think fit to grant his request: however, he consented, that Afsof Khân should be treated with less rigour. When they approached the river Rheed (Q.), the queen's forces began to appear on every side; and sultân Shehriyâr, who had married the queen's daughter (R), was sent before to Lahûr. In his way he forced out of the hands of the Râspûts sultân Bolakhî, with the two sons of Dhân Khân, and arriving at that city, fortified the castle, after having expelled all the Râspûts. Mean while the king proceeded on his way, hunting, to the river Rheed, where Ousher Khân joined the queen with five thousand men; so that her army was now twenty thousand strong.

A.D. 1619.

*Jehân
Ghîr,
escapes.*

Although Mohabet Khân was advised by his friends to be on his guard; yet, trusting in his troops, he despised the danger. However, during his absence, the king sent for Mirza Rostam Khân, and told him, he judged that to be a proper time for him to make his escape. The queen having been of the same opinion, Jehân Ghîr went a-hunting, as usual the next day; on which signal his omrâs hastened towards him from all parts with their forces, which now amounted to thirty thousand horse. Although Mohabet Khân was not in a condition to fight the king's forces, yet he entered the tribunal where he was; but being coldly received, he retired, and encamped at some distance from Jehân Ghîr. The same evening Balant Khân brought a threatening message from the king, commanding him to set at liberty Afsof Khân and the other omrâs; but Mohabet Khân still confiding in his soldiers, refused to obey. However, upon second thoughts, he sent to desire of the king that he might first cross the river Behed, promising then to send those lords to his camp. The queen declared against granting the condition required, and proposed they should be delivered by force; but Jehân Ghîr thought the other the most prudent course.

Mohabet Khân, finding the face of things entirely changed, and being in fear not only of losing his life, but

*Mohabet
Khân re-
tires.*

(Q.) Rather Behed, as Her-
bert; or Behat, according to
other authors.

(R) That is, we presume,
by her first husband, Afkan
Khân.

of

of an ignominious punishment, sent for Assof Khān, and told him, that although it was now in his power to take away his life, yet he would set him at liberty. He added, that he did not believe he would ever forget so great a benefit, or make any attempt against the life of a person who had preserved his. Then, having exacted an oath to that purpose from Assof Khān, he took off his chains with his own hands, put on him a royal vest, and presenting him with several excellent horses, sent him to the king: he promised moreover, that as soon as he had passed the river Aziknaw, he would dismiss his son and Mir Mira with the brother-in-law of Koja Abdol Hassan; a promise which he accordingly performed. The king was exceedingly pleased at Assof Khān's return; on the contrary, the queen, his sister, asked him in a transport of passion, how he came to be so very hasty, and not to wait till she, with an armed force, came and rescued him out of the hands of his adversary? Assof Khān pleaded the fear of his life, which at length pacified her: he likewise acknowledged to the king, that he thought himself under a perpetual obligation to Mohabet Khān for the favour he had received, and that he had promised never to do him any hurt ^k.

*The queen's
hatred.* Jehān Ghīr being returned to Lahūr, the queen left nothing unattempted to destroy Mohabet Khan. With this intention she dispatched Ahmed Khān, with Zaffer Khān, Nūro'ddīn Kūli, and other omrās, with ten thousand horse, who intercepted the treasure of twenty-six laks of rupīs, sent by Saïd Khān from Bengāl to his father Mohabet Khān. Not content with this advantage, she, by large gifts, and larger promises, prevailed on Khān Khānna, though now broken with age, to command an army against Mohabet Khān, whose troubles were increased by the desertion of his younger son Mīrza Beyrewer. This lord being sent with three thousand horse to Nornon, in order to make war upon rājah Settersing, turned off to Banger, with a design to seize his father's treasures, which were lodged in the castle of Rantipūr; but was prevented by the care of Mozaib Khān, who commanded there in his father's behalf.

*Soltān
Parweis
dies.* In the mean time news arrived at Lahūr of the death of Soltān Parweis, which greatly surprised the king; for this son, who never disobeyed his commands, was brought up in expectation of the crown. Being thus deprived of his

^k De Laet, p. 276. Herbert, p. 98.

only hope, he saw himself reduced to great distress. Shâh Jehân, then in open rebellion against him, had brought many calamities on his kingdom, and sultân Shahriyar was judged unfit to reign for want of discretion. Nor was the death of this prince less afflicting to Mohabet Khân, on account of the friendship which had subsisted between them. The khân, therefore, who was now deserted by his followers, looking upon his affairs to be in a very bad condition, bent his course towards Jalor, and retired to the castle of Jirmol, possessed by the râjah of that name. As to his son Mîrza Beyrewer, he was taken in his way to Rantapûr by râjah Rottang, who resided at Bondi, and imprifoned.

Shâh Jehân, who hitherto had hovered about Tâtta with a thousand horse and forty elephants, passing through *Decân invaded.* Tesel, Khobagheren, and Aklisseren, at length arrived at Nasser Tormet, in the kingdom of Decân; where he was kindly received by the son of Mâlek Amber, lately deceased, and furnished with a body of troops. Khân Khânnâ had actually raised forces to go in pursuit of Mohabet Khân, but was prevented by death. At the same juncture Yakont Khân, chief of the omrâs at Decân, for fear of the new king, which whom, when a prince, he had been always at variance, fled to Khân Jehân, governor of Brampûr. The khân, encouraged by the deserton of this lord, as well as provoked by the Decân king, who molested the frontiers of the Mogols, left the widow and son of sultân Parweis, under the care of Laskar Khân, and with forty thousand horse, and forty elephants, marching towards Decân, arrived at Ballagât. There, by intercepted letters of Koja Hisari to Abdol Khân, discovering that the latter intended to desert to the king of Decân, he confiscated his effects, and sent him in chains to Brampûr.

Khân Jehân pursued his march; and being animated by the retreat of the Decânees, penetrated into the heart of the kingdom, where he destroyed many towns which had never before felt the rage of war; but at length the enemy, recovering their spirits, hemmed in his army in such a manner, that great numbers of them perished, partly by famine and partly by the sword; so that he was compelled to make peace on very dishonourable conditions, and deliver up to the king of Decân several towns of Hindûstân, in order to obtain liberty of returning safe to the place of his residence.

At this juncture Sîd Borka, ambassador from the king *Uzbek am-* of Mawara'lñâhr, or Great Bukhâria, arrived at Lahûr, *boffidor.* having

having in his retinue Kadi Abdolrahîm, brother of Kadi Kalawn, who were both held in such great honour on account of their sanctity, that the people of Bokhâra, Samarkand, and Bâlk, reverenced them almost to adoration, and they were far more rich than the king himself. They were received by Koja Abdol Hassân, and all the other omrâs of the court, who with great magnificence brought them to the king. Rich presents were mutually made on this occasion: the queen first sent Abdol Rahîm a gold bason and drinking-cup, studded with jewels, valued at a lak of rupîs. On the other hand the kadi presented the king and queen with five hundred beautiful dromedaries, a thousand fine horses, carpets, porcelain, and other things of great worth. Sîd Borka likewise brought, as a present from his king to Jehân Ghîr, two thousand horses, one thousand dromedaries, and other gifts of greater price than had ever been offered at court during this reign.

*Mohabet
Khân pur-
sued.*

The queen, still resolved to be revenged, if possible, on Mohabet Khân, detached Amîr Nûro'ddin Kûli, Ahmed Bik Khân, and other omrâs, with fifteen thousand horse, in pursuit of him; but Assof Khân, either from motives of gratitude, or believing that the destruction of so great a commander would prove of bad consequence to the kingdom, persuaded Amîr to make slow marches; by which means Mohabet Khân, having time to escape, fled first to Jesiemîr, and from thence to râjah Râna. However, his son Khâんな Seid Khân was kindly received at court by the king, and carried with him to Kashmîr. Nevertheless, when Jehân Ghîr was informed that the khân had taken shelter with Râna, he wrote to the râjah, commanding him to send his adversary out of his territories. Râjah Râna at first paid no regard to the king's order; but when he found that Jehân Ghîr renewed his command, accompanied with threats, he advised his guest to go and offer his services to Shâh Jehân, who then resided at Ghinîr, a castle between Decân and Oudegherad, whither he repaired accordingly, and met with a favourable reception¹.

*Joins sol-
tân
Khurm.*

Hej. 1037.
*Jehân
Ghir dies.*

In the mean time the king falling sick at Kashmîr, set out on his return to Lahûr by easy journeys; but his illness increasing, he died at Bimber (S), in the year 1627,

¹ De Laet, p. 281, & seqq. Herbert, p. 101, & seqq.

(S) A town at the foot of the mountains of Kashmîr, towards Hindûstân. Bernier.

aged fifty-eight solar years, one month, and twenty-nine days; whereof he had reigned twenty-two years and six days; during the last eight of which he had been afflicted with an asthma.

Jehân Ghîr was a weak prince, entirely guided by the *His character.* beautiful Nûr Jehân, or Nûr Mâhl, whose intrigues and caprices rendered the last ten years of his life extremely disagreeable to himself, and unfortunate to the empire. She had been wife to Shîr Afkan, khân of a Turkmân family, who came from Persia to Hindûstân in very indifferent circumstances. As she was exquisitely beautiful, of great wit, and an elegant poetess, Jehân Ghîr was enamoured of her even to infatuation. The omrâs, who knew her mean origin, were resolved to oppose all her schemes; but she persuaded the emperor to break through all rules in order to advance her father, brother, and other relations, to the highest employments ^m.

Jehân Ghîr was reckoned of a gentle disposition (T); yet, whether owing to ill advice, wine, or some fault in his nature, he often issued very cruel orders. Happening to catch an eunuch kissing one of his women whom he had relinquished, he sentenced the lady to be put into the earth, with only her head left above ground, exposed to the burning rays of the sun, and the eunuch to be cut in pieces before her face. Although he himself would often indulge in wine, yet he would punish others severely who were guilty of that vice.

He daily relieved many poor people, and behaved with *His charity.* great marks of duty to his mother, whose palankin he would often help to carry on his shoulders. He often visited the cells of religious men, whom he esteemed sacred, and would speak with great reverence of Christ; but he could by no means be reconciled to the thoughts of his mean parentage, poverty, and crucifixion.

Although the Jesuits had liberty in those days to make converts in the Mogol's empire, and sent advice into Europe of the great progress they had made, yet, in reality, they had baptized but a very few, and those only such as became proselytes to relieve their necessities ⁿ.

^m Fraser's Hist. Nadir Shah. p. 20, & seq. ⁿ Terry's Voy. to India, sect. xxv. and xxx. Roe ap. Churchill's Collect. Trav. vol. i. p. 731, & seqq.

(T) Roe says he had a cheerful countenance, and was proud by custom, not by nature; for that at night he was very affa-

ble, and full of easy conversation. Church. Collect. vol. i. p. 730.

Jehân
Ghîr's
children.

Jehân Ghîr had three sons; sultân Khosro, or Khosraw, born in 1587; he died in 1622, and was father to sultân Davr Bukhsh, or Bolaki. Sultân Parvez, Parvéis, or Parweys, that is, *the Victorious*, was born in 1589. Sultân Khûrm, or *the Joyful Prince*, by the daughter of râjah Oudesung, 1592 afterwards succeeded his father, and took the name of Shâh Jehân.

Jehân Ghîr had also sultân Jehân Dâr, or *the Possessor of the World*, and sultan Shehriyâr, that is, *the Friend of the City*, twins by a concubine, born in 1605. As this last was married to the daughter of Nûr Jehân, by her first husband, Shîr Afkân Khân, she endeavoured to secure the empire to him^o, but without success, as we shall see presently.

The Reign of Shâh Jehân; from his ascending the Throne, to the Civil War among his Sons.

Sultân Bo-
lakhi
crowned.

THE moment Jehân Ghîr expired, Nûr Jehân, the widow-queen sent her son-in-law Shehriyâr, before towards Lahûr, in order to ascend the throne, and did her utmost endeavours to gain the army to her party; but Assof Khân, joined by Koja Abdol Hassan, Eradet Khân, and other omrâs, opposed his sister's design, and confined her. At the same time, to prevent tumults arising on account of the interregnum, they, to blind the people, placed the crown on the head of the young sultân Bolakhi, who suffered this ceremony to be performed much against his will. In the interim letters were dispatched in haste to Shâh Jehân, in which they assigned reasons for what they had done, and intreated him to come with all expedition, and ascend the throne. Then they took measures for reducing sultân Shahriyâr, who, without the queen's assistance, could do nothing.

Shahriyâr
usurps the
throne.

The prince, though at the distance of six hundred Indian miles, received these letters in six days, and being encouraged by Mohabet Khân, set out with seven thousand horse. By the way of Surât and Kambaya, he arrived at Ahmedabad, where Saffi Khân, the prince's enemy, was governor; but as he then lay sick in bed, Naarha Khân, and the other omrâs, immediately deserted to Shâh Jehân. Mean while Assof Khân, with king Bolakhi, proceeded to Lahûr; and Shahriyâr, who had usurped the kingdom, being deprived of the queen's help, in a few days, distributed the treasures, both of the king and the omrâs, amount-

^o Fraser, ubi supra, p. 21.

ing to ninety lak of rupîs, among the soldiers, in order to secure them to his interest ; but all this did not prevail, for on the approach of Assof Khân with an army, he was abandoned by Shîr Koja and Amîr Bîk, his principal generals, whom he had sent before with twenty thousand horse. Thus deserted he fled to Lâliûr, and fortified that city ; but Assof Khân coming up with a greater force, the castle was taken, and Shahriyâr falling into the hands of the king's troops, was deprived of his eye-sight.

In the mean time, Shâh Jehân proceeded on his *Khurm de-
stroy both.* journey ; and being joined by all the Râjahs, governors of provinces, and generals, his forces increased to thirty thousand. These happy omens seemed to secure the crown to him without dispute : but still despairing to possess the kingdom in peace, as long as Shahriyâr, Bolakhi, and his uncle's sons were alive, he sent Râjah Bahâdr to Lahûr, with a cruel order to put those princes secretly to death. Arriving at Agra, he repaired to a palace which he had built on the side of the Jemna ; where he remained till the lucky day, on which he entered the castle, where he was saluted by the grandees by the name of Soltân Shahâbo'ddîn Mohammed (U), and crowned with great magnificence.

After the coronation, Assof Khân, with the dowager *New trou-
bles arise.* queen and her daughters, came and delivered the royal treasures to Shâh Jehân ; who conferred on Assof Khân the whole authority under himself, and loaded him with honours. But, when the king imagined he had surmounted all difficulties, and had firmly established his throne by the death of the innocent princes, new troubles arose in several parts of the realm. The Uzbeks broke into the province of Kâbul, with numerous forces. Sheuf Almûk endeavoured to keep the kingdom of Tâta for himself ; Râjah Youk, taking up arms, had the boldness to infest all Hindûstân, and the road leading to Brâmpîr, with his robberies ; lastly, two counterfeit Bolakhis appeared, and gave him no small vexation : so that the new king was obliged to assemble all his forces, and detach bodies of troops into various parts of his dominions. In this state things continued till the end of the year 1628 ^{p.}

^p De Laet's *India Vera*, p. 288, & seq. Herbert's *Voy.* p. 106, & seq.

(U) Shahâbo'ddîn signifies *Shâh Jehân imports King of the Bright Star of Religion*, as *the Herald.*

The Portuguese attacked.

As soon as the affairs of his empire were reduced to a settled state, he resolved to make war against the Portuguese, who before his reign, had been very formidable in the Indies ; but of late were become contemptible, by the losses they had received from the growing powers of the English and Dutch. Shâh Jehân after the loss of a battle, having retired to a fortified place, some leagues from Dâka, Michael Rodriguez, who commanded the Portuguese troops at Ougli or Hugli, made a visit to the sultân, and endeavoured to comfort him under his affliction. Jehân requested his assistance, with soldiers and artillery ; promising, that if ever he ascended the throne, he would reward the services received from his nation. Rodriguez, instead of granting him the aid demanded, had the boldness to tell him, that he should be ashamed to serve a rebel ; and that to take up arms against his father, was taking up arms against God himself. The Portuguese commander did what was still more provoking ; for he joined the party of sultân Parweis ; and the victories, which this prince obtained over his brother, were in a considerable degree owing to the Portuguese infantry, who fought under his orders.

Hugli taken from them.

It is said, that the sultâna Tâje Mâhl, wife of Shâh Jehân, helped much to incense him against the Christians in general, and the Portuguese in particular. She was greatly exasperated against the Portuguese for having afforded a retreat to two of her daughters, who had been converted by the missionaries to the Romish faith. The emperor, incited by the hatred of his queen, and his former oath, ordered Kassem Khân to lay siege to Ougli. That general investing the place, threatened to raze it to the ground, unless Rodriguez would pay him the sum which he demanded. The Portuguese commander, being in no condition to hold out against all the forces of the empire, which were sent against him, submitted at last to the Mogol general's demand. Kassem Khân had no sooner received the money than, instead of retreating, he lay close siege to the town, and battered it furiously with his artillery ; which is the principal force used in taking places in Hindústân. The Portuguese made but an indifferent defence, and when they saw a breach opened in their walls, the fear of an assault obliged them to surrender at discretion. About five or six hundred of them were sent to Agra ; among whom were some Jesuits and Augustine friars.

Their profligate behaviour.

At Agra, several of them turned Mohammedans to preserve their lives ; while others suffered death rather than

renounce their faith. Not one of them would have been left alive, if Tâje Mâhl had not died before their arrival at that capital ; for she had made a vow, that they should all be cut to pieces. Nobody lamented her loss but Shâh Jehân himself ; who owed the throne to her artifices and credit. In return for that benefit, he built her a sepulchre ; which nothing in the Indies can equal for magnificence. The missionaries were released and sent to Goa, through the intercession of an Armenian and a Venetian, who were in great favour with Shâh Jehân ⁹.

Akbar had removed the court from Dehli to Agra, and Jehân Ghîr had carried it from Agra to Lahûr : but shâh Jehân brought it back again from Lahûr to Dehli, and restored this ancient capital to its first lustre ; building at a vast expence a new city, which he called Shâh Jehân-abâd, or *the City of Shâh Jehân*, to which the old town serves as a suburb. His attention was for some time engrossed in laying out two gardens for his palace ; in which incredible sums were expended : and in this delicious place it was, that he forgot the warlike inclinations which possessed him in his youth, to give himself up entirely to pleasure. No person had a greater share in his graces than a poet, who invented new entertainments and diversions ; for the emperor and his harâm delighted most in buffoon farces. Sometimes he pleased his eyes with the cruel sight of gladiators, who fought before him ; and certain days of the week were set apart for the chace.

But Shâh Jehân's principal pleasure consisted in his commerce with women. Not content with a multitude of queens, concubines, and slaves, which are the three different classes of women in the harâm, he took away the wives of the principal officers of his court. Those of Jaffer Khân and Khalîl Khân gave great scandal to the whole empire : they went every day to the palace, contrary to the custom of the ladies in that country, one of them in the morning, the other in the afternoon. Shâh Jehân's love for women rendered him profuse in his expences upon them, and magnificent in his apartments. It is reported, that he presented Khalîl Khân's lady with a pair of slippers, whose value was scarce to be estimated.

The famous gallery, which has been talked of so much in Europe for its immense riches, had its rise from the

*Jehân-
abad built.*

*Shâh Je-
hân's de-
bauchery:*

*and excel-
lent go-
vernment.*

⁹ Menouchi's Hist. Gen. Emp. Mog. par Catrou, p. 214, & seqq.
Bernier's Mem. Emp. Mog. part ii. p. 125.

same vein of gallantry. This magnificent apartment was said to have been designed for a female dancer, sprung from the dregs of the people, and of no extraordinary accomplishments. But however addicted to pleasure, Shâh Jehân never neglected to administer justice with an exactness and care surpassing all his predecessors. He was, as it were, the Solomon of the Mogols; and they relate decisions of his, pronounced with so much wisdom, that the memory of them will never be lost in the Indies. He never pardoned corrupt judges, and took more than ordinary care to clear his dominions of robbers. Before his reign, the roads were so infested with them, that trade was greatly interrupted. The method which he took to deliver the empire from that plague, was to make the officers of justice responsible for all the robberies which were committed within their respective districts. Thus the warehouse of the Dutch, at Surât, having been broken open in the night, he obliged the governor to pay them the full value of the goods which they had lost.

*A gallant
omrâ.*

The justice which Shâh Jehân administered to his people, somewhat lessened the contempt in which voluptuous indolent princes are usually held: however, they sometimes lost their respect for him. An omrâ of his army having presumed to sit in his presence, contrary to the custom of the empire, the king deprived him of his employments. Next day the disgraced officer appeared in the hall of audience with his usual confidence. Then sitting down in Shâh Jehan's presence, "Now, my lord, (says he,) since I am no longer in your pay, I may use that freedom which belongs to every man who is independent." The emperor, far from being offended at the liberty which the omrâ took, praised his resolution, and, restoring him to his posts, augmented his appointments.

*Presump-
tuous râ-
jah.*

There is a remarkable instance of want of respect to him, in one of the râjahs, or Indian princes, who, with their troops, mount guard before the palace. This râjah, named Amarsin, having neglected to be upon duty, at length by the persuasion of his friends, repaired to his post; but one of the secretaries of state reproached him in the emperor's presence, for making flight of the service. The râjâl taking this reprehesion as a great affront, drew his poniard, and stabbed the minister to the heart, so near to Shâh Jehân, that his cloaths were stained with the blood. Amarsin was pierced with a thousand wounds: but his Râjapûts, with impunity, revenged their master's death,

death, by putting to the sword all the people, whom they met with about the palace and in the city¹.

The weakness of the government gave occasion to other rājahs to act at pleasure. Champet, one of the most daring and powerful among them, refused to pay the tribute. As an example of this kind might have proved of the most dangerous consequence, the astrologers, without whose opinion nothing is done at court, advised that Shāh Jehān himself should take the field against the rebel; and the more strongly to oblige him to pursue their counsel, they declared, that during such a month, residing at Dehli would prove fatal to the person who there held the first rank. The credulous emperor, in order to avoid this prediction, departed from the city with an army, and left the kutwāl governor in his absence. Sadul Khān, who commanded the Mogol troops under his majesty, marched towards the territories of Champet; who advanced to meet the enemy. The general, whom the emperor's presence had rendered in some degree cautious, perceiving the rājah advantageously posted, judged it better to dislodge him by fraud, than have recourse to force. Pursuant to this resolution, he, by a messenger, not only promised him pardon for his offence, but also to augment his governments, provided he would retire out of the territories of his sovereign. Champet, confiding in the general's word, retired accordingly: but no sooner quitted his post than he found the Mogols at his heels; and he must inevitably have been cut to pieces, with all his forces, if the impenetrable forests and craggy mountains had not protected him from the perfidy of the emperor. Shāh Jehān returned to Dehli, covered with shame, for having violated his faith, without gaining his point against the rājah; who, as soon as the enemy had turned their backs, took the field again, and pillaged the lands of the empire without opposition. However, he was pleased to think, that the expedition had preserved his life; for he found the kutwāl dead, whom he had left at the head of the government; the astrologers, to verify their prediction, having bribed his physician to poison him; and by this piece of villainy established themselves more firmly than ever in the favour of Shāh Jehān.

When this prince grew old, his passions changed with his age, and avarice succeeded to prodigality, which surpassed all his other vices; for as soon as his officers, both

*Villainy of
astrologers:
to verify
predictions.*

¹ Menouchi, ubi supr. p. 218, & seqq.

civil and military, were grown rich by oppressing the people, he stripped them of their ill-gotten wealth, and enriched himself by the spoil. The better to secure the immense treasures, which he had hoarded up, he caused two large subterraneous vaults, supported by marble pillars, to be made under his palace ; in one of which he kept his gold, and in the other his silver. To prevent those precious metals from being carried away, he ordered them to be cast into huge wedges, of a bulk unfit to serve in commerce. Shâh Jehân spent great part of the day in these caverns, to feed his eyes with the sight of that prodigious heap of riches, under pretence of enjoying the coolness of the place. His covetousness became so great, that, to save the expence of maintaining his sons at court, suitable to their dignity, he gave them governments to live on, without any appointments, but what they could draw from the people ; and thus ran into the same error in politics, which had given so much inquietude to Jehân Ghîr, who by bestowing distant provinces on his children, put it in their power to rebel against him ; and although Shâh Jehân's own conduct had verified this truth, yet avarice hindered him from taking warning by his father's indiscretion^s.

His children.

Shâh Jehân never had more than twelve children by all his wives : of these only four sons and two daughters grew to the estate of men and women.

Dara She-kowh.

The eldest son was named Dara Shekowh, that is, *in Pomp like Darius*. This prince was gallant and witty, civil and liberal ; but had so good an opinion of himself, that he thought nobody capable to give him counsel, and those who offered to advise him, were treated with injurious language. He was besides easily fired, and in his passion would threaten and affront the greatest omrâs. These transports vanished, indeed, like a flash of lightning : but insults generally leave stings behind, which are never to be withdrawn. He pretended in private to favour every kind of religion ; in order to gain the professors to his interest, particularly of the Indians, to several of whose Brâmmans he gave considerable pensions.

Soltân Sujâh.

Soltân Sujâh, the second son, was much of Dara's temper ; but more reserved in his conduct, and dexterous in managing his affairs. He made friends privately by means of presents ; which he heaped on the principal omrâs and râjahs : but too much indulged himself

^s Menouchi, ubi supr. p. 227, &c seqq.

with women, among whom he spent whole days and nights in feasting. As the Persians, or their children, had the greatest power at the Mogol's court, and held the most important places, he, to gain them to his party, declared himself of the Shiyâh sect.

Aureng Zîb had not the gallantry and engaging presence of Dara; for he appeared serious and melancholy; but was more judicious, and understood the world much better. To take off any suspicion of his aiming at the throne, he for a long time professed himself to be a fakîr, a kind of religious mendicant; yet all this while he was making a party at court, but with such art and secrecy, that it could hardly be perceived. He had the address also to gain the affections and esteem of Shâh Jehânu, who judged him capable of reigning. This circumstance gave no small jealousy to Dara, who could not forbear saying sometimes, "Of all my brothers, I fear none but this namazi," that is, *this bigot*, or *beads-man*.

Aureng Zîb.

Morad
Bukhsh.

Morad Bukhsh, or Bokhsh, that is, *the Giver of Desires*, or *Wishes*, was the youngest and least judicious of the four brothers. He cared for nothing but mirth and pastime; to drink, hunt, and shoot: yet he had some good qualities; he was courteous and liberal. He despised cabals; boasting openly, that he trusted in nothing but his arm and his sword. In short, he was very brave; and, had this bravery been accompanied with some share of discretion, he would have ascended the throne^t.

Jehân Ara
Begûm.

The name of Shâh Jehânu's two daughters were Jehân Ara Begûm, and Ryshn Rây Begûm. Jehân Ara Begûm, or *the Princess Ornament of the World*, was very beautiful, as well as a great wit. Her father placed great confidence in her, and was swayed by her advice in the most weighty affairs. She was of a generous disposition; and always espoused the interest of her brother Dara; which inclination to serve him was cherished by a promise which he had made, to marry her as soon as ever he ascended the throne.

Her gallantry.

But neither this promise, nor her gallant, who was a musician of the palace, could restrain her inclinations from rambling abroad. She is said to have introduced a handsome young man, of no great quality, into her apartment; and, as it was very difficult to conceal this step from so many watchful and jealous eyes, the report of it

^t Fraser's Hist. Nadir Shâh, p. 28, & seqq. Bernier, ubi supra, part i. p. 10, & seq.

reached the ears of Shâh Jehân ; who resolved to surprise her, under pretence of a visit. The princess, seeing her father come so unexpectedly, had only time to hide the unfortunate gallant in one of the great caldrons used for bathing. The emperor, who suspected the contrivance, began to find fault with her dishabille, and told her she ought to bathe oftener. At the same time, he ordered a fire to be made under the caldron ; nor would leave the palace till the unhappy lover was dispatched.

Royshan
Râv Begüm.

Royshan Rây, or Rushn Rây Begüm ; that is, *the Princess of an enlightened Mind*, though she was not so beautiful and witty as Begüm Saheb ; yet she was handsome and lively, and hated pleasure no more than her sister. As she was strongly attached to the interest of Aureng Zîb, she was of course an enemy to Dara and Begüm Saheb. This was the reason that she had no great riches, nor any considerable share in the affairs of state. However, as she was in the harâm, and had spies in her service, she discovered many important matters ; of which she gave intelligence to her favourite brother ^u.

Princes
provided
for.

Shâh Jehân, having determined to remove his sons at a distance from court, sent Soltân Sujâh viceroy into Bengál ; Aureng Zîb into Dekân, and Morâd Bukhsh to Guzerât ; giving to Dara the kingdoms of Kabûl and Multân. This last, being the eldest, and designed for the throne, remained court ; where he was permitted by his father to issue out orders, and sit on a throne ; so that it seemed as if there were two kings in the realm. Notwithstanding this great indulgence shewed to Dara, Shâh Jehân still maintained a secret correspondence with Aureng Zîb, whom he deemed the best qualified of all his sons for reigning ^v.

This prince made an attempt to surprise the king of Golkonda, by means of his general Amîr Jemla, who, to avoid the king's displeasure, had revolted from him ; but peace was at last concluded between the two states, supposed to have been brought about by the intrigues of Dara and Begüm Saheb ; from the apprehension, that, if Aureng Zîb should conquer Golkonda, he would become too powerful. Pursuant to this peace, Amîr Jemla withdrew, with all his family, his effects, troops, and artillery, marching with the prince towards Dekân. In the way they took Bider, one of the strongest fortresses in all

^u Bernier, ubi supra, part i. p. 20. & seqq. Menouchi, p. 230.
^v Bernier, p. 29, & seq.

Viziapûr; and, on their arrival at Dawlet Abâd, contracted so intimate a friendship, that they could not live a day without seeing one another twice. This union began to give a new face to affairs in all those parts of India; and laid the first foundations of the sovereignty of Aureng Zib.

Amîr Jemla, who had the art to get himself called often to court, always went with rich presents; and still urged Shâh Jehân to make war against the kings of Golkonda, Viziapûr, and the Portuguese. To induce him the more effectually to this measure, he presented him with that great diamond found in the Golkonda mines, which is esteemed matchless. The emperor, whether dazzled with the precious stones, or to have an army in the field, to be a check, as some thought, on Dara, listened to the proposal; for his eldest son was become very formidable, and so insolent, that he even caused the wazîr Sado'llah Khân to be imprisoned, in despite of his father.

Amir Jemla somerses a war.

This prince exerted all his influence to hinder the sending an army to Dekân, as he saw it was to give strength to Aureng Zib; but when he found he could not prevail, he at length consented, on condition that his brother should remain at Dawle-abâd; and Amîr Jemla, prosecuting the war by himself, should leave his family at court, as pledges of his fidelity; to which condition, at length, that general agreed, on the emperor's promising, that his wife and children should be sent to him after a short detention. Accordingly he marched from Agra, with a very formidable army; and entering Viziapûr, without halting, besieged a strong place called Kaliân*.

Invades Dekân.

Account of the Civil Wars, till Shâh Jehân's Deposition.

THE affairs of Hindûstân were in this situation, when Shâh Jehân fell dangerously ill. All the empire was alarmed; and all the princes were quickly in motion, raising troops in their several governments, and writing letters to make friends. Some of these falling into the hands of Dara, he shewed him to the king, in order to incense him against his brothers; but Shâh Jehân was more afraid of the accuser than the accused.

Shâh Jehân fails his k.

Mean while Shâh Jehân lingering under his distemper, it was reported that he was dead: the court was in great

The princes are in disorder;

* Bernier, p. 42, & seqq.

disorder, and the shops in Agra were shut up for several days. His sons no longer concealed their designs, but made open preparations for war, each in his own defence; well knowing that whoever should be conqueror, would rid himself of all the rest, as their father had before taken off all his brothers.

Sujáh takes the field.

Soltán Sujáh, who had amassed great treasures in Bengal, first took the field, with a puissant army, and boldly marched towards Agra; giving out, that Dara had poisoned his father, and he was resolved to revenge his death. Sháh Jehán, by Dara's advice, wrote to inform the prince that he was better, and to forbid him to advance; but Sujáh, assured by his friends at court that the king's sickness was mortal, continued his march; pretending he knew his father was dead, and that, if alive, he was desirous to kiss his feet.

Aureng Zíb's policy gains Amír Jemla.

Aureng Zíb, at the same time, began to make preparations for war in Dekán; but his forces being small, and his treasury low, he made use of two artifices to put himself in a condition to march. First, he wrote a letter to his brother, Morád Bukhsh, in Guzerát, importing, that as Dara was a Káfr, or *Idolater*, Sujáh a Rafezi, or *Heretic*, and himself a Fakír, there was none who could pretend to the succession but Morád; that therefore, if he would promise only to let him live quietly in some corner of his dominions, when he should come to the empire, he would forthwith join him with his troops, and help him to gain the throne. In the mean time he sent him a hundred thousand rupis, and advised him to come, with all speed, to seize the castle of Surát, where the treasure of the country was lodged. Morád Bukhsh, who was neither very rich nor powerful, was overjoyed at this proposal, and having, by the credit of his brother's letter, soon raised money and men, sent three thousand, under the command of Sháh Abbás, a valiant eunuch, to besiege Surát.

Aureng Zíb's second contrivance was to engage in his interest Amír Jemla, who was still before Kalián. With this view he sent his eldest son, sultán Mahmúd, who had married the king of Golkonda's daughter, to persuade the amír to repair to Dawlet-abad; but Jemla, suspecting his errand, told him, that he was assured Sháh Jenán was alive; and that besides, all his family being in the power of Dara, he could by no means assist Aureng Zíb. This prince, not discouraged by the first repulse, sent his second son, sultán Mauzm, who backed his father's letter with

with so much dexterity, that the amîr, no longer able to resist, pushed the siege of Kaliân vigorously, and forcing the garrison to surrender, with the choicest of his troops set out for Dawlet-abad, where they all enlisted in the service of Aureng Zib.

Thus reinforced, the prince began his march for Agra, on the 4th day of February, at the head of twenty-five thousand horse, and was joined in his route by Morad Bukhsh, after the reduction of Surât.

The two armies being thus joined, proceeded together, March 12-
wards
Agra. and, during the whole march, Aureng Zib treated his brother with the utmost respect; never addressing him, either in public or private, but with the title of Hazeret, that is, *King* and *Majesty*. The news of this conjunction of the two brothers alarmed not only Dara but Shâh Jehân himself, who knew the subtle genius of the one and the courage of the other.

Dara, however, made great preparations to oppose the two armies, which were on full march, on different sides, to Agra. As that of sultân Sujâh was most advanced, the first care was to detach troops to oppose him. The command of these was given to Solymân Shekowh, eldest son of Dara, a prince about twenty-five years of age, of good parts, generous, and beloved by all, especially his grandfather, who considered him as his successor rather than Dara. As Shâh Jehân was desirous that matters should be accommodated, he gave the young prince for his companion, an ancient râjah, named Jesfeyn, with secret orders not to fight if it was possible to avoid a battle, and to advise Sujâh to retire; but there was no possibility of restraining the two armies, which, as soon as they came in sight, towards Elabâs, began to cannonade each other. The first onset was very sharp and obstinate on both sides; but at length Solymân Shekowh pressed Sujâh with such vigour, that he put his troops into disorder, and at length obliged him to fly; so that if Jesfeyn, and the Pâtan Delil Khan, who followed the râjah's measures, had seconded the prince, it was thought the whole army would have been routed, and Sujâh himself in danger of being taken; but Jesfeyn conforming himself to the emperor's orders, the sultân had time to retreat, leaving behind some of his artillery. As this defeat gave great reputation to Solymân Shekowh, it lessened that of sultân Sujâh, and exceedingly cooled the inclinations of the Persians towards him.

Solymân turns back. Prince Solymân, who had received advice, that his uncles, Aureng Zîb and Morâd Bukhsh, were advancing towards Agra, well knowing that his father Dara had many secret enemies, after he had pursued Soltan Sujâh for a few days, turned back, with a resolution to make what haste he could to the capital. This certainly was the wisest course which could be taken ; and could he have reached it time enough, in all probability Aureng Zîb would never have ventured a battle against such very unequal forces as he must then have had to deal with. But Dara's bad fortune would not permit things to happen conformably to the wishes of the prince, his son.

Aureng Zib advances ; In the mean time, Aureng Zîb having crossed the river of Brâmpûr, and all the difficult passes between the mountains, some troops were sent in haste to the river Eujenes (G), under the command of Kâssem Khân, a renowned general, but not much attached to Dara ; and Jessom Seyn, a potent râjah, not inferior to Jesseyn, and married to the daughter of that rajah Râna, who was so puissant in the time of Akbar. Before their departure Shâh Jehân gave them the same instructions he had given to Jesseyn, when he sent him with Solymân Shekowh against Soltân Sujâh ; nor did they fail in their march to send several times to Aureng Zîb and Morâd Bukhsh, to persuade them to return, although to no purpose ; for the princes detaining the messengers, advanced the faster, and appeared, with their forces, on a rising ground, not far from the river, much sooner than was expected.

comes to Eujin ; Aureng Zîb, perceiving the enemy kept on the defensive, after he had let his army rest for two or three days, commanded them to pass the river, under cover of all his artillery, which began to play. Kâssem Khân, and the râjah, did not fail to answer them in the same strain. The combat was obstinately maintained at first by the extraordinary valour of Jessom Seyn ; for Kâssem Khân, though a famous warrior, gave no great proof of his courage on this occasion. Nay, some accused him of treachery, in having ordered the powder and ball to be buried by night in the sand ; for after two or three discharges, there was no more to be found ^a.

^a Bernier, p. 73, & seqq.

(G) Rather Eujin, on which stands the city of that name, the capital of the province of Malva. It may be pronounced Vjin, Oujin, Aujin.

Nevertheless, the confederate army was much embarrassed by rocks in the middle of the river, and the high banks on the other side ; but at length Morâd Bûkhsh cast himself into the stream, and passed with a great part of the army. Kâssem Khân was obliged to give way ; and Jessom Scyn was saved with difficulty, by the extraordinary bravery of his Râjapûts, who were almost all slain in his defence. Out of eight thousand, not above five or six hundred remained ; insomuch, that he durst not return to Agra after so great a loss. This victory elevated *Dara en-raged.* the two confederate princes to the highest pinnacle of hope. Aureng Zîb, still more to animate his soldiers, boasted openly, that he had thirty thousand Mogols at his devotion, in Dara's army ; and the sequel shewed, that there was some foundation for what he said. The army rested for a few days on the banks of that river ; during which time Aureng Zîb wrote to all his friends, in order to obtain intelligence from court. He afterwards continued his march towards Agra, but slowly, that he might have time to take proper measures at this juncture ^b.

Shah Jehân, perceiving the resolution of the two princes, *His great army.* would fain have prevented the last decisive battle, for which he saw Dara was preparing ; but knew not how to effect an accommodation. As he was in this son's power, he was obliged to commit to him all the forces of the empire, and command all officers to obey him. His army consisted of little less than a hundred thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot, with four hundred pieces of cannon ; although the troops were brave, and numerous enough to cope with three such armies as that which Aureng Zîb commanded, yet nobody presaged good fortune for Dara, as they knew the chief omrâs had no affection for him ; and that the troops, which he could most confide in, were with his son Solymân Shekowh. *Slights ad-vice.*

For this reason his friends, and Shâh Jehân himself, advised him not to hazard a battle, at least till his son arrived with his troops. The emperor offered, infirm as he was, to be carried into the field, to interpose his authority for accomodating matters : but Dara was deaf to all proposals of that nature ; as he had the king, the treasure, and, in short, all the power then in his own hands, he was resolved not to give it up, or share it with his brothers, as he must have done in case of an accommodation.

^b Bernier, p. 85, & seqq.

the armies
meet.

Resolving likewise to have all the glory of defeating them to himself, he ordered the army immediately to take the field, without waiting for his son. When he went to take leave of his father, the emperor embraced and blessed him ; but bid him, if he lost the battle, take heed of ever coming into his presence. His first step was to feize the passage of the river Tehembel (E), about twenty miles from Agra ; where he fortified himself, and expected his enemy ; but the subtle fakir prevailed on Champet, a rebellious rajâh, to let him pass through his territories, to a place where the river was very shallow. Breaking up his camp in the dark, only leaving some tents to amuse Dara, he marched, night and day, through the woods and hills, conducted by the rajâh himself, with such expedition, that he was on the other side of the Tehembel before Dara knew any thing of the matter. This last was, therefore, obliged to quit all his fortifications, to follow his enemies ; who advanced, with great diligence, to gain the river Jemna, there to post themselves securely, and expect their brother : in effect, they encamped at Samongher, now called Fateh-abad, or, *the Place of Victory*, five miles short of Agra. Dara soon arrived, and pitched his tents near the bank of the same river, between the capital and the army of his competitors. During the three or four days which passed without action, Shâh Jehân wrote several times to acquaint Dara that Solymân Shekowh was near at hand, and advised him to wait his coming ; but that prince answered, that in three days he would bring Aureng Zîb, and Morâd Bukhsh, bound hand and foot, to the foot of the throne ^c.

the fight
begins.

At length both armies being drawn up in order of battle, the artillery began to play, when a sudden storm of rain interrupted the combat. As soon as the tempest was over, Dara appeared, mounted on an elephant, and advanced in the center of the cavalry, directly towards the enemy's cannon. The confederate forces gave him a very warm reception, killed a great number of men about his person, and put into disorder the main body which he commanded : but as he still kept his ground, and charged in person at the head of his troops, they advanced with redoubled ardour ; forced the enemy's artillery, broke the chain, and, entering their camp, routed their camels and infantry.

^c Bernier, p. 95. & seqq.

(E) Rather perhaps Tehembel ; in English characters Chembel.

Aureng

Aureng Zîb, seeing this great disorder in his troops, without being able to remedy it, caused the main body of his best cavalry to advance, to try if he could make head against his victorious brother ; but it was not long before this body also was forced to retreat in great confusion. On this occasion, Aureng Zîb exhibited an astonishing proof of resolution ; for although he saw his whole army giving way, and had scarce a thousand men to stand in his defence, he betrayed no marks of fear ; but exclaimed, “ Courage, my old friends, God is God ! what hope is there in flight ? God is God ! ” And to shew he was determined not to stir from the place where he was, he ordered chains to be fastened to the feet of his elephant^d.

In the mean time, Dara perceived that his left wing was in great disorder ; he was informed that Rustam Khân and Shatresale Rajâh were killed ; that, indeed, Ramseyn Rowtla had forced his way through the enemy, but having advanced too far, was now hemmed in by them, and in great danger. In consequence of this information, he changed his design of attacking his brother, that he might go and succour his left wing ; and this motion saved Aureng Zîb from inevitable ruin.

Dara, rallying the troops that were in confusion, restored the battle on that side ; and even routed the enemy. Ramseyn Rowtla pushed on so vigorously, that he wounded Morâd Bukhsh ; and came so near that he began to cut the girdles of his elephant ; but the prince, wounded as he was, shot the commander dead with an arrow.

The Râjaputs fought with fury to revenge their master’s death ; and the rebels were on the point of being totally defeated, when the fortune of the day was changed by the treachery of Khalilo’llah Khân, who commanded the right wing, and had hitherto remained inactive, from motives of revenge to Dara, by whom he had been affronted. Seeing the prince now ready to fall upon Morâd Bukhsh, he rode up to him, exclaiming, “ God save your majesty, you have obtained a victory—come down from your elephant, and take horse ; what remains more to be done, than to pursue these runaways ? ”

Dara, blinded by this adulation, descended from his elephant, and took horse ; the army, who always had their eyes on the prince, seeing him no more, imagined he had been slain ; and being seized with a panic, fled into the utmost confusion.

^d Bernier, p. 107, & seqq.

Aureng Zib encouraged by this unexpected event, did not fail to improve it with all his art and activity. He was immediately joined by the traitor Khalilo'lla Khân, and the victory was complete.

Flight to
Agra.

Dara fled towards Agra, and was met by an eunuch from his father, to tell him, that he was troubled for his misfortune; that his affairs were not yet desperate, since there was a strong army with his son Solymân; and that he should go to Delhi, where he should find money, horses, and elephants. Dara was then so dejected, that he had not power to speak to the eunuch; but he set out for Dehli at midnight, with his wife and family, and about four hundred attendants.

Aureng Zib left nothing undone to improve the advantages he had already gained. As he knew that his brother could yet place some hopes in the victorious army of Solymân Shekowh, he wrote letters upon letters to râjah Jesseyn, and Delî Khân, the chief generals of that young prince, to assure them that Dara was quite ruined; that his whole army had submitted to him; that he had sent orders every where to seize him; in short, that if they understood their own interest, they would become his friends, and, seizing on Solymân Shekowh, bring him to the camp. Jesseyn was much perplexed how to act on this occasion. He feared to lay hands on prince Solymân, who, he knew, would rather die, than suffer himself to be taken in that manner. After having consulted with Delî Khân, he went to the prince's tent, and shewing him Aureng Zib's letters, told him that he ought not to trust in Delî Khan, Dawd Khân, or the rest of the army, and therefore had best retire to the mountains of Serenâgher, there to remain with the râjah of that country, till he should see what turn affairs would take.

The young prince, perceiving by this discourse of Jesseyn, that he had no more reason to trust in him than the rest, immediately departed, with a good number of mansabdârs, and other friends, leaving the army in a great surprize. The râjah was so mean as to send some troops, secretly, to fall on his baggage; where the people of the country attacked his men for the sake of plunder. However, at length he arrived with his wife and children at Serenâgher, where the râjah received him with great honour; and promised to assist him to the utmost of his power¹. Let us now return to see what is doing at Agra.

Solymân
Shekowh
flies also.

¹ Bernier, *ibid.* p. 159, & seqq.

Three or four days after the battle of Semongher, the victorious princes advanced to a little garden near the gate of the capital, a small league from the fortress; whither Aureng Zib sent an eunuch to salute the Shâh Jehân, with protestations of affection and submission. He likewise expressed sorrow for what had passed; but laid all the blame on the ambition and evil designs of Dara. Shâh Jehân, no less a dissembler than his son, to whose secret passion for reigning he was no stranger, declared to the eunuch, that he was well satisfied with Aureng Zib's proceedings, and pleased at his success. But, instead of assembling all his omrâs, he attempted to outwit Aureng Zib, and was taken in his own snare. With this view he sent an eunuch to this son, to let him know that he was sensible of the ill conduct and incapacity of Dara; that he passionately wished to embrace Aureng Zib, for whom he had always a particular affection; and therefore desired he would come and see him, to advise what was proper to be done at the present juncture.

Aureng Zib knew very well that his father was not to be trusted on this occasion; especially as Begum Sâheb, his enemy, as well as sister, was continually about him: and it was reported, that several of those lusty Tartarian women, who serve in the harâm, were armed, to attack him as soon as he should enter. But although he was resolved not to hazard a visit to Shâh Jehân, yet he spread a rumour that he intended to visit him next day. Instead of performing his promise, which he put off from time to time, he made it his business to sound the chief omrâs, whom he brought over to his interest. At length, having concerted the proper measures, he sent Soltân Mahmûd, his eldest son, to the fortress, under pretence of waiting on Shâh Jehân, in his name: but that daring prince was no sooner entered, than he fell upon the guards at the gate; while a great number of men, who were ready at hand, rushed in, and made themselves masters of the wall.

Shâh Jehân, astonished to find himself fallen into the snare which he had prepared for his son, sent to Soltân Mahmûd, promising, on the Korân, to make him king in the palace in case he would serve him on this occasion. But, Soltân Mahmûd would never hearken to any proposal of this kind, nor enter into the apartment of Shâh Jehân; answering, that he had no orders to wait on him: but was commanded to bring his father the keys of all

the gates of the fortress; that he might with safety come and kiss his majesty's feet.

Shâh Jehân finding himself gradually abandoned by his guards and people, surrendered the keys; and sent a message to Aureng Zîb, desiring he would come to him, as he had matters of consequence to communicate. But Aureng Zîb was too cunning to be thus inveigled; he made his eunuch, Etbar Khân, governor of the fortress; who presently confined Shâh Jehân, together with Begum Sâheb, and all his women; causing divers gates to be walled up, so that the emperor might not be able either to write, or speak, to any body, without permission.

In the mean time, Aureng Zîb wrote to his father a short letter, wherein he told him, that, he knew, he had sent Dara two elephants, laden with rupis of gold, to renew the war; that therefore it was not he, but Dara, who had imprisoned him, and was the cause of all his misfortunes; that if it had not been for Dara, he would have waited on him the first day of his arrival, and paid him all the dutiful respect which he could have expected from a son; that he begged pardon for what had happened, and desired his majesty would have a little patience; promising, that as soon as he had disabled Dara from executing his evil designs, he would come himself, and open the gates to him¹.

The Omrâs join him. The alleged supply was supposed to be a fiction contrived to justify his proceedings against his father. As soon as Shâh Jehân was imprisoned, almost all the omrâs were in a manner necessitated to go and make their court to the two confederate princes. It certain, not one of them had the courage or gratitude to make the least attempt in behalf of their king, who had raised them from the dust to riches and honour; excepting some few, as Danishmend Khân, and others, who remained neuter, all the rest declared for Aureng Zîb.

Resolves to seize Morâd Bukhsh. Aureng Zîb having thus made himself sure of Shâh Jehân, and all the omrâs, took what sums of money he thought fit out of the treasury: then, leaving his uncle, Shâh Hest Khân, to govern the city in his absence, went away, with Morâd Bukhsh, to pursue Dara. The day on which the army was to march out of Agra, the friends of this last prince, especially his eunuch, Shâh Abbâs,

¹ Bernier, p. 140, & seqq.

who knew that excessive flattery is usually a sign of impudence, advised him, that since he was acknowledged as king by every body, and even Aureng Zib himself, he should let his brother go in pursuit of Dara, and stay with his troops about Agra and Dehli. If he had followed this advice, he must have greatly embarrassed Aureng Zib, if not entirely frustrated his designs; but confiding entirely in his fair promises, backed by oaths on the Koran, he never would suffer the least suspicion to enter his breast.

When they arrived at Matûra, three or four days journey from Agra, Morâd's friends endeavoured again to persuade him to be on his guard; assuring him, that some mischief was contriving; that they had notice of it from several quarters; and desired that he would forbear going to visit his brother, only for that day. But the prince was deaf to all suggestions of caution; and went that very night to sup with Aureng Zib, his brother, who expected him, and had already taken his measures, with Mir Khân and other officers, was profuse of his compliments and caresses, so far as gently to wipe the sweat and dust off his face with a handkerchief.

After supper a large bottle of Shirâz wine being produced upon the table, Aureng Zib, who affected a scrupulous adherence to the law of Mahomet, retired, and Morâd Bukhsh, who loved wine, drank to such excess, that he fell asleep. Then his sabre and poniard being taken away, Aureng Zib returned, awakened him with a kick of his foot, reviled him as a drunkard, and ordering his hands and feet to be fettered, secured him in another room. His outcries, however, produced a tumult, which was repressed by Allah Kûli, master of the artillery.

Emissaries were sent through the whole army, to let *Pacifies the troops.* the soldiers know, that Morâd Bukhsh had got drunk; and having in that condition railed at every body, and even Aureng Zib himself, it was thought necessary, for fear he should do any mischief, to keep him in a separate apartment: but that next day they should see him abroad, after he had slept off the fumes of the wine. Meantime presents were distributed all night among the chief officers of the army, their pay was immediately augmented, and they were amused with magnificent promises. In short, as there were scarce any one who had not for a long time before expected some such event, it was no great wonder to find almost every thing quiet

next morning : so that the night following this poor unhappy prince was conducted to Selímajer, a little old fortress at Dehli, situated in the middle of the river.

*purfues
Dara.*

Aureng Zîb having thus secured himself in the supreme authority, took the field in pursuit of Dara, who made the best of his way towards Lahûr, in order to fortify himself in that city. But Aureng Zîb followed him so close, that he was forced to retreat from thence to Multân ; which he also abandoned for the same reason. His indefatigable enemy pursued him with so much eagerness, that he often advanced almost alone two or three leagues before his army, drank bad water, and slept under a tree, with his head resting on his shield, like a common soldier. Dara, instead of retreating to the kingdom of Kâbûl, where he would have found a great number of zealous partisans, and been always in condition to take refuge in Persia, or the country of the Usbecks, repaired to Sindi, and entered the fortress of Tatta Bakar, that strong and famous place, seated in the midst of the Indus.

*returns to
Agra.*

Aureng Zîb, glad to find that his brother had taken this route, rather than that of Kâbûl, was content to send after him seven or eight thousand men under Mîr Bâba, his foster brother, while he himself returned to Agra ; as well for fear lest, in his absence, some of the Râjahs should attempt to free Shâh Jehân from his confinement, as that Soleymân Shekowh, or Soltân Sujâh, should approach too near that capital.

*Great
escape,
and resolu-
tion.*

In his way to Lahûr, being advanced some miles before his army, of a sudden, he beheld the Râjah Jesfeyn coming up with four or five thousand of his Râjapûts ; and, knowing him to be zealous for Shâh Jehân's interest, was much alarmed; nevertheless, without betraying the least symptom of fear or distrust, he rode up to him, saluted him by the names of Râjah-ji and Bâba-ji, signifying *Lord Rajah*, and *Lord Father*, and addressed him to this effect. " I expected you, with great impatience : the work is done ; Dara is lost, he is all alone. I have sent Mîr Bâba after him, from whom he cannot escape." Then, taking off his necklace of pearls, he put it about the neck of the râjah : saying, " Go, with all expedition to Lahûr, and wait till I come : for my army is greatly fatigued, and I fear that otherwise something sinistre may happen there. I make you governor of the place, and put all things into your hands. I am extremely obliged to you for what you have done with Solymân Shekowh.---Where have you left Delil

Khân ?

Khân? I shall have my revenge of him.—Make all possible dispatch.—Salâmed Bâshed. Farewell ^f.”—Jesseyn was supposed to have advanced with hostile intent; but this reception brought him over to the interest of Aureng Zib, whose orders he instantly obeyed.

Dara, being arrived at Tâtta Bâkar, strengthened the place with a good garrison of Pâtans and Savâds. He had for cannoneers several Franghis, as Portuguese, English, French, and Germans, who had followed him on the great promises he had given them, in case his affairs prospered. He stayed there only two or three days; then, leaving a fagacious eunuch for governor, with the greater part of his treasure, he marched away with two or three thousand men, descending the Indus towards Sindî; from whence, crossing the territories of the Râjah of Kâche, he arrived at Ahmed-abâd, capital of Guzerât. The governor, Shâh Navâz Khân, father-in-law to Aureng Zib, surprised at his unexpected arrival, though he had a strong garrison, instead of opposing Dara, thought best to temporize, and receive him honourably. In short, he managed him afterwards with so much dexterity, that this indiscreet prince trusted himself to his power, and communicated to him his designs. He even shewed Shâh Navâz the letters which he received from Jessom Seyn, and other friends, who were preparing to come to him; although every body told him, and his correspondents warned him by letters, that he would be betrayed by his competitor's father-in-law.

Aureng Zib was greatly alarmed when he heard that Dara was in Ahmed-abâd, where he knew the discontented party, which was very numerous, would resort to him. On the other hand, he saw it was not safe for him to follow his brother into the countries of Jessom Seyn, and other rajahs; least, by removing too far from Agra and Shâh Jehân, Soltân Sujah, who had already passed the Ganges at Elabâs, with a strong army, should advance on that side; or Solymân Shekowh descend from the hills with the râjah of Serenâgher. In this perplexity he resolved to leave Darâ for a time, and march against his brother Sujah. This Soltân was encamped at a village called Kajowh on the side of a great talab, or reservoir of water; and Aureng Zib posted himself by a small torrent, at the distance of half a league. Being impatient to end this war, he, at break of day, attacked Sujah with incredible fury. Amîr Jemla likewise, who

*Dara's
Guzerât.*

*Aureng
Zib
marches
to Ka-
jowh,
against
Sultan Su-
jah.*

^f Bernier, p. 160, & seqq.

arrived on the day of battle from Dekán, fearing Dara no longer, because his family was more in safety, exerted on this occasion all his vigour, courage, and dexterity. But, as Soltân Sujâh was very well fortified in his post, and had a fine train of artillery, it was not possible for Aureng Zîb to force his camp, and drive him from those waters: on the contrary, he was repulsed several times, and thrown into great perplexity.

He foresaw that the want of water would not allow him to stay long in his present situation; and that he could not retreat in the face of the enemy, without great hazard: at this very juncture, he received advice that râjah Jeffom-Seyn, who in appearance was in his interest, had fallen upon his rear, and plundered his baggage.

Mean while the disorder increased among his troops; which Sujâh observing, pressed him vigorously. The man who led Aureng Zîb's elephant being killed with an arrow, he was obliged to guide the animal with his own hands. He was exposed to a shower of arrows: at length his elephant being frightened, began to recoil, and he saw nothing before him but disgrace and ruin. In this emergency he was saved by the very same kind of incident, which had given him the victory over Dara. One of the Soltân Sujah's chief commanders called Allah Verdi, seeing the army of Aureng Zib in confusion, persuaded his master to come down from his elephant, and mount a horse, in order to pursue the enemy: he followed this pernicious advice. The troops seeing him no longer in his proper place, concluded he was slain or betrayed, and in this belief immediately fled with the utmost precipitation.

The Soltân escaped with great difficulty, and Jeffom Seyn marched off for his own country, with the plunder which he had acquired, taking the route to Agra. It was reported in this capital, that Aureng Zîb had lost the battle, and was taken prisoner. Shâh Heft Khân, the governor, and uncle to Aureng Zîb, seeing Jeffom Seyn, whose treachery he had heard of, at the gates, and, despairing of his life, laid hold of a cup of poison, and would have drunk it, if he had not been prevented by his women. The certainty of this defeat was so firmly believed for two whole days, that if Jeffom Seyn had laid hold of the opportunity, and acted vigorously, he might have delivered Shâh Jehân out of prison. But all his care was to escape with what he had got. Aureng Zîb was so much afraid he would attempt something in his father's behalf, that, after a short pursuit of the vanquished army, he turned back

with

In extreme
distress;

Confusion
at Agra.

with all his forces to Agra, where he staid a good while to settle his affairs.

In the interim he received intelligence, that Soltân Sujâh, who had lost but few men in the late rout, had rallied and recruited his forces in the lands of the Râjahs, on both sides of the Ganges; and fortified himself in Elabâs, that important passage of the river, which is the first entrance into Bengál. On this occasion he meditated with himself on the conduct he should pursue. He considered that he had about him two persons, Soltân Mahmûd, his eldest son, and Amîr Jemla; both very capable indeed to serve him, but apt to grow too assuming. The first already began to be very insolent on the credit of having seized the fortress of Agra: and he had no reason to expect otherwise of the Amîr; who, besides the merit of his great services, courage, and riches, passed for the ablest man in all the Indies, as well in civil as military matters. These considerations would certainly have perplexed an ordinary genius, but Aureng Zib found a way to get rid of them in such a manner, that neither of them found any cause to complain ^g.

The course he took was to send them both against Soltân Sujâh, with a puissant army; letting the Amîr know, that, as an earnest of his acknowledgements, he conferred the government of Bengál on him, and his son, for their lives; and that, as soon as he should defeat his brother Sujâh, he would make him Mîrâl Omrâ, or prince of the omrâs; which is the most honourable place in all Hindûstân. To Soltan Mahmûd, his son, he only said these few words: "Remember that thou art the eldest of my children; that it is for thyself thou goest forth to fight: and that thou hast done much, but yet nothing, if thou overcomest not Sujâh, who is our greatest and most powerful enemy." In this manner he dismissed them both, with rich vests, horses, and elephants, superbly harnessed, after he had obliged them to leave, as pledges of their fidelity, Mohammed Amîr Khân, only son of Amîr Jemla, under pretence of education; and Soltân Mahmûd's wife, daughter to the king of Golkondâ, on a suggestion that her following the camp would be very inconvenient.

Soltân Sujâh, who dreaded nothing more than to have to oppose Amîr Jemla, no sooner heard of his march, than, apprehending that the passage to Bengál would be ob-

*Amîr
Jemla
advances
against
him,*

^g Bernier, *ibid.* p. 178, & seqq.

structed, he decamped from Elabás, and moved down the Ganges to Benâres and Patna. From thence he proceeded to Mojer, a small town, seated on that river, and commonly called the key of Bengál; being a kind of streight between the mountains and the woods. There he fortified himself, causing a trench to be dug from the river to the mountains, in order to dispute the passage with Amîr Jemla. But he was strangely surprised when he was informed, that the troops which slowly descended along the Ganges, were only to amuse him: for that the Amîr himself and Soltân Mahmûd were advancing through the mountains, whose Râjahs they had gained, with all the flower of the army, towards Râjah Mahl, in order to cut off his retreat.

*to Râjah
Mahl.*

On this advice Sujâh quitted his fortifications at Mojer, and made such haste, that, although he was obliged to follow the windings which the river makes to the left, he arrived at Râjah Mahl, and had time to fortify himself there also, before the Amîr arrived: because the latter, having heard of this march, quitted his former route, and bent his course towards the left hand and the Ganges, to wait for his troops, which were advancing with the artillery and the baggage, along the river. As soon as they arrived, he proceeded to attack Soltân Sujâh; who defended himself very well for five or six days: but observing, that the Amîr's cannon, which played incessantly, ruined all his works, and that the rainy season was begun, he retired by favour of the night. As Amîr Jemla put off the pursuit till next morning, for fear of some ambush in the dark, very luckily for Sujâh, a heavy rain began to fall at day-break, and continued three days without intermission: so that Jemla found himself not only prevented from pursuing the enemy, but obliged to continue at Rajah Mahl all the winter; the excessive rains in that country rendering the roads so broken in July, August, September, and October, that armies cannot possibly march ^b.

*Soltân
Mahmûd
revolts.*

Thus Soltân Sujâh gained time to retire and fortify himself; and he procured out of the Lower Bengál a great many pieces of artillery, as well as some companies of Portuguese, who had settled in that country, on account of the plenty of provisions. Mean while Soltân Mahmûd, for the reasons above mentioned, grew very imperious; and not only pretended to an absolute command of the army, requiring Amîr Jemla to follow his

^b Bernier, *ibid* p. 187, & seqq.

orders,

orders, but, from time to time, also let fall insolent expressions with regard to his father, as if he was obliged to him for the crown. At length Mahmûd, understanding that his father was much dissatisfied with his conduct, and fearing Amîr Jemla had orders to seize his person, he went away, accompanied with a very small number of followers, to Soltân Sujâh, to whom he made great promises, and swore fidelity.

Nevertheless, his uncle Sujâh, who feared the snares of Aureng Zîb and Amîr Jemla, could not trust him; but always had an eye upon his actions, and never gave him any considerable command; a circumstance which so disgusted the prince, that in a few months he left Soltân Sujâh, and returned to the amîr, who received him kindly, assuring him, that he would write in his behalf to Aureng Zîb, and do his utmost to heal the breach. His father wrote him a severe letter, in which he commanded him to return to Dehli; but he had no sooner crossed the Ganges than he met with troops which stopped him; and putting him into a small chair, carried him to Gualiyâr, where he died in confinementⁱ.

Here we think proper to close the reign of Shâh Jehân, during whose time the empire flourished exceedingly, comprehending no fewer than twenty-three provinces; five of which, Bâlk, Kandahâr, Biddukhshân, Tellen-gana, and Baglâna, were of his own acquisition. The revenues arising from them did not fall short of twenty-seven millions five hundred thousand pounds; and the number of his forces, as paid out of those revenues, amounted, in 1647, to nine hundred and eleven thousand four hundred horse and foot^k.

Shâh Jehân had seven sons.

Soltân Dara Shekowh, or the *Soltan in Pomp like Darius*; born 1615 (A).

Soltân Sujâh, or the *valiant Soltân*; born 1617 (B).

Soltân Aureng Zîb, the *Ornament of the Throne*; born 1618.

Soltân Amyad Bukhsh, or the *Giver of Hopes*; born 1620, died before the revolution.

State of the empire.

Shâh Jehân's children.

ⁱ Bernier, *ibid.* p. 193, 199. ^k Fraser's Hist. 'Nadir Shâh, p. 26.

(A) He had two sons, Soly-mân Shekowh, *august*, or *in pomp-like*; and Soly-mân Sepeh Shekow, *of military force*, *like Solyman*.

(B) This prince had two sons, Zeyno'ddin Mohammed, *the Ornament of Religion*; and Billind Akhter, *of high Stars, or great Fortune*.

Soltán Morád Bukhsh, the *Giver of Desires, or Wishes* ; born 1624 (C).

Soltán Lowtf-allah, the *Favour of God* ; born 1627 ; died before his father's deposition.

Soltán Dowlet Afza, *Increase of Fortune* ; born 1628 ; died before the revolution¹.

*The Reign of Mohio'ddin Aureng Zib, sixth Emperor.
From his Advancement to the End of the Civil Wars.*

A.D. 1658.

As king. AURENG ZIB having sent Morád Bukhsh to Gwaliyár, went to Dehli, and there assumed the regal power, giving orders in all affairs relating to the state : but his thoughts were chiefly employed on contriving how to quell the ambitious Dara. Jessom Seyn having retired to his own country, and raised a strong army, wrote to Dara to hasten to Agra, and promised to join him with his forces. Dara, who had also by this time raised a considerable number of troops, immediately quitted Ahmedabad, and advanced with great speed to Azmír, seven or eight days journey from Agra, hoping that many of his old friends would declare for him, when they saw him approaching the capital, in conjunction with that rājah : but Jessom Seyn was in the interim dissuaded from his purpose by Jefseyn, who in his letters told him, that if he would leave Dara to himself, Aureng Zib would bestow on him the government of Guzerát. In short, this rājah acted his part so well, that Jessom Seyn returned home whilst Aureng Zib approached with his whole army to Azmír, and encamped in sight of Dara.

Dara defeated at Azmír.

Shâh Navaz Khân slain.

This unhappy prince, thus abandoned, considered that it was impossible to return back safe to Ahmed-abâd, which was a march of five and thirty days, through the lands of his enemies, and in the height of summer, when water would fail him ; he therefore resolved to give battle at all risks, though the match was very unequal, and Shâh Navaz Khân, who was along with him, betrayed all his secrets to his competitor. It is needless to recite the particulars of this battle, which was rather a rout than an engagement ; for the attack was scarcely begun, when Jefseyn appeared near Dara, and sent him word, to fly in-

¹ Fraser, ubi supra, p. 26, & seq.

(C) Morád Bukhsh had one son, Jezd, or Yezd Bukhsh, that is, *God's gift.*

stantly

stantly, unless he had a mind to be taken: so that the prince, confounded at this intimation, and suspecting the fidelity of his own followers, fled with great precipitation: nor could he possibly have escaped, if that rājah had endeavoured to prevent him; but he always preserved a respect to the royal family, or rather he was too politic to venture laying hands on a prince of the blood ^m.

Shāh Navaz Khān did not enjoy his perfidy, for he was killed in the battle. The unhappy Dara, accompanied only by two thousand men, destitute of tents and all conveniences, was obliged, in the hottest time of summer, to cross those countries of the rājahs, extending almost from Azmīr to Ahmed-abād. In this march he was harassed by the Kowlis, who followed him night and day, rifling and killing his soldiers. Nevertheless, he made shift to reach the neighbourhood of Ahmed-abād; but was denied entrance by the governor he had left in the castle, who had by this time been brought over to the interest of Aureng Zib.

Dara's wives were so shocked at this governor's refusing them admittance, that they broke out into the most pathetic lamentation; the prince himself appeared half dead with grief and mortification; but he made an effort to console the women, and encourage his men, who were all astonished, and ready to desert. As there was no room for hesitation, he forthwith departed with about five hundred horse, and two elephants loaded with money.

After innumerable hardships in passing the deserts, he *Aureng Zib baffled.* reached the rājah of Kacheh, who at first received him very kindly, and promised to assist him with all his forces, provided he would give his daughter in marriage to his son; but Jeffeyn having soon brought off this rājah also, Dara, apprehending his person in danger, set out from thence for Tatta Bakar. Mean while the war continued in Bengāl; which being under the conduct of an experienced general, and at a great distance, did not disquiet Aureng Zib so much as the neighbourhood of Solyman Shekowh, who continually alarmed him with rumours, as if he was coming down with the rājah from the mountains, which are no more than eight days journey from Agra. Aureng Zib employed Jeslyn to ply the rājah of Serenāgher with letters, promising great things if he would deliver up the young prince, and threatening war in case he refused. The rājah answered, that he would rather

^m Bernier's Mem. Emp. Mogol, part i. p. 200, & seq.

lose his estate than be guilty of so unworthy an action. In consequence of this refusal, Aureng Zib marched to the foot of the mountains, and attempted to widen the passage by cutting the rocks, while the rājah laughed at his vain efforts; so that he was constrained to return as he came ⁿ.

Dara near Bakar.

When Dara arrived within two or three days journey of Tatta Bakar, he received intelligence that Mir Baba had, after a long siege, reduced the place to the last extremity: yet the brave governor still held out, and extremely incommoded the enemy by frequent sallies: but Dara believing it impossible to raise the siege with the few soldiers who accompanied him, was inclined to pass the Indus, and retire into Persia. However, he was diverted from this attempt by his wife, who declared, that if he took this last course, he must expect to see her and his daughter slaves to the king of Persia.

Retires to Jon Khân.

In this perplexity Dara remembered that there was in this country a certain Pâtan of some power, named Jon Khân, whose life he had saved twice, when Shâh Jehân had ordered him to be cast under the feet of an elephant, for having rebelled: he resolved therefore to depend upon the gratitude of this man, to whose habitation he repaired accordingly. The infamous Pâtan at first received him with a shew of hospitality; but in a few days, he overpowered the unfortunate prince, and his grandson Sepe Shekowh, in the night (D); caused them to be bound with fetters, and sent to Tâta Bakar, where they were delivered into the hands of Mir Baba, who forwarded them to Lahûr, and thence to Dehli, accompanied by the traitor Jon Khân.

Debates about him.

At the gate of the capital, Dara and his grandson were dressed in wretched apparel, and placed together on the back of an elephant. In this condition Bernier saw them

ⁿ Bernier, *ubi supra*, p. 206, & seqq.

(D) According to Tavernier, Dara, awakened by the noise of their seizing his son, could not refrain venting his passion on Jon Khân, in these terms, "Finish, infamous and ungrateful villain as thou art, finish the work thou hast begun; we are become victims to bad fortune, and Aureng Zib's unjust ambition: but re-

member, that I only deserve death for having saved thy life; for never prince of the royal blood had his hands tied behind him before." Jon Khân in some measure, moved by these words, caused the young prince to be unbound, and only set guards over him and his father.

pass through the principal streets of Dehli; all the shops were crowded with spectators, who wept bitterly; while the lower sort of people exclaimed against the tyranny of Aureng Zib, who had already imprisoned his father, son, and brother. They also, with some fakirs, reviled and threw stones at the infamous Jon Khân, who rode in the procession; but not one man had the boldness to draw a sword in his behalf, although he was but slightly guarded.

Aureng Zib, being informed how the people had lamented Dara, and cursed the Pâtan, called a council, to deliberate whether it was better to send him to Gwaliyâr, or put him to death without more ceremony. Some were of opinion, it was sufficient that he should be carried under a strong guard to that fortress; but Rushn Ray Begum, in hatred to his brother, urged Aureng Zib to dispatch him out of the way, and not run the hazard of keeping him in prison. Of the same opinion were all his old enemies, Khalilo'llah Khân, shâh Heft Khân, and especially a certain medical parasite, who having fled from Persia, was first called Hakîm Dawd, or doctor David; but afterwards becoming one of the omras, was named Takarrub Khân.

This upstart affirmed it was expedient for the safety of the state to put him to death immediately; the rather, because he was a kâfr, or idolater, without religion. Aureng Zib, closing with this advice, commanded that Dara should immediately be put to death, and Sepe Shekowh sent to Gwaliyâr. The charge of this execution was given to a slave, called Nâzar, who having been bred up by Shâh Jehân, had formerly received some ill treatment from Dâra. This slave, accompanied by three or four more to assist him, went presently to the garden, where Dâra was employed in dressing some lentils, with Sepe Shekowh. The prince no sooner saw Nâzar, than he cried out, "My dear son, behold those who come to kill us!" he was accordingly overpowered and put to death. His head being carried to the fortress, Aureng Zib desired to see it, and recognizing the features of his brother, could not refrain from weeping: "Ah! unfortunate man! (cried he) Take it away, and bury it in the sepulchre of Huniayûn."

At night the daughter of Dara was brought into the harâm; but afterwards sent to Shâh Jehân and Begum Saheb, at their request. As for that prince's wife, she had poisoned herself at Lahûr, to avoid the misery which she

Sentenced to death.

Is murder-ed.

Jon Khân slain.

she saw falling on her family. Sepe Shekowh, who had been secured when his grandfather suffered, was now conveyed to Gwaliyár. Jon Khân, by Aureng Zîb's order, appeared in the assembly, where having received some presents, he was dismissed; but, in his return to his own country, he met with a just reward for his villainy, in being killed by robbers.

Bakar sur-
rendered.

Mean time, Tâtta Bakar was surrendered, in obedience to an order which had been obtained from Dara, and all the conditions which the governor demanded were agreed to; but as soon as the valiant and faithful eunuch arrived at Lahûr, he was cut in pieces, with the few men who accompanied him, by Khalîlullah Khân, the governor.

Solymân
Shekowh
taken and
imprisoned.

Solymân Shekowh, was now the only prince who remained of the family of Dara Shekowh; nor would it have been easy to draw him from Serenâgher, if the râjah had been steady to his first declarations; but the death of Dara, and persuasions of râjah Jeffeyn, joined to the threats of Aureng Zîb, at length prevailed on him to consent to their demands. Solymân, being informed of this agreement, fled through the midst of horrid mountains and frightful deserts, towards Great Tibet; but the râjah's son soon pursuing and overtaking him, the unhappy prince was seized and carried to Dehli. Aureng Zîb commanded Solymân to be brought before him, in presence of all the grandees of the court. At the gate, the chains were taken off his feet; but his hands were fettered with gilt shackles.

When this gallant young prince appeared, many omrâs shed tears, and all the court ladies who had leave to see him, fell a weeping: even Aureng Zîb seemed touched with his misfortunes. He eyed him with a look of pity, assured him he had nothing to fear, and declared his father had been put to death for no other reason than he was a kâfr, without religion. The young prince returned his uncle the salem, and blessed him; letting fall his hands to the earth, and then lifting them, as well as he could, up to his head, after the usage of the country. At the same time he resolutely declared, that rather than drink the powst (E), he would chuse to die at once.

Aureng

• Bernier, ubi supra p. 226, & seqq.

(E) This powst is nothing but poppy expressed, and infused one night in water. This is the potion which is given to those princes, whose lives are for some time spared. It is the first thing

Aureng Zîb again assured him he had nothing to fear; and Solymân repeating the salem, or salutation, was sent to Gwaliyâr.

Notwithstanding these fair promises, not only Solymân Shekowh, but his son Sepe Shckowh, and the grand-child of Morâd Bukhsh, were dispatched by the powst. As to Morâd Bukhsh himself, he was destroyed by a more violent death, for his brother, perceiving that the generality of people had an inclination to him, and that verses were dispersed about in praise of his valour and courage, apprehending, that if he took him off privately by the powst, his death would be doubted, and the uncertainty of it might give occasion one time or other to some commotion; he therefore thought it safer to get rid of him in a more open manner, under a shew of justice. Morâd Bukhsh, when he was at Ahmed-abâd making preparations for war, having, in order to procure money, put to death Sayed, one of Mohammed's kindred, in order to get his estate, the children of the Sayéd were incited to make their complaints in a public assembly, and demand the head of that prince, in satisfaction for the blood of their father. Hereupon their petition was granted without any other form or process; and an order being issued out for the purpose, the unfortunate Morâd was beheaded at Gwaliyâr^P.

Aureng Zîb had nothing now to fear, except from his brother Soltân Sujâh, who all this time held out in Bengâl; but Amîr Jemla was reinforced, from time to time, with so many troops, that, being at length hemmed in on all sides, he was obliged to fly to Dakka, which is the last city of that province towards the sea. Here being destitute of ships, and not knowing whither to fly, he sent his eldest son Soltân Banka to the heathen king of Rakan, or May, to know if he would give him leave to make that country his place of refuge, till the seasons of the monsûns, and then to furnish him with a vessel to carry him to Mecca, intending from thence to pass into some part of Turky, or Persia. The king of Rakân made answer, that he should be very welcome, and have all possible assistance.

^P Bernier, ubi supra, p. 236, & seqq.

thing which is brought them in the morning; it emaciates them exceedingly, and kills them insensibly: for by degrees they

lose their strength and understanding; growing quite torpid and senseless.

With

Morâd
Bukhsh put
to death.

Soltân Su-
jâh flies
to Rakan.

With this answer, and some galleasses, manned with fugitive Portugeze, and other straggling Europeans, who had put themselves in the service of this king, Soltān Banka returned to Dakka; where the prince, his father, embarking with his wife, his three sons, and his daughters, set sail for the kingdom of Rakān. When they landed they were hospitably received, and furnished with whatever that country afforded, at the expence of the king. At the end of some months, the monsuns began to blow; but the king of Rakān, instead of furnishing Soltān Sujāh with the promised ship, began to seek occasion of quarrel. He complained that the sultān did not visit him; and although Soltān Banka waited on him with very considerable presents, he could not obtain the favour of a vessel: on the contrary, the king sent to demand his daughter in marriage, and seemed highly offended when the sultān declined the match.

Sujāh perceiving the danger of his situation, formed a desperate scheme to surprise the palace, destroy the royal family, and ascend the throne of Rakān. With this view he began to tamper with the Mohammedans and Europeans who were settled in the place; but the design taking air, he attempted to escape into Pegu, from which Rakān was separated by mountains and woods that were almost impassable. Being pursued and overtaken, he made a very desperate defence, and slew a great number of the aggressors with his own hand. His son Banka likewise fought like a lion till he was covered over with wounds; then he was taken with his mother, sisters, and two little brothers.

What became of Soltān Sujāh himself could never, with any certainty, be known: some affirmed, that he was found among the dead; and Bernier saw a letter from the chief of the Dutch factory, at Rakān, confirming this account; besides the great master of his artillery, with whom this writer travelled from Bengál to Massípatan, assured him that he was no longer in being; although he did not chuse to give a detail of the circumstances that attended his death.

After this action, Soltān Sujāh's whole family was put in prison at Rakān, from whence, however, they were soon released, and the king married the sultān's eldest daughter. Some of Soltān Banka's domestics, in conjunction with several of the Mohammedans, formed a second plot like the first; but, on the day appointed for putting it in execution, one of the conspirators, who was

*The king's
treachery.*

*Soltān Su-
jah slain;*

*his family
destroyed.*

half

half drunk, beginning to act before the time, blasted the whole design. The king was at length so exasperated against the unfortunate family of Sujâh, that he commanded it should be extirpated. Soltân Banka and his brothers were beheaded, and the women were confined between stone walls, where they were starved to death. Not one escaped the slaughter, excepting that daughter whom the king had made his wife⁹.

Occurrences from the End of the Civil Wars, to the Death of Shâh Jehân.

THE civil wars of Hindûstân being ended, the Usbek Tatars sent ambassadors to Aureng Zib, to offer their service, and congratulate him upon the happy commencement of his reign. Aureng Zib was too judicious not to see, that, the war being at an end, this offer was out of season; and that it was nothing but fear, or the hope of obtaining some considerable present, which had brought these ambassadors: nevertheless, he received them honourably at their first audience, and ordered a serapah, or complete habit, to be given to each.

*Ambassa-
dors arrive
from Great
Bukhâria.*

Their presents consisted of lapis lazuli, camels, horses, and some loads of fresh and preserved fruits; as apples, pears, grapes, and melons; prunes of Bokhâra, apricots, raisins without stones, and two other sorts, both black and white, very large and very good. Aureng Zib expressed much satisfaction at the presents; and, in dismissing them, intimated, that he should be glad to see them often. They were extremely covetous and nasty, laid up the money allowed for their maintenance, and lived a miserable life, very unworthy of ambassadors; yet they were dismissed with great honour and rich presents, after they had stayed above four months¹⁰.

Before their departure, Aureng Zib fell dangerously ill *Aureng Zib
falls sick.* of a violent fever, which sometimes deprived him of his understanding. His tongue was seized with such a palsey, that he almost lost his speech, and the physicians despaired of his recovery; so that for some time it was believed he was dead, and that his sister Raušn Ray Begum concealed his death. It was already hinted, that the râjah Jeffom Seyn, governor of Guzerât, was on the way to deliver Shâh Jehân; that Mohabet Khân, who had at length obeyed the orders of Aureng Zib, was advanced

⁹ Bernier, *ubi supra*, p. 251. 258. ¹⁰ Ibid, p. 1, & seqq.

from Kâbul to Lahûr with three or four thousand horse, for the same end ; and that the eunuch Atbar Khân, who guarded the deposed monarch, would have the honour of his deliverance. At the same time interest was making for the succession. On one side, Soltân Mauzm, by bribes and promises, laboured to gain the omrâs ; and even went one night disguised to râjah Jefsey, intreating him, in the most respectful manner, to engage in his behalf. On the other hand, Raushn Ray Begum, with Teday Khân, and many omrâs, declared for the young prince Soltân Akber, though but seven or eight years old. Both parties pretended their design was only to release Shâh Jehân ; an event which the people every moment expected, although none of them had any such thing in their thoughts : nor indeed had any of them reason to wish for his restoration.

His great resolution.

All this time Aureng Zib gave orders in all affairs ; and although he advised Soltân Mauzm to open the gates to shâh Jehân, in case he should die, yet he took care that Atbar Khân should be incessantly written to, in order to keep a strict watch over his father. On the fifth day, in the height of his sickness, he was carried into the assembly of the omrâs. The same step was taken on the seventh, ninth, and tenth days of his illnes. On the thirteenth, after a swooning fit, which occasioned a rumour through the whole city that he was dead, he sent for two or three of the chief omrâs, and the Râjah Jefsey, to let them see that he was alive ; and being raised up in his bed, called for ink and paper to write to Atbar Khân : he likewise sent for the great seal from his sister, fearing she had already made use of it to serve her own designs^s. This sickness was imputed to abstemious living ; for at the time that Aureng Zib ascended the throne he would not eat any wheaten bread, nor meat, nor flesh : but fed on barley bread, herbs, and sweetmeats, by way of penance for his crimes ; so that he became very feeble, thin, and meagre.

Fondness for Soltân Akber.

As soon as he had recovered his health, he endeavoured to prevail upon his father Shâh Jehân, to consent to a match betwixt Begum Sâheb the daughter of Dara, and his third son Soltân Akber, whom he designed for his successor on the throne ; but the young prince threatened to kill herself, rather than marry the son of him who had murdered her father. He had no better success with Shâh

^s Bernier, ubi supra, p. 14, & seqq.

Jehân, in his application for certain jewels, to finish an addition which he had made to the throne ; the deposed emperor threatened to beat them to dust, rather than deliver them for that use. However, at length, he obtained both his requests, by the kind treatment and great respect which he paid his father.

For although Aureng Zîb caused Shâh Jehân to be *Respect for guarded with the utmost vigilance, yet he left him in his father.* his old apartment with Regum Saheb, and his other women. He allowed him also his singers, dancers, and cooks, with certain mollahs to read the Korân to him ; for he was become very devout. He had likewise, as formerly, the diversion of seeing beasts fight, and other shews. But what softened him most was the obliging letters, full of respect and submission, which Aureng Zîb often wrote to him ; consulting him as an oracle, and expressing the utmost deference to his opinion. He was likewise incessantly sending him some valuable present : all these arts so gained on his father, that he answered his letters, and sent him some of the jewels, which he had before refused. He even consented that the daughter of Dara should be delivered to him ; in short, he granted him at length that pardon and paternal blessing which he had so often refused.

The Dutch, to gain credit themselves in the country, *Dutch em- and intimidate the governors of the sea-ports, resolved to bâsji.* send an ambassador to Aureng Zib. They pitched on Mr. Adrican, chief of the factory at Surât, a person of integrity and strong sense. Although Aureng Zib seemed to despise the Franghis, or Christians, yet he received him with honour ; bestowing embroidered scapahs on him, and some of his train. At his last audience, he gave him a very rich suit for the general of Batavia ; with a poniard adorned with jewels. The presents of the Dutch consisted of scarlet cloth, looking-glasses, with Chinese and Japan curiosities ; among which was a paleki, and a takt-ravan, or field-throne, of admirable workmanship.

After the Dutch embassy, several others arrived from the sharif of Mecca, the king of Yamman, or Happy Arabia, the prince of Barah, and the king of Habash or Ethiopia. To the three first no great regard was paid, their appearance and equipage being miserable ; they in all appearance came to get presents, and sell their merchandize, under pretence of being ambassadors. The Ethiopians fared better, though they deserved it as little. They were ordinary merchants, with a wretched retinue, and

*One from
Habash.*

mean presents ; consisting of twenty-five slaves, nine or ten of them very young, to be made eunuchs ; twelve horses, a mule beautifully streaked and speckled, two huge elephant's teeth, and a very large ox-horn, full of civet. As Sevaji sacked Surât just after their landing, they lost the little which they brought for their subsistence, and were obliged to beg provision of the governor, who also sent them up to Dehli ; where their half-naked train passed for beggars. Yet they were admitted to audience by Aureng Zîb ; who honoured them with serapahs, gave them money for themselves, and a rich present for their sovereign. They engaged to employ their interest with the king for rebuilding a mosque ; and requested a Korân, and some other religious books, in their master's name ; a very strange request from a Christian king ¹.

*A Persian
ambassador.*

Finally an ambassador arriving from Persia, was received with great respect ; and delivered his letters into Aureng Zib's own hands. The presents were very rich, and acceptable to the Great Mogol ; who ordered the ambassador considerable donatives, and assigned him a place among his chief omrâs. Notwithstanding all these tokens of honour, the Persian omrâs, at the Great Mogol's court, asserted, that their king had reproached him in his letters with the death of Dara, and imprisonment of Shâh Jehân, as actions unworthy of a brother, a son, and a Musulman. In all probability there was some offensive expression in those letters ; or else the ambassador must have by some means displeased Aureng Zib ; because two or three days after he had dismissed him, he caused a report to be spread, that the ambassador had ordered the hamstrings of the presented horses to be cut ; and before he left the frontiers, he forced him to return all the Indian slaves, whom he carried along with him, amounting to a prodigious number.

*Amîr
Jemla re-
warded.*

After Amîr Jemla had driven Soltân Sujâh out of Bengâl, he sent to intreat leave of Aureng Zib to remove his family into this province, that he might end his days in the company of his wife and children, but Aureng Zib was apprehensive, if he had his son with him, that he might aspire to the crown, or at least make himself independent in Bengâl, where he had then a strong army at his devotion. At the same time considering that it might be dangerous to disoblige him, he sent to him his wife, and all the children of his son ; created the Amîr himself a mîro'l omra, which

is the greatest degree of honour that a favourite can be raised to ; and made Mohammed Amîr Khân the great bakhshis, an officer equivalent to our master of the horse. The amîr perceiving Aureng Zib's dexterity, thought it best to rest content with the honours he had received ; and, at the same time, to be always on his guard against the secret practices of the emperor.

Thus matters stood between them for near a year ; when Aureng Zib, well knowing that a great captain cannot be long at rest, proposed to Amîr Jemla to make war on the rich and potent râjah of Asem, whose territories are situated to the north of Dâkka, upon the gulf of Bengâl^a.

Asem is one of the finest countries in Asia ; for, besides all sorts of provisions, it produces mines of gold, silver, steel, lead, and iron. It affords plenty of coarse silk, and gum lak of both kinds. All the necessaries of life are here in abundance, but dog's flesh is in most esteem, and the greatest delicacy at feasts. Although there are abundance of vines, the inhabitants never think of wine, but dry the grapes to makes their aqua vitæ. They have no salt, but what they extract from the ashes of the leaves of trees, especially that called Adam's fig-tree ; of which also they make a lye for washing their silk, which thereby becomes as white as snow.

The king requires no subsidies of his subjects ; his revenues arising out of the mines, which are his property, and wrought by slaves. The people live at their ease, have each four wives, and commonly an elephant to carry them. They have good complexions, only the more southerly they live, the more swarthy ; but the women are flat-nosed. In the south they go naked, excepting a cloth to cover their nakedness, and a blue cap hung about with swine's teeth. They wear gold in their ears, and bracelets of coral, amber, and shells, which, at the burial of friends, they fling into their graves^b.

But to return to the war : Amîr Jemla approved of the expedition. He embarked at Dâkka with a powerful army, upon a river which comes from those parts ; and having proceeded about a hundred leagues north-east, arrived at Azo, a castle which the râjah had many years before wrested from the kingdom of Bengâl. This place he re-took in a fortnight ; and, after a march of twenty-six days northwards, over land, arrived at Shamdâra, where a

*Inva.
Assem.*

*The country
described.*

*The inha-
bitants.*

Azo taken.

^a Bernier, p. 107, & seqq.

^b Ibid. Trav. Ind. chap. 17.

battle was fought, in which the rājah being worsted, retreated to Gherghon, his capital, four miles from the field of action.

The capital plundered. The Amîr pursued him so closely, that he had no time to fortify himself; therefore was obliged to fly towards the mountains of the kingdom of Lâssa, and abandon Gherghon, which was pillaged as well as Shamdâra. They found vast riches in that city, which was large and well built. Meanwhile, the rainy season arriving sooner than usual, laid the country under water, and the rājah's people having carried away all the provisions of the fields, the Amîr's army was greatly distressed, without being able either to advance or retreat. These inconveniences obliged the general to abandon his design, and when the rains were over, to return; after suffering extremely from the bad roads, want of victuals, and the pursuit of the rājahs. He designed, however, to renew his attempt the next year; but at Azo, where the flux began to rage in his army, he fell sick and died. On this occasion, those who knew the state of affairs, said, "It is this day that Aureng Zib is king of Bengál;" and he himself said publicly to Mohammed Amîr Khan, "You have lost your father, and I the greatest and most dangerous friend I had." However, he careffed this son, and acted towards him with great generosity. He confirmed him in his post of great bakhshis, augmented his pension to a thousand rupîs a month, and left him heir of all the amîr's estate, which, by the custom of the country, fell to the emperor.

Amîr Jemla dies.
Expedition against the Portuguese pirates;

The government of Bengál, and command of the army in that country, with the title of mîr'ol omra, which Amîr Jemla possessed, the king gave to his own uncle, Shâh Hest Khân, who had so much contributed to his advancement. This lord was first made by him governor of Agra, when he left that city to meet Soltân Sujâh at Kajowh, and afterwards governor of Dekan. As soon as Shâh Hest Khân was settled in Bengál, he resolved to deliver the country from the Portuguese pirates, and then attack the king of Rakan, according to the order of Aureng Zib; who determined to be revenged on that prince for his cruelty toward Soltân Sujâh, and all his family.

The kingdom of Rakan had been long the refuge of all the runaway Portuguese from Goa, Kochîn, Malakka, and other places in the Indies. They consisted chiefly of malefactors, and were, indeed, the most execrable ruf-

^c Bernier, ubi supra, p. 11, & seqq. 131.

fians in the whole world. The king of Rakan kept them to guard his frontiers against the Mogol, in the port called Chategon, which he had taken from Bengâl, giving them lands, and liberty to live as they pleased. Their usual occupation was robbery and piracy ; they not only scour'd the sea-coasts, but entered the rivers, especially the channels of the Ganges. Penetrating forty or fifty leagues up the country, they pillaged and burned defenceless towns and villages, and carried away the people into captivity. In a word, they filled all the maritime parts of Bengâl with rape, robbery, murder, and desolation.

Their depredations were so great, that they for many years obliged the Great Mogol to garrison the passes everywhere, and keep a militia on foot at land, as well as a fleet of galleasses at sea, to oppose their incursions : but they only laughed at the Mogol soldiery, and were become so daring at sea, that four or five of their galleasses would at any time attack fifteen of the Mogol vessels, which they generally took or destroyed ⁴.

This was the condition of the pirates, when Shâh Hest Khân entered upon the government of Bengâl ; knowing that it was impracticable to pass any forces, either horse or foot, from Bengâl to Rakan, on account of the many canals and rivers upon the frontiers ; considering also, that those pirates would hinder him from transporting his army by sea, he resolved to engage the Dutch in his design ; and for that purpose sent an officer to Batavia, to persuade the general to join with him in subduing the kingdom of Rakan. The general of Batavia, judging this a proper occasion to destroy the Portuguese power in the Indies, and enlarge their own, dispatched two men of war for Bengâl, to favour the transportation of the Mogol troops ; but before they arrived, Shâh Hest Khân, having equipped a great number of galleasses, and large vessels, for the same service, sent to acquaint the pirates with his design upon Rakan ; promising, in case they abandoned the service of the king, and took part with Aureng Zib, that he would distribute among them as much land in Bengâl as they desired, and give them double the pay which they then enjoyed. On the other hand, he threatened, in case they refused his offers, to extirpate them root and branch.

The pirates, whether for fear of the Mogol general, or the king of Rakan, one of whose officers they had about that time assassinated, were one day struck with such a

*Pirates re-
volt to
Shâh Hest
Khân.*

⁴ Bernier, p. 118, & seqq.

panic, that they shipped themselves, all at once, in forty or fifty of their galleasses, with the utmost precipitation, and sailed over to Bengál. Shâh Hest Khân received them with open arms; then, without letting them cool, carried them with him to attack the island of Sundiva, which had fallen into the hands of the king of Rakan, and afterwards Chatigon, both which he took. About the same time the two Dutch ships arrived: but Shâh Hest Khân, imagining that he should now be able to compass his design without their assistance, amused with thanks and compliments the captains of those vessels, who were not well pleased at being so duped. As to the pirates, when he had served his purposes with them, he neglected to perform the large promises he made: knowing that they were in his power, and unable to help themselves, he left them whole months without pay, considering them as traitors and infamous banditti, to be used at discretion.

Aureng Zîb was very jealous of his children. He sent his eldest son Soltân Mâhmûd, to Gwaliyar; nor was he well satisfied for a time, with his second son, Soltân Mauzm, who afterwards ascended the throne; although he always was a pattern of moderation. Whether it was to try his courage, or that he thought him too forward in making a party in his late sickness, he one day, in a full assembly, ordered him to go and attack a lion, which, descending from the mountains, had made great havock in the plains; and when the master of the hunt called for those large and strong nets used in this dangerous sport, the king told him, that when he was prince, he did not look for such formalities. It was Mauzm's good fortune to succeed in this enterprize, without losing more than two or three men, and having a few horses wounded; altho' he was in some danger from the ferocity of the wounded lion, which sprung up as high as the head of his elephant. Aureng Zîb afterwards expressed much affection for him, and gave him the government of Dekan; but abridged his appointments in such a manner, that he had nothing to fear from his power and ambition.

It has been already observed, that Mohabet Khân had been received into favour by Aureng Zib. This prince unwilling, as he said, to lose so brave a commander, and one who had stuck so close to his benefactor Shâh Jehân, not only pardoned him, but removed him from the government of Kâbul to that of Guzerât, in place of Jessom Seyn, whom he sent to prosecute the war in Dekan.

However,

Soltân
Mauzm's
exploits.

Great of-
ficers ad-
vanced.

However, this favour of Aureng Zib was probably owing to some considerable presents which the Khan made to Rushn Ray Begum.

*Siege of
Kandahar.*

Aureng Zib, being now disengaged from foreign broils, began to think of recovering Kandahar, which has of late ages been the subject of ruinous wars. Akber took it from the Persians; and Shâh Abbas I. recovered it from his son, Jehân Ghîr: afterwards it returned to Shâh Jehân, by means of the governor Ali Merdân Khan, who, to avoid the malice of his enemies, surrendered it to him, and went to live at his court. The city was besieged, and retaken afterwards, by the son of Shâh Abbas, from the same prince, who twice attempted to regain it, but without success. The first time it escaped, through the misunderstanding among the Persian omrâs, at the court of the Great Mogol; for they behaved very remissly, and would not follow Râjah Rowp, who had already planted his standard on the wall towards the mountain. The second time it was saved by the jealousy of Aureng Zib himself, who commanded at the siege; for after a large breach had been made in the wall by the cannon, which was served by English, Portuguese, Germans, and French, he would not enter it; that it might not be said to have been taken in the time of his brother Dara, who first proposed the siege, and was then at Kâbul, with his father Shâh Jehân.

He now resolved to make a new trial, urged either by the offensive letters of the king of Persia, relating to his proceedings against his father and brothers, or by the ill treatment given by that monarch to his ambassador, Taibet Khan.

*Mogol
ambassa-
dor
insulted
Persia.*

Some months before the death of Shâh Jehân, Aureng Zib sent an ambassador into Persia, who was magnificently received and caressed for a month: but on the day when he delivered the presents, the king divided them among the officers of his house, only keeping one diamond, which weighed sixty carats. In a few days after this audience, Shâh Abbas sent for the ambassador, who, having dropped some expressions against Ali, his majesty asked him what his name was? he answered, that Shâh Jehân had given him that of Baubeck Khan; that is, *Lord of a free Heart*, and honoured him with one of the chief employments at court. "Then thou art a villain, replied the king, with an angry countenance, to desert thy sovereign in his necessity, after thou hast received so many favours from him, to serve a tyrant, who keeps his father

father in prison, and has murdered all his brothers. How dares he take upon him the title of Alem Ghîr, or, *Conqueror of all the world*, who never conquered any thing; but possessed all he has by treachery and parricide? Hast thou been one of those who counselled him to shed so much blood, to be the executioner of his brothers, and to keep his father in prison? Thou art not worthy to wear a beard:" so saying, he commanded him to be shaved on the spot, the greatest indignity that can be offered in that country. He afterwards dismissed the ambassador, with a present to Aureng Zîb, consisting of one hundred and fifty beautiful horses, with a great quantity of gold and silver carpets, and other stuff, to an immense value. But when Baubeck Khân had given his master an account of the king of Persia's behaviour, Aureng Zîb sent the horses into several parts of the city, and caused proclamation to be made, that the followers of Ali could not ride those horses, without being unclean, as coming from a king who did not obey the true law. He then ordered them to be killed, and the rest of the presents to be burnt; uttering, at the same time, many reproachful words against the king of Persia ^f.

Shâh Je-hân dies.

After Aureng Zîb had sat on the throne near seven years, his father, Shâh Jehân, died, on Sunday the 21st of January, 1666, in the castle of Agra, aged seventy-four solar years. Aureng Zîb was exceedingly affected at this event: he immediately set out from Dehli for Agra, where every thing was prepared for his reception by Begum Sâheb, who, at his entrance into the harâm, presented him with a great golden bason, wherein were all her jewels, as well as those of Shâh Jehân. In short, she received him in so magnificent a manner, and entertained him with so much cordiality, that she not only obtained his pardon, but also gained his favour, and even his confidence. He took her along with him, in his return to Jehân-abâd, or Dehli: but she did not long survive this reconciliation; and every body suspected that she had been taken off by poison ^g.

Conquests, and other Transactions, to the Death of Aureng Zib.

WE meet with very little in books, relating to the reign of Aureng Zîb, after the death of Shâh Jehân, in

^f Tavernier, Trav. part ii. lib. 2. c. 7. ^g Fraser, Hist. Nadir Shâh, p. 25. Bernier, p. 174.

1666; where Bernier closes his history. We are assured, that there is no history extant, but of the first thirteen years of that monarch's reign, he having forbidden, under severe penalties, any account of his actions from that time to be written, during his life. All therefore we can do, is to collect the few scattered passages to be found in travellers, to supply, in some measure, this deficiency.

About the year 1678 Rājah Jesson Seyn, who had been instrumental in raising Aureng Zīb to the throne, dying, that monarch demanded of his widow the treasure and territory belonging to her late husband: but she replied, that she had no money, but plenty of swords. This attack upon the rānna or princefs, brought all the Hindūs into a confederacy with her: besides, Mohammed Amīr Khān, governor of Guzerāt, son of Amīr Jemla, and her relation, was employed in making parties for advancing to the throne one of the sons of Aureng Zīb, who was thus engaged on all sides in wars. Seva ji moved towards Surāt, while a neighbouring rājah marched against Brāmpūr, whose governor the Great Mogol had sent for to join him with his troops. In 1679, Aureng Zīb made great preparations to attack the Rajapūts, who had revolted; but was for some time prevented by the rains, which were so heavy, that the tops of the trees, near Suriāt, were under water. However, as soon as they ceased, that monarch left Jehān-abād or Dehli, with ten thousand men, to chastise the rebels. Mean while his eldest son, Soltān Mahmūd, advanced to Brāmpūr, with a formidable army.

In the midst of these distractions, the famous Seva ji A.D. 1680. died.

Aureng Zīb, jealous of his eldest son, sent him to the Jowalar, or post (F). He likewise recalled his second and third sons, Soltān Azem from his government of Bengal, and Soltān Mauzīm from Aureng-abād: but, fearing to trust themselves in his power, they refused to resign them, and repair to court. This disobedience to his commands their father was then obliged to take no farther notice of, as he had been out twice this year with a numerous army against the Raspūts; who, retiring into the mountains, so harassed the Mogols, that the king

(F) Perhaps it should be to Gwaliyār, to drink the powst, or stupefying draught.

was

was forced to return without being able to bring them to battle ⁹.

The disaffection of his three eldest sons made Aureng Zîb more fond of his youngest, Soltân Akber, whom he intended for his successor; but forbore to nominate him, till he had executed his designs against the Râspûts; whom he intended to extirpate. To weaken the conspirators, he ordered Mohammed Amîr Khân, the governor of Guzerât, to join him. This lord, who was originally a Hindû, inclined to favour the râんな, or widow of Jessen Sing (A); and finding that the Mogol generals drew from her great sums of money, under pretence of sending it to court to make her peace with the emperor, yet at the same time took Cheytûr, the capital city, by surprize, he acquainted Aureng Zîb with their rebellious practices. He likewise informed him, that Kâbul Khân, who was of his privy-council, held correspondence with Soltân Mauzm in Dekan: but at the same time advised him to remit his severities against the Hindûs; alleging, that otherwise a general defection of them was to be apprehended.

The Pagans destroyed.

This advice Aureng Zîb did not relish: but, having, soon after seized letters from Kâbul Khân to Soltân Mauzm, urging him to begin a rebellion while his father was in Azmîr, at war with the râんな, he found it was best for the present to take it; and ordered the treacherous Khân to be thrown headlong from a steep rock, as a reward for his perfidy. Although the emperor was with-held from his design of reformation among his Hindû subjects, yet he gave orders to demolish all the temples and images in Azmîr and the country of Jessen Sing, which his army had subdued. In this devastation Cheytûr suffered most; its magnificent marble structures being levelled with the ground. This city, which is impregnable by its situation, could never have been taken by force: but the râんな, relying on the promises of the Mogol generals, neglected to provide the place with either men or ammunition; so that they who were in it on the enemy's approach, finding themselves unable to oppose them, retreated into the mountains, and left this fortress open to their arms. After this reduction, whatever the cause was, the Mogol forces were withdrawn in the

⁹ Fryer's Trav. p. 412, & seqq.

(A) Or Jessom Seyn.

midst

midst of their career against the infidels; and commissioners left behind with very friendly offers towards an accommodation: circumstances which gave room to conjecture, that Aureng Zib was smitten with the rajah's widow, who was a very beautiful lady'.

The next thing of consequence which we meet with in this reign, is the rebellion of his favourite son Soltân Akber; who, we are told, was more ambitious than all the rest. This prince was sent with an army of thirty thousand men to make war on the rajah Lísonte, whose country borders on the kingdom of Azmîr; but instead of subduing, he was prevailed on to join him: after which junction, they both marched with their forces, consisting of seventy thousand horse, and a competent number of foot, most of them Râjpûts, and entered Azmîr, where his father then was encamped. Here, whilst the prince refreshed his army, much fatigued with the long march, the crafty old man, not having force sufficient to oppose him, had recourse to stratagem: he therefore wrote letters, directed to his son, in which he commended his conduct in drawing the idolaters to that place to be cut off; and promised to advance the next day, and put that design in execution. This letter he sent by a trusty eunuch into the enemy's camp, with orders to behave so, that he might be seized as a spy, and the letter intercepted. The artifice had the desired effect: for although Akber swore on the Korân that it was a contrivance of his father's to divide them, the Hindû chiefs would never believe him. These jealousies kept them so long employed, that Aureng Zib had time to call to his assistance Shâh Alem, with a powerful army; who defeated both the rajah and Akber.

After this discomfiture, Akber put himself, with four thousand horse, under the protection of Râjah Samba: *flies to Persia.* but Aureng Zib attacked him so vigorously, that at length he took him prisoner, and caused his head to cut off, for having uttered some indecent expressions in his presence. This rajah's ruin was owing to his drunkenness; for, though the centinels twice gave him notice, while he was drinking in his tent with his women dancers, that the Mogol army was advancing, instead of beating to arms, he ordered their heads to be cut off; saying, "the enemy would not dare to come where he was." His son,

¹ Fryer's Trav. p. 416, & seqq.

escaped

A.D. 1634.

Soltân
Akber re-
bels;

escaped with one thousand horse, leaving his father behind ; who soon suffered for his folly and intemperance.

As for Akber, he escaped to Goa, and from thence was conveyed to Ormûz. Notice of his arrival being sent to Shâh Solymân, this prince invited him to Ispâhân, and allowed him a pension suitable to his quality. Aureng Zîb tried several arts to draw him out of Persia ; but Akber was too wise to trust him. He likewise made war on Sevaji (B), for assisting that prince ; and, besieged him in his capital, called Jinji, a place seated amidst seven mountains, which could be relieved in spite of the Mogols, who lay before them with sixty thousand horse and foot, to little purpose. When Gemelli left India, the siege had lasted seven years ^{*}.

English
at Bombay
make war,
and submit.

In 1688, Sir John Child, governor of Bombay, pretending grievances, delivered articles to the governor of Surât, and, not meeting with the redress which he expected, resolved to indemnify himself by taking the India merchant ships. In January 1689, he left Surât, and in his way to Bombay seized a fleet of vessels, carrying corn to an army of the Great Mogol, which lay at Dunder Râjah-pûr, fourteen leagues to the southward. Sedi Yakûp, the general, sent twice to the governor, in a very civil manner, to desire that he would discharge his fleet : but Sir John returning an insolent answer, Sedi Yakûp, on February 14th, landed twenty thousand men, and soon reduced the whole island, excepting the fort ; which he attacked with great vigour. In December, the governor sent two deputies to Jehân-abâd, to beg pardon of Aureng Zîb, and desire a new firmân ; which, in June 1690, was granted, on condition that the governor should leave India in nine months, and satisfaction be made to his subjects, for debts due, and damages received. This was an argument of that monarch's pacific and forgiving disposition, as his granting a firmân to Mr. Boucher, an English merchant, to secure him against the implacable malice and wicked persecution of the governor, was a proof of his justice and humanity. He afterwards received a new insult from captain Avery, an English pi-

^{*} Gemelli Trav. ap. Churchill's Collect. vol. iv. p. 232,

(B) If this was so, Akber's revolt could be neither in 1684 nor 1680 ; for Sevaji died in June this last year, and Akber was in favour at Jehân-abâd. There must be some mistake either in the râjahs, or their names.

rate, who took and plundered a great ship of his, called the Gunsway; on which occasion captain Hamilton, and Mr. Vauz, judge of Bombay, were made prisoners at Surât, in 1696^t.

We wish it had been in our power to indulge the reader with a detail of the conquest of the two kingdoms of Viziapûr and Golkonda, which were subdued in this reign; but of these great events authors barely make mention, without so much as marking the year wherein they happened.

Aureng Zib died at Ahmednâgar, in the province of Dowlet-abâd, on the 21st of February, 1707, after he had lived ninety lunar years, fourteen days, and reigned about fifty. He left a short will, in which he recommended the division which he had formerly made of his dominions to his sons, as the way to prevent bloodshed. He told them, that whoever settled in Agra might have that province, with Dekkan, Mâlva, and Guzerât; and that he who resided at Debli might have Kâbûl, and the other provinces: but assigned neither part to any of them; only he ordered all his servants to be faithful to Mohammed Azem Shâh, his third son, who was then with him; and recommended to such of his fortunate children as should chance to rule the empire, not to molest Mohammed Kam Bukhsî, his youngest son, in case he rested content with the two new sâbahs, or governments, meaning those of Vijapûr and Hayder-abad, or Golkonda, which were lately conquered. He likewise ordered, that he should be buried in the place of Shâh Zeyno'ddin, a darwîsh, reputed holy, near the city where he died, without any pomp; and that only a tomb should be made for his corpse, after the manner of the darwishes, which is plain, and without any ornament (F). As this prince was very zealous for Mohammedism, those of that religion make a great merit of visiting his tomb, especially on the 28th of the month Zilkaadeh, which was the day of his decease^u.

Gemelli, who, in 1695, made a journey from Goa to the camp of Aureng Zib, then at Galgala in Vizia-

^t Hamilton's New Account East Indies, vol. i. p. 200, 218, & seqq.

^u Fraser, ubi supra, p. 33, & seqq.

(F) He left by his will one thousand rupis, or one hundred and twenty-five pounds, to be distributed among the poor, at his funeral.

pûr, and had an audience of him, gives the following account of his person : he was of a low stature, with a large nose ; slender, and stooping with age. He walked leaning on a staff, yet endorsed petitions without spectacles ; and, by his chearful countenance, seemed pleased with doing business in the public audience. His beard was white, and his complexion olive-coloured ^u.

Aureng Zib laboured to gain the reputation of being a strict observer of the Korân, and a lover of justice. He had so disposed of his time, that he could scarce ever be said to be idle. Some days in the week he bathed before sun-rise : then, having prayed, he broke his fast. He afterwards spent two hours with his secretaries, and then gave public audience before noon. He went to prayers again ; dined, and gave audience a second time. Then followed the third and fourth time of prayer. He was next employed in the affairs of his family till two hours after it was dark : then he supped, and slept only two hours : after which short repose, he took the Korân, and read till break of day.

His mildness : After Aureng Zib had prescribed to himself this sort of life, he ceased to be bloody ; and grew so mild, that the governors and omrâs, depending on his clemency, neglected to pay him due obedience. Hence the poor became oppressed by the great : for the king, when advised to be less merciful to those who transgressed his commands, answered, that Heaven would punish them. The generality imputed this forbearance to his sanctity ; but, in all probability, he connived at the faults of his ministers to attach them to him, and make them averse to a change.

He did not, when young, give himself up to sensual pleasures ; keeping a numerous harâm of women for ostentation rather than use. Nor was his table maintained out of the revenue of the crown. He said, the food was not good which cost the sweat of the subjects ; but that every man ought to work for his living. For this reason he made caps, which he sent in presents to his governors ; who, in return for the honour, remitted him rupîs. His decrepid age having rendered him unable to work, he had reserved the revenue of four cities for his table. His expences were but small ; for his vest did not cost about eight rupîs, or twenty shillings. He left in his private treasury fifty-seven thousand three hund-

^u Gemelli, ubi sup. p. 222.

red and eighty-two rupis, or seven thousand one hundred and seventy-two pounds, fifteen shillings, as appears by his will.

Aurenge Zib, when he became emperor, assumed the *His titles.* titles of Mohio'ddîn, that is, the *Reviver of Religion*; and Alem Ghîr, the *Conqueror of the World*^w. Gemelli says, he took the name of Alem Ghîr, in a belief that he possessed three parts in four of the earth. For this reason he carried a golden globe at his ensign, and had it in his seal: he always tore off one corner of the paper he wrote on, to signify that the fourth part of the world was not his.

The revenues of the empire were greatly increased in *Waft re-
venue.* this prince's time: for, excluding Bâlkh, Kandahâr, and Biddukhshân, which Shâh Jehân possessed, and were afterwards lost, the remaining twenty-one provinces, reckoning the two new conquests, yielded a revenue of twelve thousand seventy-one millions eight hundred and seventy-six thousand eight hundred and forty dams, which, at three hundred and twenty dams to a pound sterling, make thirty-seven millions, seven hundred and twenty-four thousand six hundred and fifteen pounds, ten shillings (G).

Aureng Zib had five sons; Soltân Mohammed, or Mahmûd, who was several times confined by his father's order; and once or twice imprisoned in Gwaliyâr; where it is reported by some that he died by drinking the powst.

Soltân
Mohammed.

Moham-
med
Mauzm.

Mohammed Mauzm, or, as Gemelli calls him, Shâh Alem, the second son, by the death of Mahmûd had the right of eldest, and entertained thoughts of destroying his father. With this design he once caused a great trench to be dug near Aureng Zib's tent, that he might fall into it, as he passed along: but, the plot being discovered by an eunuch, Shâh Alem was shut-up in a dark prison; where, though sixty years of age, he remained six years. Yet, on account of his title by birth to the crown many thousand of the soldiers were of his party, even when he was in prison. He was in 1695, when

^w Fraser, ubi supr. p. 29. & seq.

(G) Gemelli makes the revenue eight krors of rupis, every kror containing ten millions: by which account it will amount to one hundred millions. See his Voyage round the World, book ii. ch. 6. ap. Church. Collect. vol. iv. p. 234.

Gemelli saw him, tall and corpulent, with a thick long beard, which began to be grey, being then sixty-five years of age. He succeeded Aureng Zīb.

Mohammed Azem.

Mohammed Azem, or Azem Shāh, third son of Aureng Zīb, also plotted against his father, with the king of Viziapūr, his kinsman, before he was taken, and lost his dominions. Aureng Zīb appointed him his successor; but his brother Shāh Alem deprived him of the crown and life.

Mohammed Akber.

Mohammed Akber, or Soltān Akber, the fourth son, was the prince whom Aureng Zīb loved most, and designed for the throne; but his father's indulgence could not restrain him, more than the rest, from seeking the empire before his death, by rebellion; which has been already related, together with his flight to Persia, from whence he never returned to Hindūstān.

Mohammed Kambuksh.

Aureng Zīb's youngest son was Mohammed Kambuksh. Gemelli, who calls him Sekānder, says, he was about thirty in 1695, and infected with ambition, like the rest of his brothers; for this reason, though after the conquest of Viziapūr the emperor had no enemy left more considerable than Sevaji, 'yet, fearing the designs of his sons, he had kept the field for fifteen years together*.

S E C T. VI.

Containing the Reigns of the Emperors Kothbo'ddin Bahādr Shāh, Jekāndār Shāh, Mohammed Furrukshīr, Rafīya al Derjāl, and Rafīyaal Dowlet.

Reign of Kothbo'ddin Bahādr Shāh.

Mohammed Mauzm gains the crown from his brothers.

UPON Aureng Zīb's death, Mohammed Azem Shāh set out from Dekkan, with his father's troops, towards the capital, to take possession of the empire, according to his father's appointment: but Mohammed Mauzm, as the eldest brother, resolved to dispute the title with him; and therefore, about the same time, departed from Kābul with another army, in order to decide the controversy by a battle. The two princes met with their forces on the banks of the river Chun, near Agra. Mohammed Mauzm had one hundred and fifty thousand horse and one hundred and seventy-eight thousand foot, exclusive of the auxiliaries furnished by the rajahs, and

* Gemelli, ubi supr. p. 220, & seqq. 231, & seqq.

his brother commanded an army very near as numerous. In short, after an obstinate battle, Azem Shâh's forces were defeated, and himself slain. Mohammed Mauzm was therefore proclaimed emperor, and assumed the title of Kothbo'ddin Bahâdr Shâh, and Shâh Alem (B).

This prince at his accession made Mohammed Khân his wazîr; and Assâd Khân absolute agent. Then, leaving this latter to take care of the capital, he marched against his brother Kam Bukhsh, who had left Viziapûr, and settled at Hayder-abâd. There, after some small resistance, he was taken prisoner, and died the same night of the wounds which he had received in the fight.

Bahâdr Shâh, having thus surmounted all obstructions, returned to his metropolis; and from thence went to Lahûr, to suppress some religious riots: shortly after which expedition he died, when he had reigned about six years. This emperor had four sons: Mâuzo'ddîn, called also Jehândâr Shâh; Mohammed Azîm, or Azîm al Shâm; Raffîya al Kadr, or Raffîya al Shân; Khoesta Akhter, or Jehân Shâh.

Soltan Mohammed Azem had two sons; Mohammed Bîjâr Bukht, and Mohammed Wâliâ Jâh.

Soltan Mohammed Kam Bukhsh had one son; Jesdân Bukhsh, called also Rahmân Bukhsh; whose daughter was married to Nasr Allah Mîrzâ, son of Nadir Shâh, or Tahmasp Kûli Khân*.

Reign of Jehândâr Shâh.

On the death of Bahâdr Shâh, Azîm al Shâm assembled a powerful army: to oppose which, and prevent his possessing the empire, his three brothers, Jehândâr Shâh, Raffîya al Shân, and Jehan Shâh, joined their forces. The two armies at length coming to an engagement, Azîm al Shân was defeated and slain. The confederate brothers after this action, could not agree about the partition of the empire; and, during the contest, the treasure of the deceased prince fell into the hands of Zulsekar Khân, who was in Jehândâr Shâh's interest. As this accession of wealth greatly augmented his power, he marched against his two remaining brothers; and having overcome their forces, took and put them both to

*His suc-
cess.*

^a Fraser's Hist. Nadir Shah, p. 39, & seqq.

(B) Or, as it may be now pronounced in the Indies, Shâh Alûm, which signifies *King of the World.*

death. The destruction of his brothers secured the empire to *Jehândâr Shâh*, and *Zulfekar Khân* became his *wazîr*.

*A weak
prince ;
is de-
throned.*

He was a weak prince, and so foolishly fond of one of his wives, named *Lal Koar*, who was of an obscure parentage, and a singer by profession, that he endeavoured to fill the places of greatest trust and honour in the empire with her mean relations. This conduct so disgusted *Seyd Abdallah Khân* and *Seyd Hassân Khân*, two brothers, who were of great authority, and had a choice body of troops at their command, that they resolved to place *Mohammed Furrukhsîr*, son of *Azîm al Shân*, on the throne. This prince, who was then in *Bengâl*, though he had but little treasure, was joined by great numbers, with whom he marched to dethrone the emperor. At first he met and overthrew *Eazo'ddîn*, son of *Jehândâr Shâh*. Then he proceeded against *Jehândâr Shâh* himself; who, through the treachery and cowardice of his troops, was defeated near *Agra*, and obliged to fly, although he had near one hundred thousand horse and foot.

Jehandar Shâh had one son, *Eazo'ddîn*.

Azîm al Shân had one son, *Mohammed Furrukhsîr*.

Rafiya al Shân had three sons; *Rafiya al Derjât*, *Rafiya al Dowlat*, and *Soltân Ibrâhîm*.

Jehan had one son, *Mohammed Shâh*, who was the late emperor of *Hindûstân*^b.

Reign of Mohammed Furrukhsîr.

*The two
brothers*

MOHAMMED Furrukhsîr, son of *Azîm al Shân*, being settled on the throne, *Seyd Abdollah Khân* was made *wazîr*, with the title of *Kothb al Mulluk*, and *Jâr ba wafâ*. *Hassân Ali Khân* was appointed *mîr bukhâshi*, or paymaster-general, with the title of *amîr al omrâ*. As these two brothers usurped the absolute management of all affairs, the emperor found himself in effect only so in name, while these ministers had the whole power in their own hands. *Furrukhsîr*, ill brooking the condition of a nominal sovereign, at length, by the advice of *Khândorân* and *Mîr Jumla*, began to contrive means how to get rid of such assuming subjects. The two brothers, on the other hand, were intent on nothing so much as enriching themselves. They turned out *Nizâm al Mulluk*, son of *Gâzio'ddîn Khân*, from his government of *Dekkan*, and *Hassân Ali Khân* went thither himself. At last, finding that the emperor grew jealous of their power, they

^b *Fraser's Hist. Nadir Shâh*, p. 41, & seqq.

resolved

resolved to dethrone him, and place a more passive prince in his room.

To accomplish their design the more effectually, they endeavoured to draw into their measures Ajit Sang, the Mâha Râjâh; who, although his daughter was married to Furruksîr, joined in the conspiracy. Having seized the emperor's person, they first confined, and shortly after blinded him, by drawing a red-hot wire over his eyes. At length, on the 16th of February, 1719, after having offered him a thousand indignities, they put him to death, when he had reigned seven years. It was in this emperor's time that the English East-India company obtained a firmân (A), exempting them from paying any duties within his dominions ^e.

Reign of Rafiya al Derjât.

THE Seyds, after they had made away with Furruksîr, took Rafiya al Derjât, son of Rafiya al Shân I. out of the castle of Selîmgur, where the royal family are confined, and placed him on the throne. But he had not reigned above three months before they murdered him also; and, sending for his brother, advanced him to the empire.

Reign of Rafiya al Dowlet.

THIS prince was by the assassins proclaimed with the usual solemnity; but in a few days, he died a natural death, and was succeeded by Mohammed Shâh, the son of Jehan Shâh, who assumed the title of Nasro'ddîn, signifying the *Support of Religion* ^f.

S E C T. VII.

The Reign of Nasro'ddin Mohammed Shâh, twelfth Emperor.

Affairs at Court till the Invasion of Nadir Shâh.

THE Seyds, who raised Mohammed to that dignity, allowed him no more of the imperial power than had been enjoyed by his cousin Furruksîr; a circumstance which

^e Fraser's Hist. Nadir Shâh, p. 43, & seqq. ^f Fraser's Hist. Nadir Shâh, p. 54.

(A) It signifies literally an order; but is used for a patent or grant from the emperor. Mr. Fraser has inserted a translation of this firmân, with an explanation of the terms.

made him eagerly wish for an opportunity of making himself independent, and revenge the death of that prince. Nor was he long without accomplishing his desires. In October, 1720, Mohammed Shâh, accompanied by Hassan Ali Khân and several other omrâs, set out from Agra, with a numerous army, under pretence to reduce Nefâm al Muluk, who had grown very powerful in Dekkan. At the end of the first day's march, the emperor as it had been concerted called a diwân, or council; and, after a short stay, withdrew. As soon as he was gone, Mohammed Amîn Khân, Heydr Kûli Khân, master of the ordnance, Khândoran, and several other omrâs, who were most attached to the royal family, drawing their swords, fell on Hassan Ali Khân, and killed him, with two or three of his friends.

Upon this event, Mohammed Shâh laid aside the expedition to Dekkan, and returned towards Dehli, in order to cut off Seyd Abdollah Khân, the other brother, who was in that capital, with a great force. This minister, as soon as he heard of Hassan Ali Khân's murder, took out of prison Soltân Ibrâhîm, son of Râsiya al Shân, and proclaimed him emperor. Having gathered what treasure he could find, and broken to pieces the famous throne, which cost Shâh Jehân eleven millions two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, in order to pay his soldiers, he soon completed an army of fifty thousand horse and advanced to meet the emperor, who had encamped at Serkad, twelve kos from Nhetra. On the second of November, 1720, both armies came to an engagement; and after a bloody battle, Abdollah's forces were not only defeated, but the young Soltân and himself were taken prisoners. The latter was desperately wounded, and the former had no other punishment inflicted on him than being sent back to his old quarters, the castle of Selîmgur^a.

Upon this victory the emperor made great rejoicings; and, appointing Mohammed Amîn Khân wazîr, returned to Dehli. There, Abdollah Khân being brought before him, he said, "Traitor, see what thou hast done." The other answered, "I took you out of prison, and gave you an empire. As I was at the head of an army when my brother was murdered by your order, self-preservation directed me to make use of it. Providence decreed you the victory; use it as you think proper." Then the emperor asking him, what harm had Furrukhshîr done

^a Fraser, ubi. supr. p. 54, & seqq.

the other
taken;

but is
spared,

him? his reply was, that he grew jealous of his and his brother's power; and that, as it was inconsistent with their interest to resign it into his hands, they thought it dangerous to lose any time in removing him. He added, that if Providence had permitted them to continue acting with the same prudence, they should not have come to such a tragical end. The emperor then ordered him to be confined, and four servants were appointed to attend him.

His clemency to this usurper extended still farther; for *and well treated.* Furrukhshîr's mother having desired that the murderer of her son might be delivered to her, he sent her word, that it was unlawful to put two persons to death for the murder of one, and that Hassân al Khân had been killed in retaliation. He then ordered, that Abdo'llah Khân should lodge in the palace of Afaf al Dowlet, have a pension of three thousand rupîs monthly, thirty household servants, with provisions of all kinds from the royal kitchen; five women to attend him, and proper guards. But the Khân did not live long to enjoy this generous allowance; for he died in a few months, of his wounds. Forty-five women, most of them his wives and concubines, and some his near relations, burned (B) themselves in one room, the night after his decease.

In the year 1721-2, the emperor wrote to *Nizâm al Molk* Nezâm al Muluk, then in Dekkan; desiring him to repair to court, and take on him the office of wazîr. But this lord declined that post, under pretence that he was not equal to it; upon which it was conferred on Mohammed Amîn Khân, and after his death on Kamro'ddîn Khân, his son; who still enjoyed it in 1741. Nezâm continued in Dekkan, as subahdâr of Vijapûr, Heydr-abâd, Aureng abâd, and other provinces, yet made no remittances to court; but appropriated the revenues to maintain an army, which he said was to keep in awe the Mâharâttas, or Ganims,

(B) In ancient times, none but the wives of the Bramins had the privilege of burning themselves: but, since the government passed from them to the Râjpûts, it is customary, when any of their princes die, for one or more of his wives to be burned with him; but there ~~is~~ ^{is no} compulsion in the case.

Lately the Seyd and Pâtan families, in several parts of India, have, through excessive pride, adopted the custom: and as it is strictly forbidden by their religion, which is the Mohammedan, they do it privately, by setting an apartment on fire about their ears. *Fraser.*

the Sahow Râjah's subjects, in Dekkan ; whom, notwithstanding, he permitted to ravage several of the king's provinces. They imposed a tribute of one fourth of the revenues, which they call chot, in many places, and some parts they have taken entirely to themselves. He well knew, that, with the assistance of the Mâharâttas, he could defy any attempts which might be made against him by the court ^c.

As the affairs of the empire daily declined, through the indolence of the wazîr, Mohammed Shâh resolved to send again for Nezâm al Muluk, who had been one of Aureng Zîb's old amîrs, and was a person of great experience. Accordingly, orders being issued out for his appearance at Dehli, he left his son Gâxio'ddîn Khân to command in Dekkan, and repaired to court. There he met with a gracious reception from the emperor ; who made him absolute agent, which is greater than wazîr, and honoured him with the title of Asof Jah (E). But as Mohammed Shâh was intirely governed by Khândorân, the pay-master-general, and Nezâm wanted to re-establish affairs, as they were settled in Aureng Zîb's time, whatever he required on that score was opposed and laughed at by the omrâs. As he perceived the weakness of the emperor, and the dissolute effeminacy of the courtiers, who spent their time in the company of loose women and buffoons, he told his majesty the affairs of his province required his presence, and left the court.

On his arrival in Dekkan, resolving to rouze the emperor and those about him out of their indolence, he encouraged Râjah Sahow to send his general, Bajiraw, to ravage the empire. The Mâharâttas soon over-ran the province of Mâlva, killed the governor Guérdir Bahâdr, and, seizing all his riches, returned to Dekkan. As the court took no notice of these inroads, next year they entered Guzerât, and plundered the inhabitants, although they agreed to pay a quarter part of the revenue. From thence they went and harassed the country round Gwaliyâr ; which being near the capital, the court was alarmed, and Kâhndorân, Kamro'ddîn Khân, and other omrâs, were sent with a powerful army to chastise them ; but these great officers, judging peace the safest measure,

^c Fraser, ubi supra, p. 57, & seqq.

(E) That is, in place and rank as Asof ; who they say was Solomon's wazîr. Fraser.

agreed to pay the chot, or quarter part, and returned home. Notwithstanding this agreement, when the money was paid, the Mâharâttas not only plundered the redeemed places, but resolved to proceed as far as Agra, there to receive the chot for Dehli. This motion obliged the above mentioned officers to march back to Agra; but, a little before they arrived, the enemy had crossed the river Jenina, with an intent to enter Awdih^f.

Saadit Khân, governor of that province, having notice of their design, marched against them with a strong body of troops; and, after an obstinate engagement, defeated them, took two of their principal officers, and killed five thousand of their men. With the remains of their army, they advanced to Ferid-abâd, ten kos from Dehli: upon which, Khândorân and the wazîr, being joined by Saadit Khân, went in pursuit of them. But the Mâharâttas had left that place three hours before the omrâs arrived, and proceeded to Kâlak, near that capital; where they stripped the inhabitants of all their effects; and, knowing that Dehli had but few forces therein, they intended to plunder the city. On this advice, the emperor sent Amîr Khân and Hassân Khân to oppose them; but, after an engagement of some hours, Hassân Khân was killed, and the army being almost routed, the Mâharâttas were on the point of entering the city; when the wâzîr, who had out-marched the other two omrâs, came to his assistance, and put the enemy to flight. He pursued them seven kos from Dehli, and came up with them; yet, having no inclination to fight, secretly made up matters, upon which they marched back to Dekkan.

The emperor fearing he should be always troubled with these incursions of the Ganimis, while Nézâm al Muluk continued in Dekkân, prevailed with Mehr Parvir, his grandmother, who had great interest with that lord, to write him a letter; promising him the entire management of affairs, provided he would come forthwith to court. Nézâm complied with her request; but met with worse treatment than before from the omrâs, who took all opportunities of affronting him; especially Khândoran and his creatures, who used to ridicule him when he came to court; saying, "Observe how the Dekkan monkey dances." This usage having wrought him up to the highest pitch of resentment, he resolved to be revenged of Khândoran

*Nézâm's
conspiracy.*

^f Fraser, ubi supr. p. 62, & seqq.

and his party, though by distressing the empire. Though he could not engage the wazír Kamro'ddin Khân, his ally by marriage, in his plot, he succeeded with Saadit Khân, subahdar of Awdih, who, ever since the scandalous peace made with the Mâharâttas, stood disaffected to the court; and the method they resolved on, was to call in Nâdir Shâh, ruler of Persia, who was then repairing and fortifying Kandahâr; which, during the confusion at the Great Mogol's court, he had subdued ^g.

*The Conquest of Hindústán by Nâdir Shâh, and Confine-
ment of the Emperor.*

*Nâdir
Shâh in-
vited:*

THE conspirators having removed the difficulties which Nâdir Shâh urged in answer to their letters, that conqueror marched with an army of one hundred and twenty-five thousand horse, of several nations, all inured to hardships. Mean time Nezâm al Muluk and Saadit Khân used all their endeavours secretly to promote their design. As Sherzib Khân, governor of the castle of Kâbul, Nazîr Khân, subahdâr of that province, a creature of Khândorân's, and Zakariya Khân, ruler of the province of Lahûr, were the chief obstructions in Nâdir Shâh's way, they wrote to inform them, that, as the emperor and his favourite courtiers employed their time in nothing but wine and women, they could have no assistance from court; and therefore the best that they could do, was on this occasion to act discreetly, and save themselves. These letters had the desired effect with the two latter. Nazîr Khân, finding that Nâdir Shâh, after he had taken Ghorbund and Ghoznavi, was marching to Kâbul, retired from thence to Peyshur: but Sherzib Khân defended both city and castle for six weeks. He sent repeatedly to Nazîr Khân, and the court, for assistance; but none coming, both were at length, in June, taken by storm, and he, with his son, put to death. The victor here found treasures of great value; which had been laid up in vaults ever since the time of Soltân Bâbr.

*Enters the
empire
with small
opposition.*

This great success alarming the court, the emperor ordered every thing to be got ready for taking the field; but as Rájah Jeßing had informed Khândorân, that Nâdir Shâh's invasion was a concerted thing, that omrâ advised Mohammed Shâh not to leave the capital. However, it

^g Fiafer, ubi supr. p. 66, & seqq.

was at last agreed, that his majesty should accompany the army to Lahûr; and that from thence it should proceed towards Kâbul, under the command of Nizâm al Muluk, and the other two omrâs: but when all things were ready for setting out, Khândorân, to every body's surprize, returned to the palace, and delayed the march, while Nezâm seemed earnest to hasten it. The emperor's servants also contrived all the impediments which they could think of, so that Nâdir Shâh was far advanced in his march to Peyshûr (A). There the Afghâns and mountaineers kept him in play for seven weeks; when seeing there was no forcing the passes without much bloodshed, he sent them offers of accommodation. These they came into the more readily, as the subahdârs had sent no assistance; and they had been four or five years without receiving any of their usual allowance from court ^c.

On Nâdir Shâh's giving them a certain sum of money, they not only let his forces pass, but listed in his service. Leaving the main body behind, he departed in November with ten thousand chosen Kuzzlbâsh horse, and in seven days reached Peyshûr. Nazîr Khân being encamped near the city with seven thousand horse, was defeated and taken, and the victor entered Peyshûr. Nizâm al Muluk, Khândorân, the wazîr Kamro'ddîn Khân, and the other omrâs, began their march on the 2d of January, 1738-9, with a numerous army, and a train of seven hundred cannon, to oppose the conqueror. Nizâm marched on, and encamped in the plains of Karnal, fifty-five kos from Dehli, where the emperor joined his troops on the 4th of February.

In the mean time Nâdir Shâh having crossed the At-
tok (B), marched to Lahûr, where Zekariya Khân had *comes to Lahûr.*

^c Fraser, ubi sup. p. 129, & seq.

(A) A city two hundred and two measured kos (or two hundred and fifty three miles) from Dehli, ninety-seven from Lahûr, and thirty-five from Attok. Fraser.

(B) When Nadîr Shâh was about Attok, he wrote a letter to the emperor, in which he said the reason of his stay there was to do him and religion ser-

vice, by driving to hell the infidels of Dekkan (meaning the Maharratas, or Ganims), in case they should any more invade his dominions, swearing by Ali Mortisa, that he had no other view. About the end of the same month (of August) by another letter he demanded five millions sterling.

entrenched

entrenched himself without the city ; but as soon as the enemy's troops appeared in sight, he retreated with his forces into the castle, from whence, having cannonaded the Persians for three days, he capitulated, and a thousand Kuzzlbâsh took possession of the place. Nâdir Shâh halted there one week, and then, by continued marches, arrived at the village of Tillawvri, which is near Karnal ^f. The emperor's camp, about seven kos in circuit, was surrounded by barricades, on which were mounted five thousand carriage-guns. In the center stood the imperial quarters, fronting which were the mûrchas of Nezam al Muluk and Saado'ddîn Khân, mounted likewise with ordnance : on the right was Khândorân ; on the left Kamro'ddîn Khân ; behind the emperor was posted Sirbullind Khân ; and Mohammed Khân Bungush in the rear of all, each accompanied with several omrâs at the head of their troops ; the whole army amounting to two hundred thousand horse and foot.

*Meets and
defeats the
Mogol
army.*

Nâdir Shâh had with him forty thousand horse, each with two or three attendants, grooms, and camel-drivers, robust young men. All were completely armed with lances, bows, or muskets, even to the sutlers, and mounted on camels, mules, or horses, amounting in the whole to near a hundred and sixty thousand men ; and seven thousand women, who had been made prisoners, were booted and armed like the men, having a surtouf over their own cloaths, and a sort of turban on their heads. When he arrived at Tillawvri, on the 13th of February, 1738-9, several messengers were sent to Nezâm al Muluk, with offers of accommodation ; but he rejected all, and would hear of nothing but war. Next morning Saadit Khân arrived in the camp ; and being informed, while he waited on the emperor, that his baggage was attacked by the Persian vanguard, hastened to assist his people. As this affair happened near Khândorân's quarters, that omrâ, and above twenty more with their troops, joined Saadit.

At the same time Nâdir Shâh, who had removed his camp on that side, being apprised of their design, advanced towards them ; and having planted three thousand horse in ambush in three different places, sent five hundred musketeers towards Saadit Khân, and five hundred more towards Khândorân, in order to draw them into the snare.

^f Fraser, ubi supra, p. 136, & seq.

This stratagem having taken effect, the horsemen, who lay in ambush, engaged them furiously. Mean while Nâdir Shâh, attended by a thousand Afshar horse, rode to and from all quarters to encourage those men. The rest of the army stood drawn up at a distance, ready at a signal to come to his assistance; but as it happened, there was no occasion for them; for those four or five thousand having fought obstinately till the evening, when the emperor's forces gave ground, Saadit Khân, Shîrjing, and Khândorân's youngest son, were taken prisoners. Khândorân himself received several mortal wounds, and was carried back to his quarters. Muzaffer Khân, with many other officers, were killed, besides what were wounded, and great numbers lay dead on the field of battle ².

When those who fled returned to the camp, a great tumult arose, and the tents of Khândorân, Muzaffer Khân, Saadit Khân, and others were plundered by their own people. In this confusion the emperor, in conjunction with Nezâm al Muluk, the wazîr, and other omrâs, drew up their men without their barricades in a line of battle, with design to hinder the enemy from advancing any farther; but had not night come on, those precautions would have proved ineffectual, and that day would have put an end to the whole affair. Many who escaped out of the fight, as well as others, having fled towards Dehli, the camp was in some places so thin of men, that when at midnight the emperor sent for Nizâm al Muluk to his tent, great part of the barricade was without defendants. Next day, therefore, the camp was contracted, and the army stood under arms, expecting every minute the enemy's approach. On the 17th, Nizâm al Muluk and Azîm Alla Khân went to Shâh Nâdir's camp, to accommodate matters, and after a stay of six hours returned. Nâdir Shâh embraced Nizâm, and made him stand close by himself; he gave him a cup of sherbet, and appointed him to eat at the house of Kassum Beg Khân, his eytemado'ddowlet, or wazîr. In this conference it was agreed, that Mohammed Shâh should go and see Nâdir Shâh.

On the 18th, at night, Nizâm received a rich kalaet, or vest, on being appointed mîr bukhshi, or paymaster-general, and amîr al omrâ, or head of the omrâs, in the room of Khandorân, who died of his wounds. The emperor

An accommodation proposed.

The emperor goes to Nâdir Shâh's camp.

² Fraser, ubi sup. p. 152, & seq.

sitting in a royal litter, with a canopy and umbrella, one led horse and a drum, attended by Ghâzio'ddin Khân, Azîm Allah Khân, the wazîr's son, and several eunuchs, marched out of the camp, on a visit to Nadîr Shâh. When he was about half-way, Tahmâsp Khân Vakîl came to do him the usual honours. Afterwards he was met by Nâsîr Allah Mîrza, the son of Nadîr Shâh, who, alighting from his royal litter, paid the emperor his respects after the Persian form. Then Mohammed Shâh, ordering his own litter to be set down, embraced the young prince; and they both marched on till they came to the train of ordnance. Here all the attendants were obliged to stay behind; the emperor only, with the omrâs above mentioned, and two or three eunuchs, being allowed to pass ^h.

When they arrived at the door of the royal tent, Nadîr Shâh came forth to receive his guest, and having embraced, seated him close by himself on the same muñid (C). After the usual forms of salutation, and enquiry about each other's health were over, Nadîr Shâh addressed him thus: "It is strange you should be so regardless of your own affairs, that although I wrote you several letters, sent an ambassador, and testified a friendship for you, your ministers should not think proper to send me a satisfactory answer. Likewise, by reason of your want of command over your own people, one of my ambassadors, contrary to all laws (D), has been killed in your dominions. Even when I entered your empire, you seemed under no concern for your affairs; nor so much as sent to ask who I was, or what was my design. Although I advanced as far as Lahûr, yet none of your people came with a message or salutation; nay, not with an answer to my compliments to you. Afterwards, when your omrâs were awakened out of their lethargy, they prevented all means of a reconciliation; and, coming tumultuously with an intent to stop my farther progress, brought themselves into one general snare."

Having shewn how ill the war had been conducted against him, he proceeded: "Even when you had thus

*Is severely
lectured,
and re-
turns.*

^h Fraser, ubi sup. p. 159, & seq.

(C) A place in the divân, commonly higher than any other, large enough for two or three to sit on. Fraser.

(D) On the Peyshûr side of the Attok, by some rebellious Râjpûts.

entangled yourself, I sent you offers of an accommodation ; but you were so elated with your childish conceits, that you would not give ear to any honourable overtures, or consult your own interest, until, by the help of God, and strength of arms, you have seen what has come to pass. Besides, your predecessors were wont to take the *jezîyah*, or poll-tax, from the infidels ; but you, in your reign, have paid it them, having for these twenty years suffered the empire to be over-run by them. However, as hitherto the race of Timûr have not injured, nor misbehaved towards the *Selî* family, and the people of Persia, I shall not take the empire from you ; only as your indolence and pride have obliged me to march so far, and I have been put to an extraordinary expence ; on account also that my men are much fatigued by long marches, and want of necessaries, I must go to Dehli, and there continue some days until the army is refreshed, and the *peysh kush*, which *Nezâm al Muluk* had agreed to (E), is made good : then I shall leave you to look after your own affairs."

Mohammed Shâh made no answer to this remonstrance, which he heard with silent confusion. In the evening the emperor returned to his camp. On the 20th of February, *Nezâm al Muluk* the *wazîr*, *Azîm Allah Khân*, and *Ghâzio'ddîn Khân* waited on *Nadîr Shâh*, and received each a coat and vest ; but *Nezâm* had a horse also.

On the 22d, the emperor's camp was removed to the side of Karnal, opposite to Shâh Nadîr's army ; in their march the *Kuzzlbâsh* horsemen carried off twenty-seven elephants and twenty-five camels. Next day, *Nezâm al Muluk* being sent for to Shâh Nadîr's camp, was there detained, with five or six of his attendants : several of the *Kuzzlbâsh* being detached against *Tanisîr*, slew the inhabitants, and, having plundered the place, returned with great spoil. About eight at night the *wazîr* received a *sirman*, or order, from *Nadîr Shâh*, importing, that next day the emperor, *Sirbullînd Khân*, Mohammed Khân *Bungush*, and *Azîm Allah Khân*, should appear before him. Mohammed Shâh immediately sent for *Sirbullînd Khân*, and all the other *omrâs* ; with whom having consulted till midnight, he at length declared, that as affairs were now become so critical, he had only one of three steps to take ; to try his fortune by one desperate push, to put an end to all troubles by a dose of poison, or else to submit tamely

His camp removed, and himself guarded.

(E) Of twenty krors of rupîs, or twenty-five millions sterling.

to

to whatever terms should be imposed ; which last measure the emperor was inclined to, although he did not then discover his sentiments.

On the 24th, Sirbullind Khân and the other omrâs were ready with their men to act as the emperor should determine : but nothing was that day resolved on, and at night a note arrived from Nadîr Shâh to that lord, bidding him be of good cheer, and repair to him before Mohammed Shâh set out. Accordingly next morning he went thither, and about nine o'clock the emperor followed in a royal litter. On his arrival he alighted at a tent, pitched for him in the front of the camp, where he was allowed all his necessary domestics, and a thousand Kuzzlbâsh were set as guards round him. About eight in the evening he went to visit Nadîr Shâh, and after three hours stay returned ; but orders were given, that none of the omrâs should be allowed to see him. On the 26th, all the ordnance, and other arms belonging to the emperor and his omrâs, with all his treasures and jewels, were seized. An order was also issued, to send to Mohammed Shâh his son Soltân Ahmed, and the empress Malika al Zumani. By another order all the emperor's old servants and soldiers were continued in their places ; but the bahîrs, or baggage-carriers, and new enlisted men, were suffered to depart.

On the 27th Mohammed Shâh, with the omrâs, his old servants and baggage, went to the camp of Nadîr Shâh ; who having chosen two hundred cannon from the emperor's ordnance, sent them, with some treasure and other effects, to Khândahâr, by way of Kâbûl. On the 28th, Tahmâsp Khân Vakîl was dispatched to Shâh Jehâñ abad, or Dehli, with four thousand horse and musketeers, to take possession of the castle, and Saadit Khân to secure the city and effects of the omrâs. On the 2d of March, Nadîr Shâh set out himself for the same place, attended by twenty thousand horse, and preceded by the mâhl, or women : he was followed by Mohammed Shâh, and forty or fifty of his principal people, with an escorte of twelve thousand horse¹.

In the road the Kuzzlbâsh not only plundered several villages, amongst which were Paniput and Sanput, but likewise killed to the number of seven thousand inhabitants. On the 7th, Nadîr Shâh arrived at the gardens of

¹ Fraser, ubi supra, p. 169, & seq.

Shallimâr. Next day, by his order, Mohammed Shâh in a royal litter, attended by four thousand guards, entered the city at night, and was lodged in the castle: but Nadîr Shâh being informed that the inhabitants were of a seditious, turbulent temper, deferred his entrance till the 9th, in the morning, when he marched in with all the caution imaginable, attended by twenty thousand horse, leaving the rest of his army encamped without the city. After he had alighted at the castle, Mohammed Shâh came to congratulate him, and they breakfasted together. They were in conversation till the evening, during which time Nadîr Shâh behaved with the greatest complaisance and seeming affection to him: he likewise gave orders to punish, in the severest manner, all persons molesting the Indians. At night Nadîr Shâh, having called Saadit Khân before him, spoke with a great deal of passion, and even used some harsh words, in regard to collecting the peyshkush, or present of twenty-five millions sterling: that lord, who had for some time been indisposed, died at four next morning; some say, with vexation, others, of poison.

The Massacre of Dehli, and what passed there till Nâdir Shâh's Return.

ON Saturday the 10th of March, being the feast of sacrifice, in the morning, Sirbullind Khân, Mostafa Khân, Arizbeghi, Nezâm Al Muluk, and Kamro'ddîn Khân, met at the castle to deliberate on means for collecting the peyshkush money along with Tahmâsp Khân Vakîl, who, at noon, sent nine horsemen to order the granaries to be opened, and settle the price of corn; but as the price which was fixed did not turn out to the account of the proprietors, towards evening they assembled a mob, who killed the nine horsemen, and several Kuzzlbâsh, who repaired thither to buy corn. After sun-set they spread a report that Nâdir Shah was taken prisoner, and some said he was poisoned; on which the idle and disaffected people, joining from all quarters, poured like a torrent towards the castle, and killed several of the advanced guards. Next morning, about eight o'clock, when the tumult was at its height, Nâdir Shah, being greatly provoked, walked out of the castle, and mounting his horse, went towards the bazaar of Chandn Chok, to quell the mob, who were committing great disorders in that quarter. In the way, perceiving many bodies

dies of his people who had been killed in the night, he sent a strong party to suppress the rioters; with orders, that in case neither threats nor persuasions would avail, to cut them off; but on no account to injure those who were not concerned.

*A horrible
slaughter.*

The soldiers at first proceeded gently, a circumstance which, instead of appeasing, only emboldened the mob, who began to discharge fire-arms and arrows at them. Mean while Nádir Sháh, having entered the masjed, or temple of Royshn al Dowlet, the neighbouring inhabitants appeared upon the terraces, and began to throw stones. At length a musket was levelled at Nádir Sháh, which missing him, killed one of his officers who stood next him. This outrage incensed him to such a degree, that he ordered a general slaughter to be commenced in that very place; at his command, the soldiers in an instant getting upon the walls and terraces, began to plunder and kill. This bloody scene extended from the Serafa Arduí (F), which is before the castle, to the Eydgab, which is three kos distant. The bazárs, streets, and alleys, within this space, were all plundered; and all the men and women found in the streets and shops, were put to the sword; nor did the beasts escape their furyⁱ.

*The num-
ber slain.*

Nádir Sháh, after he had given those sanguine orders, returned to the castle; where, about two o'clock, Mohammed Sháh and Nezám al Muluk waited on him, and made great intercession for the city. At three o'clock it was proclaimed by beat of drum, that none of the inhabitants should be any longer molested. During the seven hours which the slaughter continued, four hundred Kuzzlbásh were slain, and of the citizens a hundred and twenty thousand. Of the plunder, Nádir Sháh reserved some for his own use, and much was destroyed by the fire. When the slaughter began, the persons, who had raised the commotion, disappeared in an instant, and left the innocent shopkeepers and families to be butchered. Several, jealous of their honour, first killed their women, and then flew themselves. One of these unfortunate creatures, seeing the soldiers near his house, burned about twenty women of his family, and expected they would come every minute and kill him. By chance they missed his house,

ⁱ Fraser, ubi sup. p. 177, & seqq.

(F) Where all the bankers to the king and his army have and money-changers belonging their shops. Fraser.

at which, finding himself disappointed, he went out and brought some of them back, telling them there was a great deal of money and effects therein. They plundered his house; but, to his still greater disappointment, went away without killing him; a circumstance which so enraged him, that he dispatched himself.

There were great numbers of people, especially women and children, burned in their houses. About ten thousand women threw themselves into wells, some of whom were taken out alive. On the 12th, the prisoners of both sexes, to the number of fifty thousand, were, by the shâh's order, all conducted back to their respective houses. On the 13th, all people were ordered to betake themselves to their employments, and be under no farther apprehension. The effects of Saadit Khân, Khândorân, and Muzaffer Khân, were seized. Those of Khândorân, exclusive of what he had in the camp, were computed at no more than a kror of rupîs; but Muzaffer's amounted to very near four krors. This day guards were placed round the city to prevent any person going out without licence; and next morning a number of fakîrs, or poor people, wanting to go out of the city with a design to travel and beg abroad, the centinels cut off their noses and ears, and obliged them to return. The 15th was employed in clearing the streets of the dead bodies ^k.

On the 16th a firmâm was drawn up, exempting the dominions of Persia from taxes for three years. At the same time, arrears of six million one hundred thousand pounds, due to the soldiers, were discharged; likewise one year's pay in advance, and six months pay as a gratuity, was given to all, even those who followed the camp. All diligence was used to raise the peyshkush, or present of twenty-five millions sterling, which the shâh had demanded, over and above the jewels, gold-plate set with precious stones, and other valuable effects, of the king and omrâs, which had been seized. The severity used on this occasion brought on a new calamity. In the king's treasury the gold and silver coin did not exceed three million seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds; but in the inward vaults, which had been shut up, and sealed for many years, there was found of gold and silver to a much larger amount. Nizâm al Muluk contributed one million eight hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds, in jewels, money, and goods; Kamro'ddîn Khân advanced the like

*Peace re-
stored
again.*

*The peysh-
kush raised
with great
severity.*

^k Fraser, ubi sup. p. 184, & seqq.

sum. Sirbullind Khán, on account of his poverty, was excused. The omrás, mansebdârs, officers, and rich inhabitants were taxed on this occasion, according to their circumstances; of which they were obliged to give in an account.

The care of collecting this peyshkush was committed to Sirbullind Khán, and other omrás, who met daily for that purpose at his house. They were from the 18th of March to the 8th of April settling the list of people, and the sum each was to pay. Mean while several persons, for fear of the consequences, leaving their effects and families, escaped out of the city, glad to save their lives. Many others being hard pressed for their quotas, to save their reputation, killed themselves; among whom were Allîm Allah, the adopted son of Sidi Folâd Khán, and his naib. On the 6th of April, Tahmâsp Khán ordered one of the ears of Mijilis Ray, the duan of the wazîr Kamro'ddîn Khán, to be cut off in the presence of his master, who going to intercede for him, Tahmâsp Khán told him in an angry tone, that it would be his turn by-and-by, and six days after his disgrace the duan killed himself. Several of the emperor's muttesiddis were so beaten with sticks, that the blood flowed from all parts of their bodies. Sitâ Ram, and Chukl Keyshvir, the Bengâl vakîl, were so violently bruised, that the latter went home and murdered himself and family¹.

The mirza married. On the 27th of March, Nefr Alla Mîrza, son of Shâh Nâdir, was married to the daughter of Jesdan Bukhsh, son of Ram Bukhsh, and grandson of Aureng Zîb; on which occasion there were fine illuminations, and fireworks played off on the banks of the river. Mohammed Shâh made the young princess a present of jewels to the value of six thousand two hundred and fifty pounds, and the same sum in money. Some days after Nâdir Shâh sent her jewels, to the value of sixty-two thousand five hundred pounds^m.

Shâh Nâdir takes leave of his son. Great cruelties were exercised in collecting the money; many individuals were mal-treated, and a vast number ruined by unequal taxation. The Kuzzlbâsh horsemen went about plundering the villages, and killing the inhabitants who made any resistance. On the 1st of May, 1739, all the omrás being ordered to be present at Mohammed Shâh's apartment by five in the morning, the emperor went in a royal litter, with several of the omrás, to the general divân, where the emperor alighting, went

¹ Fraser, ubi supra, p. 190—200.

^m Ibid. p. 197.

in to Nâdir Shâh. After they had embraced, they breakfasted together. Then were brought in for Mohammed Shâh a crown set with jewels, a sirpeach, or *band for the turban*; a bozow band, or *bracelet*; a girdle; a sword; a Dekkan sword with a strait blade, called dhowp, and an enamelled kutteri, or *dagger*, all set with jewels. The crown Nâdir Shâh put on with his own hands, making him an apology at the same time, and took his leave, after having given him some good advice. He advised him particularly to beware of Nezâm al Muluk, whom, by his conduct, he found to be full of cunning, and self-interested, and more ambitious than became a subject ⁷.

On the 2d of May, Nâdir Shâh sent for Nezâm al Mu- Threatens
the omrâs.
luk, Sirbullind Khân, and other omrâs, whom he enjoined obedience to the emperor, and threatening to punish them in case they rebelled, took his leave.

On Sunday the 6th of May, the shâh began his march from Dehli. In his way he plundered and killed the people of Tanifîr, and other villages, to the number of twelve thousand, because the country people murdered and stripped his straggling foragers. In his passage he left Lahûr on one side, after having accepted one million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which was all the inhabitants could raise ⁸.

Since the battle of Karnal till Nâdir Shâh's departure, Losses sus-
tained. the loss sustained by the emperor and the people, in jewels, treasures, goods, destruction of fields, and of the buildings, amounted to near one arrib of rupîs, or a hundred and twenty-five millions sterling. Out of this Nâdir Shâh carried away to the value of seventy krors, or eighty-seven million five hundred thousand pounds, in jewels and other effects (G); besides above twelve million sterling which fell to the share of the officers and soldiers. The charges of his army while he continued there, the arrears, pay, and gratuity advanced them, with what goods were de-

⁷ Fraser, ubi supra, p. 200, & seqq.

⁸ Ibid. p. 207.

(G) In jewels, from the emperor and omrâs, twenty-five krors; utensils and weapons set with jewels, with the peacock throne, and nine others set with jewels, nine krors. Gold and silver rupîs, twenty-five krors. Gold and silver plate, which he coined into

money, five krors. Fine cloth and rich stuffs, two krors. House-furniture and other goods, three krors. Warlike weapons, cannon, &c. one kror. Besides a thousand elephants, seven thousand horses, and ten thousand camels.

stroyed

stroyed by fire, and fields laid waste, amounted to near twenty krors, or twenty-five millions. Of the inhabitants of the empire, since the shâh's arrival in Hindūstān till his return to Lahûr, two hundred thousand were destroyed.

Provinces given up to the Persians. Besides the immense riches which Nâdir Shâh carried away with him, he obtained from the emperor in writing, a cession of all the countries to the west of the river Attok, the river Sindt and Nala Sunkra, which is a branch of it, including Peyshor, with its territories, the principality of Khâbul, Ghoznavi, or the country of Ghâzna, the mountainous residence of the Afghâns, the Hazârijat, and the passes, with the castle of Bukkar, Sunkar, and Khowdâbâd; the rest of the territories, passes, and abodes of the Chokias, Balluches, and other people, with the provinces of Tâtta, the castle of Ram, and the village of Terbin; the towns of Chun, Sumawali, Ketra, and other places dependent on Tâtta. In short, all the fields, villages, castles, towns, and ports, to the west of the Attok, from its rise as far as Nala Sunkra, where it falls into the sea; but all the countries east of that river, the Sind and Nala Sunkra, with the town and castle of Lohri-Bundar, or Bendar, were to remain to the empire of Hindūstânp.

* Fraser, *ubi supra*, p. 214, & seqq.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.



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